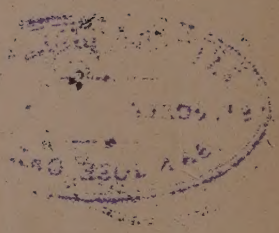

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BY

KENELM H. DIGBY.

ALMA COLLEGE
ST. MARY'S CHURCH,
LIBRARY
SAN JOSE, CAL.
Alma, California

VOLUME THE THIRD.

CONTAINING

BOOKS VII., VIII. AND IX.

ALMA COLLEGE
270
LIBRARY
D569
Alma, California

NEW YORK:
P. O'SHEA, PUBLISHER,
45 WARREN STREET.
1891.

2832

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK VII.

SUMMARY.

BOOK VII.

CHAPTER I.

That charity and mercy were known to be the essence of true religion, proved by all kinds of testimony—The writers of the early and middle ages, cited in evidence—Charity inseparable from faith—Its deficiency in later times noted—Proved by the fact of a separation—Mercy in ages of faith evinced towards all—Absence of the pharisaic spirit.—Mercy shown to animals —Love the actuating principle of these ages . . . . . p. 9

CHAPTER II.

Influence of mercy upon conversation and the tone of society—Doctrine and example of the middle ages in evidence—A glance at the contrast in modern times—Influence of mercy upon literature—Upon the intercourse of life—Happy condition of society in consequence—General survey of a Catholic state . . . . . p. 28

CHAPTER III.

Multitudinous fruits of mercy in ages of faith—Its influence upon government—On judicial proceedings—The ecclesiastical courts, why extended—The canonical penalties—Capital punishment rare—Pecuniary compositions—Exact execution of justice—Though with compassion—Use of torture—Its origin—Spirit of the middle ages to pardon criminals, and not pursue them—The prisons—The new religious opinions produced no amelioration in them—Testimony of Howard in proof—The action of mercy in the prisons of the middle ages—Solicitude of women and of the clergy to comfort prisoners—They are delivered or consoled on the religious festivals—The privilege of pardon possessed by various churches—That of St. Romain described—Prisoners delivered out of respect for holy persons—Through the intercession of the Holy See—Visit to the dungeons—Meet the merciful there consoling the captives—The ransom and deliverance of prisoners a work to which all classes devoted themselves—The confraternities for this purpose—Their sufferings—Extreme pity with which even criminals were regarded—Accounted for by the doctrinal importance of mercy—Which was synonymous with holiness . . . . . p. 46

CHAPTER IV.

Application of mercy to the moral and social enfranchisement of slaves—Their condition in the ancient states—Gradual influence of Christianity in this respect—Catholicism by degrees procures the abolition of slavery—Enfranchisement of the serfs by the Church—By the monks—By

devout kings and nobles—New religious order to redeem captives from the Sarassins—Devotion of the friars to this object—Zeal of the Holy See—Of Christian princes and the religious orders of knighthood—Exertions of the friars to protect the Indians of America—A glance at their heroic deeds in this respect—Action of the merciful directed to protect the weak and unhappy—The privileges conferred by law on all miserable persons—Efforts of the clergy to help them on all occasions—Interference of the Holy See—Labors of the monks co-operating . . . . . p. 96

CHAPTER V.

Humanity and mercy in the conduct of war—The chivalrous spirit and its influence on the military character—Mercy considered one of its noblest features—Consequent amelioration in the state of the conquered—Influence of the clergy as confessors in the councils of the kings—The absence of Catholicism marked by a different spirit in war—Character of Turkish hostilities—The wars waged under the influence of the new religious opinions . p. 125

CHAPTER VI.

The charge of intolerance against the ancient Catholic states considered—General view of the Christian society—In what sense it is intolerant—Falsehood of the accusation as generally conceived—Interests of the state tended to confound the limits of ecclesiastical and civil policy—Right of excommunication inalienable—Discipline of the first Christians with regard to persons separated from the Church by a formal sentence—Its wisdom, justice, and expediency—It was transmitted through the middle ages—Consequences of disregarding it in later times—Spirit and object of ecclesiastical men and measures, in regard to censures—Conduct of the Church towards unfaithful and corrupt members—Spirit of the clergy towards persons without the Church, of those obnoxious to her censures—The public opinion and the civil government require more severe measures—The Holy See protects offenders—Rise and progress of the Albigenses—Their true character—Necessity of repressing them—Mercy of St. Dominick, and his evangelic zeal—Encroachments of the secular power and its cruelty—What was the inquisition—The clergy subject to it as well as the laity—Character of the inquisitors—Fruits of their zeal not exactly what is often supposed—Doctrine of the middle ages respecting the tolerance of false religions—Conduct of the Church towards the Jews—Conduct of the people and of the state towards them—Conduct of the Church towards schismatics—Interested and cruel interference of the civil power—Doctrine of the Church respecting its real duty—Origin of the Crusades—How these wars were compatible with mercy—Wars of the Spaniards against the Moors—How consistent with mercy—The wars of the Teutonic knights similarly explained—Whether the moderns have evinced greater mercy and toleration than the old Catholic society—A glance at their achievements since the sixteenth century—Their claims shown to be vain 131

CHAPTER VII.

Doctrine of the ages of faith respecting the duty of mercy to enemies—Seen in action in the manners of the religious, and of persons in the world—Examples from history . p. 206

CHAPTER VIII.

The mercy of which the poor were the objects—Recognition of its importance in ages of faith—In what light riches were regarded—Contrast between the ancient knowledge and the modern opinions respecting the poor—Consequent revolution in their state—Catholic charity contrasted with modern beneficence—Ancient institution for their relief—Ancient mode of extending it—The doctrine of alms explained—Shown in action—The alms and charity of the Roman pontiffs—Of the episcopal order in general—Of the monastic orders—Of the lay

society—Of kings and nobles—Of women—General spirit of the Catholic society in regard to the poor—Municipal laws—Conduct of the merciful in times of pestilence—Catholicism in this respect contrasted with the modern systems—Posthumous charity held to be of small avail p. 227

CHAPTER IX.

The institutions of mercy in ages of faith—State of the heathen society before their establishment—Origin of hospitals, and brief sketch of their history—Their founders—Their professed object—Beauty and grandeur of the structures—Provision for all wants—The hospice for the stranger—Mercy towards travellers in constructing bridges—Religious character of hospitals—Their solemn aspect and holy internal discipline—They constituted schools of piety—Their chapels and cemeteries—In which great men often chose their burial—The chaplains and religious servants—The sisters or brethren—Order of hospitallers—Of the Holy Ghost—Of St. John of God—Of the sisters of charity—Serving the sick—A duty undertaken by persons still in the world—Curious examples—The motives which induced them—Their personal devotion—The means provided for the support of hospitals—Their land, privileges, and other revenues—Casual supplies—Their fate in the general destruction of religious edifices by the reformers—Alteration of their character in subsequent times—Conclusion . . . p. 306

SUMMARY.

BOOK VIII.

Difficulties of approaching the subject of the sixth beatitude—What was understood by cleanness of heart: in what relation the senses stood with it—Conformity to divine image—Beauty of holy souls: their humility, purity of language—Scrupulous obedience to the voice of conscience—Examples—Necessity of attaining to this supernatural cleanness of heart, insisted on by the ancient guides—Their rules to facilitate its acquisition—Their description of moral conversions—They were effected by love, by the ministry of angels . . . p. 367

CHAPTER II.

Extent to which cleanness of heart prevailed in ages of faith—Influence of the love of God on the affections—Traits of ancient manners in proof—Power of the clergy—Consequent stability of states—The contempt for comfort which characterized Catholic society—Sanctification of all professions by a divine motive—Direction of the intention—Consequent inability of modern writers to give a true picture of Catholic manners in ages of faith . . p. 396

CHAPTER III.

Influence of cleanness of heart upon literature—Representations of love—Sanctity of the ancient type—The drama religious—Consequent universality of the range opened to genius in union with religion—Antipathy to paganism—Love of truth—Obedience—Interior purity indicated even by style—Influence of the clean of heart upon music, and upon art in general—The Catholic schools of painting; sanctity of the artists—Revival of paganism in modern art . . . . . p. 413

CHAPTER IV.

Quoniam videbunt Deum—Influence of moral purity upon the intellectual character of those ages—Sanctity of the eminent men of the Catholic schools—Predominance of an intellectual conscience proved by the prevalence of faith—Cause and indications of its absence in the enemies of the Church—Grounds of their ignorance considered—Grounds of their hostility to the Catholic religion considered—How the spiritual day begins and is perfected in the clean of heart . . . . . p. 425

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER V.

The love and cultivation of wisdom in ages of faith, indicated by the influence of the spiritual over the material power—The importance ascribed to knowledge—How truth was valued for its own sake : how earnestly it was loved—Men sought wisdom, not profit : desired all kinds of knowledge—The love for wisdom indicated by the number of collegiate foundations —Universities—By the privileges of scholars, and by the general features of the ancient scholastic character and manners . . . . . p. 452

CHAPTER VI.

Glance at the series of eminent philosophers in ages of faith, who are made to pass as if processionally, classed in periods. . . . . p. 473

CHAPTER VII.

General characteristics of all schools of philosophy in ages of faith—Religion and philosophy were synonymous with the fathers, with the scholastic doctors, and with the laymen who philosophized in the middle ages—Testimony of reason and of the ancients to the wisdom of this view . . . . . p. 511

CHAPTER VIII.

Consideration of the objection that no grand questions were agitated—Faith superseded inquiry—Consequent inutility of discussions—Curiosity and intellectual restlessnes of the moderns the result of having lost faith—Groundlessness of the charge that there was no inquiry whatever—There remained magnificent subjects for discussion—Causes of the scholastic subtilty explained—Important disputes of the scholastics—Pernicious consequences of the modern subtilties . . . . . p. 521

CHAPTER IX.

On the method of philosophy in ages of faith—Divisions of proofs appropriate to divisions of truths—A threefold method recognized—Authority, testimony, and experiment or induction—The two former adopted in the sphere of religion and morals—The latter recognized as the proper method in physical science—The grounds of certainty ascertained—Reason, authority, or faith—Cause of faith, and mode of its acquirement—The inductive experimental philosophy excluded from the sphere of religion and morals—The philosophy of development and illustration adopted—Direction of studies by this rule—Method of instruction conformable to it . . . . . p. 545

CHAPTER X.

Other characteristics of the philosophy of ages of faith—Its humility—Danger of intellectual pride then estimated—The humble, docile spirit of the scholastic philosophers—The humility in speculation, in regard to religion, to language—Change in the manners of the learned on the rise of the new opinions—Humility of the Catholic philosophers in submitting their writings to the Holy See—Its practical character—Practice recognized as the source of knowledge—Practicability of the Catholic philosophy—Its clearness and communicability—All men could receive it—Error of the unintelligible philosophy—The imaginative and poetic character of the philosophy of the middle ages an indication of its truth—Arguments of the schoolmen to show the relation of the senses to intelligence—Mistake of modern writings in stating that theirs was merely imaginative—Its Catholicity—How heresy is opposed to philosophy—Unity of the church and of its philosophy—How it was Catholic in principles—Mystics and

scholastics not antagonists—Catholic truth one—Consequent advantage to the intellect—Force of Catholic truth ; its grandeur, its generous and ennobling influence, its warmth and expansiveness . . . . . p. 569

CHAPTER XI.

How the clean of heart more immediately saw God first in creatures—The study of nature in ancient times—In ages of faith—Not confined to scientific pursuits—Vanity recognized of mere human science—How far the sciences were cultivated in the middle ages—In what spirit they were pursued—Change of sentiment in this regard . . . . p. 630

CHAPTER XII.

How the clean of heart saw God in history, in miraculous operations—Piety, humility, and Catholicity obliged them to recognize the divine agency—Its unlimited power—The universality of its manifestations—Miracles considered historically, philosophically—Objections refuted . . . . . p. 656

CHAPTER XIII.

How the impure sought to behold their God—A Supreme Being—Analogous to their internal state—Origin of demoniac mysticism—Faith and superstition the two great rivals—Contest of the church with the latter, under the form of idolatry—Contest continued through the middle ages with sorcery and old errors in a new form—What is to be thought respecting the arts condemned by the church—Magic and demoniac mysticism considered—Historically—Philosophically—Books of magicians alone would justify the zeal of the church against all such arts—Defence of the ancient Catholic society from the charge of superstition—Origin and termination of the ordeals—Abuse of religious practices exposed and prohibited—Error of the moderns in classing some ancient convictions among superstitions—Delusion here also distinguished from truth—Visions . . . . . p. 675

CHAPTER XIV.

How the clean of heart saw God in human records—In the Gentile philosophy—Consequent use of the pagan learning to confirm religion by reason, and to convey the original traditions of mankind—Spirit with which the heathen philosophy was studied in ages of faith . p. 733

CHAPTER XV.

How the clean of heart saw God in the holy Scriptures—The Bible considered historically, philosophically—Necessity recognized of guarding against its abuse—Against false translations—Zeal in the church in promoting versions—Familiarity of all classes of men in the middle ages with the holy Scriptures . . . . . p. 743

CHAPTER XVI.

How the clean of heart saw God in the church, in the mysteries of faith—The sacramental sense in general—The Ineffable Presence—The Eucharist—Considered historically, philosophically—Sentiments of the clean of heart respecting it—External effects—Miraculous visions—Fruits of wisdom and all grace—Consequent proof of the divinity of the Catholic religion—How the clean of heart saw God in mystic union of their souls with his divinity—The spiritual vision—The intellectual vision—Its organic effects attested—Testimony of the scholastic and mystic philosophers—Their description of the consequences of thus seeing God—Experience of Catholics at the present day confirms its truth—Longings after the final consummation—The beatific vision —In future glory . . . . . p. 756.

SUMMARY.

BOOK IX.

CHAPTER I.

Were the Ages of Faith pacific?—State of the question—We are not obliged to show that ages of faith were untroubled—Peace from war not promised by the gospel—Wars and disorders, therefore, do not form ground of objection to the title of these ages to the character of eminently Christian—The causes of war always exist—Consequent misery of the present life—A glance at the most warlike periods of the Christian history . . . . p. 787

CHAPTER II.

The love and desire of peace which prevailed in ages of faith—The pacific character which nations assumed—Peacefulness deemed synonymous with conversion—How peace was extolled : how war was regarded with horror—The objection of modern writers respecting the wars of the middle ages might be turned against later times—Instances of the manner in which wars were stigmatized—The demon known chiefly as the enemy of peace—The people detested war—Warriors themselves had remorse . . . . . p. 808

CHAPTER III.

The desire of peace expressed in the prayers, hymns, and regular office of the church—A sense of danger indicated by them—Other devotions for peace practised—Ancient local offices cited—The antiphon Media vita—Public supplications for peace—The flagellants—The processions of the whites . . . . . p. 837

CHAPTER IV.

The peace invoked and promised by the Prince of peace was known to be chiefly internal,—peace of the breast—Testimonies of the middle ages cited—How peace was enjoyed ; first, from internal disorder, men were at peace with God, and, therefore, at peace with the evils of life, with death, with the grave ; secondly, they were at peace with themselves : hence they had the spirit of wisdom, and were personally at peace with the enemies of truth ; thirdly, they were at peace with men ; but they renounced an evil peace—Definitions of evil peace—The ancient portraits denote this threefold peace . . . . . p. 852

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER V.

From internal peace followed the peace of domestic life—The simple manners of these ages promoted it—Peace between all members of the house—The patriarchal character of Catholic families indicated peace—The peace of marriage—Discords appeased by marriages p. 882

CHAPTER VI.

From domestic peace followed peace through society—The pacific character of all Catholic life—Litigation denounced and shunned—The legal profession sanctified, but a horror prevailed for law-suits—men preferred suffering loss—Causes referred to arbitration by the clergy—Diplomas of popes and bishops cited—The trial by battle condemned as contrary to peace—To all disputes men were averse—Ambitious desires as contrary to peace repressed—They were excluded by the prevailing taste for natural joys—The pacific character of life in cities—in the country—The spirit of peace had descended through religion upon men . p. 901

CHAPTER VII.

From the domestic and social peace passed to all views of the political constitution—The pacific ideal of all government in ages of faith—Its object was to extend the good of peace—Ancient testimonies cited—The ritual of coronations—Representations of monarchy—The pacific education of princes—The pacific symbols of power—The pacific instructions given to kings—The pacific counsellors of kings—The pacific intervention of women in government—The judicial character of the monarchy preferred to a warlike—The parliament—The pacific duties of all administrators—Peace indicated by the harmony between the temporal and spiritual powers—The desire of establishing a unity of empire arose from the desire of peace—The pacific ideal of subjects implied in the views of government—No undue advantage taken of it—The good of the people recognized as essential to states . . . p. 926

CHAPTER VIII.

The pacific ideal of government, how far realized—The pacific kings, princes, and nobles of the ages of faith—Testimonies of tombs—The middle ages enjoyed more peace than modern writers pretend—Evidence alleged—Origin and nature of the truce of God . . p. 958

CHAPTER IX.

Peace resulted from the union of all nations by the Catholic Church—No national spirit opposed to this harmony—The love of one's country cherished—No wars of opinion then—No wars of religion—No national wars—Political peace desired and ratified on religious grounds grounds . . . . . p. 981

CHAPTER X.

What wars were sanctioned—General character of warlike operations in the middle ages—Wars commenced, conducted, and terminated in a spirit of peace—The calamities of war fell not on all men—Multitudes enjoyed exemption from them—Wars did not interrupt works of peace—Destructive modes of warfare prohibited—The pacific ideal of the military profession in those ages—The pacific instructions given to soldiers—What were their duties—Chivalry instituted with a view to counteract their vices and promote peace—The pacific warriors that flourished—Three kinds of war sanctioned ; first, wars for justice, examples ; secondly, wars for mercy, examples—The crusades to rescue oppressed brethren—The Templars p. 992

SUMMARY.

CHAPTER XI.

Thirdly, wars for peace—Border wars to repel invaders—Internal wars against disturbers of peace—The degenerate feudal lords—Terrific character of their castles—The cries of the Church against local tyrants—Brotherhoods instituted to defend the country against them—The royal power invoked—In Italy feudal tyrants subdued—The wars of the French kings against their castles—The clergy used their temporal power to defend the people, and erected castles—Wars of German bishops against the castles of the robber-knights—Their labors to secure peace—Their wicked Castellans sometimes converted . . . . . p. 1025

CHAPTER XII.

The blessed peace-makers—Men who imparted peace by pacific means passed in review—including kings, princes, feudal lords, knights, who were not the advocates of duelling in the modern sense, obscure men, women, the clergy generally, who condemned tournaments as contrary to peace—The sovereign pontiffs—The papal legates—The monks and friars p. 1060

FATHERS' LIBRARY
LIBRARY
ST. JOSEPH'S CHURCH
CaHio
CAL.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE SEVENTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

ENTERING upon the fifth steep of this mount, from which the course of past ages is beheld, we seem forthwith ascending to hear behind us chanted sweet, "Blessed the merciful," and "Happy thou, who didst the naked clothe, the hungry feed, the erring counsel, and extend pity to the dead;" and methinks we are seen to pause and look back, like men doubtful of the way that they have taken, for such is the character which faith has stamped on ages which it formed, that, according as we advance through the different divisions of beatitude, the present seems always to suggest the fitting title which should distinguish them from all others in the history of the world. At each stage we thought we had only then discovered the proper qualification; they were ages of the poor in spirit we said at first; then after a time, it seemed more precise to style them ages of meekness. Proceeding further, we thought it should be rather of blessed mourning. At the last, we were convinced that a hunger and thirst after justice formed their distinctive character; and lo, now, as if all had been imperfectly discerned hitherto, looking forward to what is coming, we seem to have suddenly found out, for the first time, the accurate expression, when we define them ages of mercy, ages of charity or love. "The fifth beatitude," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "deservedly follows the preceding; for mercy has its birth from them, since, if humility goes before, and the mind becomes meek, and mourns for sins, and thirsts for justice, afterwards will spring pious mercy; and if means of assisting should be wanting, compassion will not be wanting."*

S. Bernard. Senens. Serm. IX.

The ancient philosopher complained, that while men were writing in praise of many things, there was no one found to set forth the admirable excellence of love. He says, that he had lately opened a book by a wise man, in which was the praise of salt, showing its immense utility; and he takes occasion, in his usual style of mirth and gravity combined, to hint at instances of many other things equally unfitted, as one might suppose, to be the subject of a panegyric, which are nevertheless found extolled in formal encomiums. In modern times, too, the disposition of men cannot be noted as deficient in regard to the extension of praise; innumerable things obtain it;—speeches, loans, quadruple treaties, bazaars, if built on the site of demolished churches and monasteries, projected laws respecting a new division of property, new projects for securing it, treadmills, patent locks, new policemen, new prisons, perhaps;—but if we exclude from consideration those authors who adhere to the Catholic faith, I believe we might add, in the words of the same philosopher, that no one man has undertaken to praise love worthily. *Ἔρωτα ἀξίως ὑμνῆσαι.* The generations past, which were familiarized with the sentences of a Chrysostom and an Augustin, and which heard, besides those ancient holy fathers, a Fulgentius, a Thomas of Aquin, a Bonaventura, a Theresa, a Catherine of Genoa, a Catherine of Sienna, or a Matilda, might be consoled amidst all the calamities which were incident to their state of civilization, by considering how different it was with them, when love was glorified in the human intelligence, and recognized as the only remedy for the woes of the human race; when love, though so sweet a word, was found sweeter still in exercise, in relation to learning, to philosophy, to manners, to legislation, to government; when men who could not, as St. Augustin says, "always speak about it, for many different actions left not leisure to their tongues to speak incessantly on love, knew well that their tongues could treat on nothing better, and what they could not always speak about, were able still constantly to preserve;"* when those, too, were not the objects of least veneration, who could affirm, like the Sage of Athens, though in a new and sweeter style, that they knew nothing of those grand and famous questions, though they were to wish it ever so much, which were discussed with such applause in the schools, as of old they had been by Prodicus, the Chian, and Gorgias, the Leontine, and Polus, the Agregentine, and by many others; but who said always, and every where, that in short they knew nothing, excepting a certain little lesson of love, *πλήν γε σμικροῦ τινος μαθήματος τῶν ἐρωτικῶν.*† This the great Augustin would affirm, who says "Ask yourself what progress have you made in charity, and according to the answer of your heart you may estimate the measure of your approach to heaven."‡ This the blessed Gregory would say, who shows that all the commandments are concerning love, and that all are only one precept. "Our Lord's precepts," saith he, "are many, and only one;—many by diversity of work, and only one in the root of love." This would

* Tractat. VI. in Epist. B. Joan. † Theagees. ‡ Tract. IX. in Epist. B. Joan.

be the boast of the Abbot Engipius, whom the sixth age heard, whose vast compilation, arranged under upwards of three hundred heads, embraces in the first and last place the subject of charity as the beginning and the end of perfection. This is the conclusion to which all the wise, holy sentences, collected by that indefatigable Vincent, of Beauvais, will lead, who shows, that the whole of human duty is comprised in the twofold charity, which has for its object God and man.*

This is the sum of all the wisdom imparted to the angel of the school, who shows, that the perfection of the spiritual life consists essentially in charity ;† and this comprises all that sweet and subtle science which rendered Henry of Ghent, though impenetrable in solemn grandeur to the weak sight of modern observers, so dear to the great Christian Platonists of Florence in the sixteenth century, who learned from him to believe, that love is the plenitude and end of all the law, and of all the holy Scriptures.‡ Each scholastic philosopher, each mystic theologian, of the middle ages might use the poet's words, and say, "Count of me but as one who am the scribe of love ; for when he breathes, I take up my pen, and as he dictates, write." This, in short, all the faithful multitude that follow where the fisherman hath led, would repeat with one voice, We know nothing, except a little lesson of love. From this springs all our science, all our theology, all our religion ; for "Charity," as St. Bonaventura says, "compriseth all virtue, in the same manner as God containeth in himself all good." It is only as charity produces different effects, according to the occasions presented of opposing evil, or of embracing good, that it assumes different names and forms ; for, as St. Augustin says, "virtue is nothing but well-directed love, inducing us to love what we ought to love, and to hate what is worthy of hatred."§ "What is temperance," asks blessed Œlred, of Rivaux, "but love which no pleasure seduceth ? What is prudence but love, which no error enticeth ? What is fortitude but love, which endureth adverse things with courage ? What is justice but love, which composeth, by a certain charm, the inequalities of this life ?‖ What, in short, is the whole of Catholic religion but a certain little lesson of love ?" *Πλήν γε σμικροῦ τινος μαθήματος τῶν ἐρωτικῶν.* This, and nothing but this, was the lesson conveyed throughout all lands, even unto the ends of the earth, by the missionaries of Rome, where love sat enthroned and glorified, as if to verify, in latter days of grace, what had been predicted through the blind Pagans, when Eros, or Love, was the mysterious name of that city. Few, consequently, are the things of which the old instructors speak, as Alanus de Insulis observes, in his Summary of the Preacher's Art.¶ St. Bernard deemed that even letters became, in general, superfluous. "Quiescant a dictando ingenia," saith he, "labia a confabulando, a scriben-

* Vincent Bellov. Speculum hist. lib. xviii. c. 95. † S. Thom. Tract. de perfect. Christiana.
‡ Henrici Summ. Art. VIII. q. iii. f. 65.
§ S. Bonaventura, de sept. grad. vit. spiritual, cap. 28.
‖ Œlleuf Speculum Charitatis, lib. i. cap. 31.
¶ Alani de Insulis, Summa de Arte Prædicatoria, cap. 1.

do digiti, a discurrendo nuntii: non autem quiescant corda die ac nocte meditari in lege Domini, quæ est caritas."*

The scholastic philosophers say, that the gift of counsel brings the fifth beatitude; for, as St. Augustin remarks, the only remedy to preserve us from so many evils being to remit to others, and to give;† and utility being the end of counsel, the precept of mercy or charity is evidently what belongs to counsel. "By mercy," says St. Bonaventura, "man merits in this world grace, in death confidence, in judgment mercy, in heaven glory." There is no other utility but what is comprised here, and this is the end of the precept, according to St. Augustin; "for God," saith he, "showeth mercy to us, on account of his goodness, but we, in turn, show mercy to one another on account of Him: that is, He has compassion on us, that we may enjoy Himself; but we show compassion to one another, in order that we may enjoy Him; not that the great gain which is brought by charity was thought to entitle man to boast as if he owed the blissful consummation to himself." Recollect, reader, what was shown from history in the last book, and thou wilt be free from suspicion. By love divine, man was wholly immerged in the abyss of Christ's merits, and it was love which caused them to be applicable to him. As St. Bernard says, "charitas mercenaria non est, et tamen sine mercede non est."‡

The ages of faith, in relation to the beatitude of mercy or love, form an epoch clearly distinct from all others of which history speaks, though still in harmony with the voice of ancient tradition, and the deepest sentiment of original nature.

"Before the birth of love," Socrates says, "many fearful things took place through the empire of necessity; but," he adds, "when this god was born, all good things arose to men." We may remark, however, that the birth of love in philosophic fable was followed by no such universal happy effects, excepting in the song of poets, or the reveries of those who sought strength and consolation from their images. Cruel of heart were the children of men, merciless the strong, and without hope the weak, till this bright stranger, charity, came down from heaven to transform all things, and to destroy for the redeemed race that stern kingdom of which Plato spoke; stranger, of a truth, might she be called, amongst even the sages who had sung her praise; for to repay evil to an enemy, as well as kindness to a friend, entered into the ideal of justice, according to Simonides, whom Socrates calls a wise and a divine man, and who defined justice to be the rendering to every man his due;§ and stranger must she have been, too, in that renowned fellowship, whose generous friendship are consigned to everlasting memory; for if the Pythagoreans were known to treat those whom they loved as gods, they were at least accused of treating all other men as brutes. It is true, they used to evince

* Epist. XC. † De Serm. Dom. in Monte. ‡ De Doct. Christi, lib. i. 30.
§ De Repub. lib. i

friendship for one another, even without having ever seen each other; on the mere recognition of their peculiar sign. It is related, that a Pythagorean, making a long journey on foot, came to an inn, where he fell sick, and continued long on his bed to the great expense of the landlord, who provided him with everything needful. As the disease proved fatal, the dying man inscribed a certain symbol on a tablet, and told the landlord, in return for his humanity, to suspend that near the public way, and to watch if any one should stop to observe it; for that such a person would be sure to repay him. A long time after, a certain Pythagorean passed that way, and having observed the tablet, knew by the symbol what it meant; and after making inquiry, not only paid the innkeeper what he had expended, but presented him with a large sum beside.* This, however, resembled rather the spirit of the secret societies, as they are constituted in modern times, than the comprehensive charity which attended faith. It was, indeed, a magnificent and truly divine thought which we find expressed in the writings of Plato, "that all the sacrifices, and the things over which sacred science presided, and by which the Divinity unites himself with men, had nothing else for their object but the maintenance of love, and its application as a remedy.† Whether regarded as a tradition, or as the conception of a mighty soul, it excites astonishment, and somewhat of veneration: but there ends the prodigy; for if we open history in the hopes of finding some trace of its action, or some foundation for its support, in the deeds of men, we shall be utterly disappointed. It is, therefore, merely an isolated sentence,—a literary curiosity,—or, at the most, an evidence of the height to which one individual genius had soared in imagination, solitary in the tide of times.

The love of charity, which was the source from which so much good flowed to the human race during the ages of faith, was a grace imparted by the Catholic religion, divine, and so far from being identical with natural love, that the latter might exist without there being the least approximation made towards its acquirement. "When any creature loves another on account of something of its own, or if a creature love God on account of something else, then," said the philosophers of the middle ages, "all things are false; and this love is perfectly belonging to nature; for nature, as nature, can attain to no other love but this; for as nature, it loves nothing but itself.‡ "The natural life," said they, "when there is a cunning, agile, and fervent nature, is so multifarious and intricate; it seeks and finds, and that for its own sake, so many angles, falsehoods, and frauds, that it cannot be said or written. But whatever of divine love is in a deified or divine man, that is so simple, so right, and just, that it never can be explained or written, and it cannot even be known, unless where it exists. Where it does not exist, it cannot be believed or known." Raymund Jordan, celebrated under the name of Idiota, in his contemplations on the blessed Virgin, addresses her in these terms:

* Jamblich. de Pythagoric. vita. cap. 33. † Conviv. 13. ‡ Theologia Germanica, cap. 39.

—"Thou hast loved thy neighbor as thyself; thou hast loved him without regard to recompence, or to utility of any kind: but thou hast loved him cordially, because thou didst desire only that he might serve God, behold God, and possess eternal life."* That happiness required men neither to injure others, nor to be injured by them, was the saying of Plato,† who adds, that the former involved no difficulty; but how could he have been made to believe that the power of not being injured might be gained with equal facility, which, in fact, follows the reception of this divine gift of charity, according to which the very fact of being injured may be converted into a source of the greatest good, by the occasion which it offers of practising virtue?

It is difficult for the soul of man not to love something; it must of necessity be under the dominion of some one affection or other: but there is a difference, and an insurmountable opposition, between the inclinations, which it may obey. "The love of the flesh," St. Jerome says, "is conquered by spiritual love; the desires of the flesh are extinguished by those of the spirit: the diminution of the one becomes the increase of the other."‡

Men of the last century talked of philanthropy in a manner that proved they were far behind heathens in their discernment of moral relations. They pretended to love men, while they avowedly loved pleasure, riches, and glory; whereas the Gentile philosopher had shown the absolute impossibility of uniting such loves. "No one," saith Epictetus, "who is a lover of riches, or a lover of pleasure, or a lover of glory, can be at the same time a lover of men." Marsilius Ficinus, in his letter to Bernard Oricellario, seems to have before his mind the ideal of these hypocrites, when he asks, "Quoniam pacto potest insanus qui Deum odit, homines ullos, qui Dei imagines sunt, diligere?" Truly we are so constituted by nature that neither can love be virtuous unless it be religious, nor religion true unless received with love. The love which animated the ages of faith was so excellent in its nature, that, as St. Francis de Sales says, "Neither men nor angels could produce it of themselves: the Holy Ghost alone could enkindle its divine flames in the human breast." It was in the mysteries of faith that men of the middle ages learned to love each other; that warmth whose kindly force gave birth to flowers and fruits of holiness, enlivening the spirits of men contemplative, was all deduced from a divine light. For mark how the ancient ascetic traces it. "That men might become the children of God," says the author of the Manual ascribed to St. Augustin, "God condescends to become the child of man. Ah! who then any longer will be able to cherish any hatred against man, whose nature and resemblance he finds in the humanity of God? To hate him would be to hate God."§

All the ecstacies of Catholic devotion were to turn men as it were from the

* Idiota de B. Virgine, Pars xi. contemp. III. † De Legibus, lib. viii ‡ Epist. ad Eustoch § Cap. 26.

divine object of their adoration to practise love and mercy towards their fellow-creatures. "O how admirable is the love of our Lord for men," exclaims St. Theresa, "since the greatest service that they can render him, is to abandon him to procure advantages for one another!"

In the writings of the great theologians of the middle age we may remark occasions in which the exercise of charity is enforced in such a manner as might lead one to suppose that it would interfere with the natural and lawful desires consequent upon faith. Such is that passage in which the Master of the Sentences says, "We may wish that the saints should perfect their passion, on their account and on our own, though it is only by that of Christ we are redeemed; and we may wish them to be delivered from it. He who should have wished that St. Paul might decline his passion and escape the hands of the wicked, and this through the compassion of piety, would also have had a good will."*

St. Bernard speaks, in a very remarkable manner, of the order of charity. "Let us love," saith he, "in deed and in truth, because we may be more moved to deeds of mercy by a certain impulse of vivid truth than by the affection of that charity. He hath ordained charity in me, saith the text—which of these? Both, but in an opposite order; for the charity of deed prefers the inferior—that of affection the superior, things. For in a well-affected mind no doubt the love of God is preferred to the love of men—that of more perfect to that of weaker men—heaven to earth—eternity to time—soul to flesh. Yet in a well-ordered action, frequently or even always the opposite order is found; for we are more anxious and more often occupied respecting the care of our neighbor than the worship of God, and we attend to our weaker brethren with more diligent assiduity than to the more perfect; and we attend more to the peace of the world than to the glory of heaven, by a law and necessity of humanity; and through the disquietude of temporal care, we are scarcely permitted to feel any thing respecting eternal; and we are more employed about the weakness of our body than the care of our soul. So thus we make the last first, and the first last. Who doubts but that a man in prayer speaks to God? and yet how often are we interrupted by charity, and taken away on account of those who need our assistance or our conversation? How often doth a good conscience lay aside the book, to apply to work of the hands? How often, in order to administer earthly things, must I justly refrain from celebrating mass? The order is preposterous, but necessity hath no law. The charity of deed, therefore, fulfils its orders according to the command of the Father of the family, beginning from the last things,—pious, certainly, and just order, which accepteth not persons, nor considers the value of things, but the necessities of men."†

Inseperable, in fact, were the theological virtues; and therefore St. Augustin affirms,‡ "that if any one should fall from faith, of necessity he must also fall

* Lib. i. Distinct. xlviii. † In cantica, Serm. V. ‡ De Doct. Christ. lib i. cap. 37.

from charity; on which truth the whole of history is but a continued comment. Si à fide quisque ceciderit, à charitate etiam necesse est cadat." Ah, England! vessel without a pilot in tempestuous days, how clearly is this sentence verified in thee! when now thy living ones abide not without war, and one malicious gnaws another! How truly might one apply to thee the words of Dante!—

"Seek, wretched one, around thy sea-coasts wide;
Then homeward to thy bosom turn, and mark
If any part of thee sweet charity enjoy!'

Thou wouldst not talk of loving wholesome bitterness, to encourage thy vituperative scribes, if thou hadst rightly marked what the Apostle says; but now mayest thou see the consequences of revolt, which makes such division and such party rage as needs no labored phrase of mine to set it off.

Reader, I would not needlessly revive a theme that might seem to lead us into ways of accusation; but when it is a question of the charity of Catholic times, who for an instant can be insensible to the prodigious moral change which has taken place wherever there has been a renouncement or a diminution of the ancient faith? "God has done you a great favor," said the original author of the German Reform, addressing the inhabitants of Wittemberg, "and has given you the Word in all its purity; notwithstanding, I see no charity in you." "Our age," says another champion of the same opinions, "may seem sufficiently to have provided against the growth of idolatry in England: O that some order were taken for the increase of charity!"* Truly it was not so easy for them to find the concord of this discord, or to prevent their standard from being followed by a crowd of most impassioned admirers, resembling the Megarian poet, who longs impatiently to return to his country and be revenged on his political adversaries, whose blood he wishes to drink,

"Τῶν εἴη μέλαν αἷμα πιεῖν."†

While they whom one city or one house contained met with tongues so fierce conflicting, the dejected minstrel might demand,

"Can piety the discord heal,
Or staunch the death-feud's enmity?
Can christian love, can patriot zeal,
Can love of blessed charity?"

But it was evident, from the nature of the contest, that peace and the mercy of union were excluded. As Æschylus says, in the Agamemnon, "Pour oil in the same cup, and vinegar—in vain you will persuade the unsocial streams to mix." Witness the oil in the ascending movement of Catholicism, at the very time of the schism. In mystic vision God had spoken to the sainted advocate

* Fuller's Thoughts, 209.

† Theognis, 785.

of Sienna, and had said, "I will ordain the reformation of the holy church according to thy desire, not by the sword or the cruelty of war, but with pacific quiet, with the tears and labors of my friends whom I have appointed as laborers for your souls in the mystic body of holy mother church, offering to me continual prayer for the salvation of all men, and bearing the fruits of virtues, doctrine, and example towards men."* And such, in fact, was the progress—sweetly, insensibly, at first; without noise, without display, without the pride of science, without the parade of pompous words, humbly and powerfully, like the Gospel, did a St. Theresa, a St. John of the Cross, a Lewis of Blois, a St. Charles of Borromeo, turn the hearts of the evil and revolted spirits to the wisdom of the just. This was the oil, the love by which diabolic circumvention was avoided, and the carnal life excluded.† Witness the counteraction in the whole spirit and movement of the innovators. "I am proud and unpitiable," says the great German leader of Erfurt; "he that bites me shall be well bitten."

When such were the chief meteors, can we wonder at discovering the original or reflected color of those creatures which flocked and fluttered round them? Love was not in their looks, either to God or to each other. Wherever they passed, charity fled before them. The whole form and tone of society was reversed; mercy was stigmatized as prevarication, all pity choked with custom of fell deeds. Nor was this spectacle new to the church. In early ages the heretics even attacked the doctrine of mercy. The Pelagians, by accepting the apathy of the stoics,‡ undermined it as effectually as the disciples of the Porch, who called mercy a vice; so that, Tertullian says, the philosophers were their patriarchs; and on other grounds the Montanists and Novatians opposed it, denying the efficacy of penitence; for which inhuman opinion, as Eusebius terms it, and most alien from fraternal charity, Novatus was condemned by Cornelius and a council of Fathers.§ Still more direct was the hostility of the Manichæans to the doctrine of the blessed. St. Athanasius expressly says that there is no mercy with them, but that they deem compassion on the poor the work of an enemy; for which opinion, he attacks the Eusebian Arians.‖ The cruelty of the Manichæans was the result of the impious and absurd dogma of Manes, respecting the creation of flesh and bread by the evil principle, and the infusion of soul into them; so that, St. Augustin says, "While they believe that bread weeps, they will not give it to a man whom they see weeping;"¶ and elsewhere, "that though they should behold a man dying from hunger, they would forbid their disciples to give him bread, and would have more compassion on a cucumber than on a man."** But in all ages, whatever may be the error chosen by disobedient men, the mere fact of their wishing to destroy unity is decisive of the question.

"He who remains separated from the mystic body of Christ," says Lewis of

* S. Cath. Senensis, Tract. II. cap. 86. † Idiotæ Contemp. c.12.
‡ S. Hieron. ad Ctes. cont. Pelag. § Euseb. vi. 35. ‖ S. Athan. Ep. ad Solitar.
¶ Cont. Adimant. XI. ** De Mor. Man. ii. 16.

Blois, " does not live in God, and is not vivified by Christ, who is the head of the church. His works will profit him nothing, since he hath not charity; and he cannot have charity who divides the unity which is most dear to God and necessary to Christians. Although he should say a hundred or a thousand times that he had Christ for his foundation, he is deceived; he says what is not true: for he who deserts the body, deserts the head also; and it is impossible that he should have Christ for the foundation. The foundation of his faith is corrupt, and therefore whatever is built upon it must fall."*

"What would avail even sound faith," asks St. Augustin, "or the sound sacrament of the one faith, when the soundness of charity was destroyed by the deadly wound of schism? Men might talk of charity, but they could not possess it if they stood apart. Their own act of protestation was their own judgment. Diviserunt sibi vestimenta mea." "Hear, my brethren," adds St. Ambrose; "these vestments are his sacraments. The heretics have been able to divide them; but, there was another vestment which no one divided: there was, says the Gospel, a tunic without seam, woven from the top throughout. What is this tunic but charity, which no one can divide? What is this tunic but unity? They cast lots for it; no one divides it. The heretics have been able to divide the sacraments, they have not been able to divide charity; and because they could not divide it, they withdrew, and it remained entire. No one ravishes it from the Catholic Church; and if without the Church there should be any who begin to possess it, they re-enter with it into her bosom, as the dove with the olive branch into the ark."† They enter the Church in loving, like St. Augustin, and they pass from the militant to the triumphant Church, celebrating the praise of love, like the Count of Stolberg, with their last breath. If we compare, accordingly, the separate theologians who speak the most eloquently of the Almighty and of the love which is due to men, with those of the Catholic Church—as the Augustins, the Ephrems, the Gregories, the Bernards, the Francises, Dominicks, Ignatiuses, and others—whether eminent or obscure, whether in ancient or modern times, we shall at once discern the gulf which is between them. They all use the same expressions; but, as St. Francis de Sales remarks, "The words pronounced by these true lovers of the Almighty are enflamed and embalmed, if we may say so, with the delicious perfume of divine love; whereas, with the former, they are only cold expressions; which neither contain the force nor the sweetness of charity." In fine, wherever charity was found, the Catholic Church was found; for as St. Ambrose says, "Ubi perfecta charitas, ibi omnis fides."

Leaving, now, the gall for the sweet fruit this history promises, I find, at first, two things to notice—the doctrine of the ages of faith, and its external operation; the manner in which the divine principle of charity, was intellectually developed

* Ludovic. Blosius, Epist. ad Florentium.
† Enarrat. II. in Ps. 21
‡ S. Ambros. Epist. LXXIV.

or explained, and the visible fruits which sprung from it to the human race. Of the first, I have already briefly spoken; and little need be added here, since the whole moral teaching and philosophy of the middle ages may be said to be but a development and repetition of the one lesson of love which the Son of God bequeaths to men as the choicest inheritance. Every thing connected with the Catholic Church appertains to love, proceeds from love, terminates in love, and is, in fact, in its very essence, the ardor of love; so that on Holy Saturday, at the joyful opening of her glorious solemnities, after singing thrice allelujah, her only prayer is that God would infuse into us the spirit of his charity; thus implying that the sole object of the Paschal sacraments is the increase of love, to render concordant in piety those who are united in one faith. It matters not to which of her doctors or to what school we apply for information: there is but one dogma laid down with scientific precision, but one sentiment broadly and fervently expressed. There are some passages, however, which may deserve more especial notice, as placing the practical evidence and consequences of this great principle in a point of view singularly striking. Thus St. Odo, the second Abbot of Cluni, says, "There are many things which demonstrate that there are men constituted in the Church who are infidels." And to prove this, he adds, "For as Christ, through charity, came in the flesh, it follows that he who has not charity denies that he came in the flesh; and as they accept the persons of men, therefore they deny Christ and truth. Behold, after this, while in the eyes of men they may be Christians, if strictly estimated before God, they have no faith and no title to the name."* This is any thing but common-place declamation. A similar instance occurs in the writings of St. Zeno of Verona, where he says, "Let us emulate each other, O my brethren in love! Let our respect for the image of our God make known our gratitude to him: for let us be assured that the injury done to the image falls on Him whom the image represents; and man is the image of his Maker."† To the same effect speaks Raban Maur: "Omnis quippe homo, in quantum homo est, diligendus est propter Deum: Deus vero propter seipsum."‡ "Behold what is learned in the house of discipline," says another ancient author: "to love God, to love your neighbor—God as God, your neighbor as yourself." The austere recluse, whose life is spent in the rigors of penitence, has no other learning. "All virtue and all perfection," says St. Catherine of Sienna, "proceeds from charity, and charity is nourished by humility. The way of life is the way of common charity, observing the commandments actually and the counsels mentally."§ Blessed Macharius said that none could be clean of heart without being merciful to sinners; and with the same conviction St. Bernard remarks, that our Lord, in the order of beatitudes, places the merciful before the clean of heart; "For," he observes, "it is only after the exercise of

* Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 172.

† S. Zenonis, Tract. II. lib. i.

‡ Rabani Mauri De Institut. Clericorum, lib. iii. 4.

§ S. Cath. Senens. Tract. I. 63.

such charity that the human heart can be made pure, and enabled to see that truth for whose love it was content to bear the evils of others."* St. Chrysostom even says, that if virginity should want the works of mercy, it will be cast out with the impure.† We find the same lesson inculcated in all books of the middle ages that answered to our classical works for popular instruction, such as the Doctrinal of Wisdom, by Guy de Roye, Archbishop of Sens, of which a copy was placed by authority in every parish church of that city and diocese, in order that the curates of the said parishes might read two or three chapters to the people, if any one should express a wish to hear something from it, there being an indulgence to all who should read from it for others. Here we read, "Faith without charity is mortal sin."

St. Cæsarius of Arles remarks that however potent is the remedy of charity to heal the moral wounds, there is no man who may not procure it with the aid of God. "As for other good works," saith this guide of the fifth age, "there may perhaps be found an excuse where they are not practised; but there is no excuse where charity is wanting. Some one may say, 'I cannot fast,' but who can say, 'I cannot love?' One may say, 'Because of the weakness of my body, I cannot abstain from meat;' but who can say, 'I cannot love my enemies, nor pardon those who have offended me?' Let no one deceive himself, my dear brethren, for no one deceives God." Again, in reference to philosophy, mark the sayings of the middle age: "The fruit of science consists in charity," says Rabak Maur.‡ Whoever attains to the summit of wisdom, must of necessity attain to the highest point of charity; for no one is perfectly wise, unless he who perfectly loves—quia nemo perfecte sapit nisi qui perfecte diligit."§ Similarly, John Scot Erigena, showing that the end of philosophy can only be attained by the descent of divine wisdom and the ascent of the human intelligence, proves that both these means are the result of love. "For," saith he, quoting Maximus, "in proportion as the human intelligence ascends by charity, does the divine wisdom descend by mercy; and this is the cause and substance of all virtues."‖ "The law and doctrine of God," says St. Augustin, "however just and holy and good, nevertheless killeth, if the spirit doth not give life, by which it may be held not as if by reading, but by loving." In vain will the abundance of divine knowledge increase in us," saith Hugo of St. Victor, "unless the flame of divine charity likewise increase." How remarkable is it to hear the great philosophers of Italy, in the fifteenth century, declaring with Marsilius Ficinus, that they would rather praise benevolence or charity than genius!¶ They must have observed that the spirit of those first days of Christianity, when the Pagans used to be charmed on beholding the affection of Christians for each other, had been as it were embodied in the very ceremonial of the Catholic mysteries; for, as those cannot be aliens from love with whom is Truth, at those parts of the holy Mass where the priest

* De Gradibus Humil. 3. † Hom. 79. in. Matt. ‡ De Institut. Clericorum, lib. iii. 4.
§ Id. iii. 5. ‖ Joan. Scot. Erig. de Divisione Naturæ, lib. i. ¶ Mars. Ficin. Epist. lib. i.

has been reading in silence some celestial words which have elevated his soul to a great union with God, he turns round to the people and gives vent to the emotion which they have inspired by words of charity, praying that the Lord may be with them. And in fact, wherever the divine mysteries were celebrated, countenances were seen visibly proclaiming mercy, and that spiritual affection which is so beautifully expressed by Guy de Roye, Archbishop of Sens, in these words, at the conclusion of his Doctrinal de Sapience :—

"Although I am not good, I wish greatly that all others may be good. I should wish to be the worst of all men in the world, not that I should become worse, for I need lose nothing, but that all others should be better than myself." We had occasion to remark, in a former book, that in the common intercourse of life, a form of salutation indicating love was generally used during the middle ages, insomuch that we find the neglect of it in any instance denounced as arguing a barbarity below the manners of brute animals, who, as the universal doctor remarks, are always seen to rejoice on meeting any others of their kind, and to greet them as it were with familiarity.* When the cruel discords betweed Guelph and Ghibelline had caused a suspension of this practice in Italy, we find a John of Vicenza and other holy preachers insisting on its being resumed; so that not only in Lombardy, but in all the Italian provinces, it became again, we are told, the custom, as in other countries, for men on meeting to salute one another in the name of Jesus Christ; on observing which, an intelligent stranger might feel prompted to exclaim, like the Pagans of old, "See how they love one another!" Ah! the remark could never have been suggested in ages of faith—those ages of mercy, when there was so much more practical equality and freedom than ever can exist where infidels have sway,—See how they hate, and envy, and ridicule one another; for it was then frequently on earth as it will be hereafter eternally in the blissful seats, where the possession of good, as St. Augustin saith, "is in no manner lessened by the accession of partners;" and that possession, above all, was the object of desire, which the number of proprietors diminisheth not. "Give thanks to God," says Lewis of Blois, "for the perfection that you observe in other men. In this manner, delivered from envy, you will come by a divine charity to appropriate to yourself, in some degree, the goods of others."† The cause of all this was faith. From the very source of purest love there flowed daily into innumerable souls the grace which prompted the multitudinous works of goodness and pity; for who could approach the fountain of sweetness, and not bring back some degree of sweetness? Love, which came first through the ears, inspiring the hearts of the hearers, was an unquiet thing. Affliction had rest, temptation rest; but this knew no rest; for its object and its source were both infinite.

The character of mercy, in ages of faith, presents many especial points which should fix our attention, of which the first may be its universality. St.

* Alani de Insulis Sum. de Arte Prædicat. cap. 27. † Institut. Spirit. cap. 12.

Bernard assigns, as one reason to explain the words of St. Paul, that he saw the world crucified by the obligations of vices, and that he was crucified to it by the effect of compassion.* That is a comment which no one but a Catholic doctor would ever have suggested. The principle of choice was not admitted in the sphere of charity; for the Master of the Sentences shows the obligation of loving all men in God, either for being good or for having the capacity of goodness, because they might be good.†

This duty was seen in action, in the daring charity of a Robert d'Arbrissel, the great missionary of the eleventh century, and founder of Fontevrault, who used to penetrate into the impure abodes of vice, in order to announce to their wretched captives the mercy of God. On one of these occasions at Rouen, he received the following answer: "Twenty years have I been in this place, and no one has ever come to speak to me of Christ and his goodness; yet if I knew that these things were true—" That word, that half-uttered wish sufficed: he seized the happy moment, led forth the victims, conducted them to the retreat which he had opened in the desert, and made them pass from the cruelty of the demon to the mercy of Christ.‡

A similar act, imitating that abundant love of God which caused the blessed Son to descend into hell,§ forms the subject of a drama written by the nun Hroswitha, and acted by her sisters in the convent of Gandersheim, in the eleventh century. Abraham is the title of the play in which this occurs; but the details are only borrowed from a legend of the fourth century, written by St. Ephrem, deacon of Edessa. Pope Innocent III. addressed letters to all the faithful of Christ, reminding them that among the works of charity proposed to us by the authority of the sacred page, as the evangelical text witnesseth, not the least is to recall the erring from the path of his error, and especially to invite to the bonds of a legitimate marriage women living voluptuously in open flagitiousness; and declaring therefore, by authority, that all persons who should rescue women from such places, and enable them to become wives, would contribute to the remission of their own sins.‖ He writes to the consuls and people of Viterbo, to admonish them not to permit any one to trouble the daughter of a certain citizen by denying her legitimacy; since, although born previous to the marriage of her parents, they had subsequently been married, and therefore their former offspring ought to be reputed legitimate according to the canons.¶ To a scholastic desiring to be admitted to holy orders, and at the same time confessing that the sins of his parents form an impediment, the same pontiff, considering his literature and honest conversation, makes void by apostolical benignity the impediment arising from his birth, and grants him permission to proceed to sacred orders, and to obtain canonically ecclesiastical benefices.** "It is pride," says Guy de Roye, "to scorn re-

* Serm. VII. de Quadrag. † Lib. III. Distinct. 27.
‡ MSS. de l'Abbaye de Vaulx Cernay Bayle Fontevrault. § Idiotæ Contemp. VIII.
‖ Epist Innocentii, III. lib. i. 112. ¶ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. x. 109. ** Id. lib. xvi. 74.

lations on account of sin. The holy Evangelist is not ashamed to recognize four women that were sinners as of the lineage of our Lord, according to his human nature."* The distance is certainly immense between this voice of an Archbishop of Sens, in ages of faith, and the morality of drawing-rooms at present in countries that boast of social perfection; but the fact is, that nothing like Pharisaical severity can be detected in Catholic manners during the ages when every act in violation of the law of God subjected offenders to the censures of the church. Maria Longa, the illustrious widow of the chancellor of the kingdom of Naples, and foundress of the hospital of Incurables in that capital, used to repair to haunts impure, and remonstrate with the unhappy persons whom she found there, many of whom, by persuasions and benignity, she rescued from the jaws of the infernal pit; providing for them future subsistence, either as holy attendants in her hospital, or as virtuous mothers of families.

St. Chrysostom says, "that there is nothing οὕτω χαρακτηριστικὸν as mercy, nothing so powerful to imprint a character on the mind," and, in fact, even on the external form; for Catholic charity marks the forehead of such persons with a certain indescribable sign. As a living author also observes, something attractive, unknown to themselves, emanates from them. One of this mould is no sooner beheld than a magic charm surrounds him. The outcasts and weak victims of disordered life love him at first sight, and lay hold of his mantle; they supplicate him with joined palms to return, and cry out, "Save us." And were he to pass on without seeming to regard their misery, they would be seized with terror, and convinced that the figure before their eyes was not him in reality, but a spirit and deluding phantom. As the disciples thought that night, when overtaken by the tempest, and seeing their Master approaching, they plied their oars with greater vigor, being consoled and encouraged; but when he wished to pass by them, they were thrown into dismay, and exclaimed that it was a spectre; for as they knew what was the humanity and compassion of his mind, they were convinced that, had it been indeed their sweet Master, he would never have left them thus to perish in the angry waves.‡

It is clear, also, from innumerable passages in the histories and other books of the middle ages, that there was a desire to imitate to the letter the example of the Deity in that attribute of which the Church speaks, where she says, "The mercy of man is towards his neighbor, but the mercy of God is upon all flesh."

The ancients, in punishing cruelty to birds and beasts, expressly declared that they sought not to vindicate the animal, but to condemn a vice which might be dangerous to the republic. Their acts, therefore, bore no resemblance to the tenderness of Catholic men in ages of faith, who deemed no creature of God unworthy of a participation in the effects of their good-will. Behold a most attractive pic-

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience.
‡ Cresolii Anth. Sacra.
† Annales Capucinorum, an. 1542
§ Quintil. v. 9. Phot. Cod. 279.

ture which Alexander Hesse has lately presented to those who visit the gallery of the Louvre! The scene is at Florence, as we infer from the towers of the old ducal palace which are seen in the back ground. A group of persons is formed around a bird-catcher, who is reckoning money. A young man of noble form, in graceful attire, is opening the door of a cage from which a bird is escaping. Some empty cages are at his feet. The elder spectators are regarding what passes with looks of calm meditation that announce thoughts far beyond those of the young admirers, who with infinite delight are watching the birds as they fly round their deliverer. This man of mercy is Leonardo de Vinci, who used frequently, as Vasari relates, to purchase birds in cages for the sake of restoring them to liberty. When the streets of cities beheld such scenes, what might not have been witnessed in the retreats of the religious? The reader will be able to judge from remembering the instances before given as illustrating the manners of the meek. St. Francis of Asisium has been seen employed in removing worms from the road, that they might not be trampled by travellers, considering that our Divine Redeemer compared himself to a worm of the earth, and also having compassion on the creatures of God. "Going to New Alexandria," says Sophronius, "we found Abbot John, who had spent eighty years in that monastery, so full of charity that he was pitiful also to brute animals. Early in the morning he used to give food to all the dogs that were in the monastery, and would even bring corn to the ants, and to the birds on the roof."* "These," says St. Francis de Sales, "are the admirable effects of a goodness and simplicity which the world cannot comprehend, but which nevertheless display a profound wisdom inspired by charity." In the modern school they would be deemed beneath notice; yet how many understood and valued them even as titles to canonization in the ages which have been called barbarous. But it is with generations as with men individually: according to the remark of Marsilius Ficinus, "the stupid are more cruel than the ingenious." What a sublime instance of this mercy is furnished by the bulls of sovereign pontiffs, attaching the penalty of excommunication, and all its eternal consequences affecting the immortal souls of the reasonable creature, to the cruelty which is practised in those combats of animals which the Spaniards had persisted in celebrating from the days of Paganism! Pius V. declared that an attendance at such sanguinary spectacles was incompatible with the mercy of a Christian, and that whoever fell in such combats should be considered an apostate, and buried like the beasts whom he had tormented.

The love which was associated with faith did not consist in mere empty protestations, like the universal philanthropy of which the last century heard so much and felt so little. "I love you," says St. Ambrose, "as it you were my own sons; for nature is not more vehement in loving than grace. Yea, rather, we ought certainly to love more those whom we believe will be with us for ever

* Pratum Spirituale, cap. 184.

than those with whom we are only in this present world." That such views were realized, we can learn from the very tombs of the middle ages; for on that of Faledro, Duke of Venice in the eleventh century, which is in the Church of St. Mark, we read these lines :–

> " Cunctaque jucunde faciens, dans semper abunde,
> Ut fieret plenus quicunque veniret egenus;
> Plus quoque longinquos refovens quam carne propinquos."*

Although to the efficacy of this divine love Christian history bears evidence in almost every page, it will not be without use to hear it attested by the ancient writers. To show this, they appeal to the stupendous mysteries of faith, the incarnation and death of Christ; for love caused God to die. "What more violent than love?" cries St. Bernard. "It triumphs over God; and yet what less violent, since it is love?" "When under the influence of love, every act of man," says Richard of St. Victor, "seems to him useless, nay intolerable, unless it can concur and conduce to the one end of his desire. If he can enjoy what he loves he thinks he has all things; without it, all things seem detestable, all things vile. Nothing can satiate the desire of his ardent mind: he thirsts and drinks, and yet by drinking he does not extinguish his thirst; but the more he drinks the more he thirsts. Who can worthily explain the violence of this supreme degree of charity? Who is there that penetrates deeper into the heart of man, that impels it with more vehemence?"†

St. Francis of Sales does not disdain to seek an illustration of divine love in the writings of Plato, whose very language he adopts, following St. Augustin, who shows that the term love has been rendered as sacred by the word of God as charity, and the great St. Denis, who also approves of it expressly in his treatise on divine names. In fact, the principle of that harmony in the social order, which was remarked in a former book, cannot be better represented than in the words of Socrates, where he argues that love must have been born in later times, since those hold events among the gods of violence and chains which are related by Hesiod and Parmenides, and which belong to the reign of necessity; for if love had then ruled, we should never have heard of such dreadful things, but all would have been friendship; since love brings union and joy to men, and causes *εἰρήνην μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώποις, πελάγει δε γαλήνην*. What more Catholic than his doctrine that the four cardinal virtues are included in love; and that love, being itself the best and most beautiful of things, is also the cause of whatever else is beautiful and good? "This," saith he, "causeth us to abound in friendly alliances, fraternities, and to agree with one another; being our guide in festivities, extending gentleness and mildness, and banishing all savage barbarism. For love," he continues, "is liberal of beneficence *φιλόδωρος εὐμενείας*, but sparing of enmity, *ἄδωρος δυσμενείας*—the father of tenderness, of delicacy, of

* Splend. Ven. in Thes. Antiq. Ital. V. † Tractat. de quatuor gradibus violentæ Charitatis, I.

splendor, of grace, of desire, studious of all good, neglectful of all evil. In labor, in fear, in longing, in discourse, a guide, a companion, a helpmate; and the best of saviours, the ornament of men, the best and most perfect ruler, to whom every man should yield obedience, chanting the sweetest hymns."

To what cause would you ascribe the generous acts of self-devotion recorded in the annals of Catholic ages, if not to that which even the Gentile sage would allege as alone capable of producing them. Love?—"They only," saith he, "who love are willing to die. And of this Alcestis, the daughter of Peleus, was an evidence to the Greeks, who desired to die alone for her husband; which devotion seemed so admirable not only to men, but even to the gods, that they gave her many and great gifts as a reward, and amongst them not only what they never gave but to a number easily counted, to return alive from Hades, but also in reality to lead back the soul of him whom she went to seek; but Orpheus the son of Œager they sent back from Hades without having gained his object: showing him only the phantom of his wife, for whom he came, but not giving her real person, because he seemed to be half-spirited and effeminate, being a harper, and not to have courage to die for love like Alcestis, but to be intent on contriving how he might enter Hades alive; therefore they awarded him this punishment, and caused him to die through means of his wife, not honoring him like Achilles, the son of Thetis, whom they sent to the islands of the happy, because being told by his mother that he would die if he should kill Hector, but not killing him, that he should return home and live to old age, he dared nevertheless, bearing assistance to his friend Patroclus, and avenging him, not only to die for him, but die upon his dead body; and the gods more highly honored Achilles even than Alcestis, since him only did they send to the islands of the happy, because the love which made him so dare was purely affection of the mind, and divine, and unconnected with the senses."*

Can any language lay bare more completely the true principle of those exalted achievements of which all Catholic story rings? Or how could we exhibit in a more striking manner the contrast which really exists between the Catholic spirit and that which emanates from every other rule? Consider the manners of the ages of faith, keeping this imagery of Plato in view, and you will find that which he faintly discerned, calling it the spirit of Alcestis and of Achilles every where. It is this which rendered possible all their institutions, which are now said to be impossible. Look around you, and what do you observe but the spirit of Orpheus whom Plato styles a jongleur? It is not the voluntary and complete offering of a whole heart which is presented, but it is a spirit curious and knowing rather than loving, through which men stand to inquire whether the doing this or that will send their souls to hell; contriving, seeking half-measures, and selfish even in its dictates that would pass for generous.

* Conviv. cap. 6. 7.

To Plato again we might refer with advantage, when observing the connection between the love of the blessed merciful and that wondrous development of the arts, as well as that acute and active intelligence, which characterized the ages of faith; for he remarks that not only in fortitude does love equal Mars, but that in prudence and wisdom it excels equally; since it is to that men owe the inventions of art;—an assertion which could only have been the result of speculation in him, for it was not verified until the commencement of an era that he did not live to see, but to which the experience of Catholic ages would lead all men to assent, although it is in contradiction to that of our modern civilization, which can boast indeed of many surprising inventions, without the possibility of raising a question whether they can be traced to cupidity, or, like those which glorified the ages of faith, to the agency of divine love. Similarly in relation to the inheritance of the meek, we might explain, with Plato's assistance, why during those ages a larger portion of mankind participated in the enjoyment of the Muses; for he shows that every one under the influence of love becomes a poet. In like manner, we might appeal to his discernment in proof that it was love which made men hunger and thirst after justice. "What love desires," saith he, "must be something which it does not possess; since it is the nature of all desire to seek what is not actually enjoyed: therefore love, always desiring beauty, of which justice is the highest kind, cannot be itself beautiful; and always desiring goodness, must be wanting in goodness: not that it is evil, which would be an impious suggestion; for it is not necessary that what is not beautiful should be vile, or that what is not wise should be ignorant;—ὅτι ἔστι τι μεταξὺ σοφίας καὶ ἀμαθίας, which is ἡ ὀρθὴ δόξα. Therefore love holds a middle place between perfection and imperfection; it is something between pure and vile, good and evil, mortal and immortal, divine and human." "Love," he observes, "is poor; it goes barefoot, it reposes on the ground, it is like a beggar who is stretched at the door of a house." What could better explain the mystery of the lives of many holy men in ages of faith? Was it not love which induced the great St. Francis to embrace such perfect poverty, and to leave such rules of poverty to his order? Was it not love which, after reducing St. Francis Xavier to extreme indigence, inspired him to set out for the new world, to travel through the Indies and Japan, clothed in the tattered garments of a beggar? Was it not love which induced St. Charles Borromeo to practise the most strict poverty amidst the immense riches attached to his high birth and to his dignities of cardinal and archbishop? so that Panigarole compared him to a dog which in its master's house eats only bread, drinks only water, and sleeps upon straw.

The conviction of men during the ages of faith, respecting the happiness resulting from this divine possession, cannot be better expressed than in the very words of the same philosopher, who says, "Love is the remedy for those things, from the cure of which the greatest happiness results to the human race."*

* Conviv. cap. 14.

O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos Amor,
Quo cœlum regitur, regat![*]

This, they would infer, is that fire, without which all the gifts of creation had been useless to men.† "Si dederit homo omnem substantiam domus suæ pro dilectione, quasi nihil despiciet eam." "Let every man ask his conscience," says Richard of St. Victor, "and doubtless he will find that as nothing is better, so nothing is sweeter than charity.‡ There is this difference," he observes, "between the delights of charity and those of wisdom; that the latter can be drawn from one's own heart, but the intimate delights of charity are drawn from the heart of another; for he who greatly loves, and desires equally to be loved, is not so much delighted as anxious to draw that sweetness of love for which he thirsts from the heart of the one he loves; but the delights of wisdom are so much the more delightful, as they are drawn from one's own heart."§ "True," says he, elsewhere, "charity woundeth, charity enslaveth, charity maketh weak, charity bringeth defect; but in so doing, it only conferreth the greater felicity. O quam male fortis est, quem tot charitatis vincula tenere non possunt. O quam male liber est, quem hujus captivitatis jura non involvunt."‖

CHAPTER II.

THE charity of the blessed merciful in ages of faith, was beheld in the twofold operation of refraining them from evil, and of prompting them to works of love, in reference to which history is not silent, as the subsequent pages of this book, will, I believe, abundantly demonstrate. The necessity which urged them to undergo this action, is represented by those who guided them as constituting the last of those burdens spoken of by the prophet Isaiah, styled the burden of the beasts of the south, of those who carry the south wind, "which signifies," saith blessed Ælred, "the Holy Spirit, by whose impulse their happy souls are impelled and directed hither and thither, carrying the burden of the south, of the Spirit, that is the charity of God;" which was the burden that Paul sustained, when he said, "quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor?" and again, "Tristitia mihi magna est, et continuus dolor cordi meo pro fratribus meis secundum carnem." The men whom we are about to behold will be seen, therefore, loaded with many burdens,—loaded with the infirmity of others,—

* Boeth, Lib. II. 8. † Plat. Protagoras. ‡ De Trinitate. I. Lib. iii. 3. § Id.
‖ Id. Tractat. de quatuor gradibus violentæ Charitatis.

loaded with the necessity of others,—loaded with the perversity of others. We shall behold them carrying as their burden the hunger of the poor, the oppression of the weak, the misery of the sick, the temptation of the prosperous, the calamity of the fallen. They are loaded with the tribulation of the people, the desolation of orphans, the tears of widows, the affliction of captives. They fulfil the law of Christ, by bearing the burdens of their brethren. What is that burden? Truly the infirmities of their manners, and of their bodies.*

Love being in the heart, the root of all evil was cut off at once; and, therefore, whatever effects we shall hereafter witness, will be nothing but the natural consequence of that first cause; but it will be well, in the beginning of our inquiry, to consider that which is said by Truth itself to come immediately out of the abundance of the heart, and to attempt to show from history, that what the mouth spoke, indicated the possession of a divine beatitude; for though nothing seems more volatile, and less capable of being fixed in chronicles, than the familiar speech of men, the conversations of the middle age are, notwithstanding, in respect to charity, subject perfectly within the reach of historical investigation.

Not without serious cause, and deep mystery, say ancient writers, did Christ, when about to cure the deaf and dumb, groan so deeply; for, considering the number of evils to which the use of the tongue and ears are liable, without doubt he had regard to the dangerous nature of the benefit which he was going to confer. How can those who have an upright heart be put to death, according to what is said in the Psalm?† "It is by scandal," adds Origen, "and by relating it. A man enters into the Church of Jesus Christ with all the simplicity of innocence, and the desire of affecting his salvation; but if this new brother should remark either in the actions or words of those who are more ancient than himself in the faith, any thing in formal opposition to the faith, or if he should hear it remarked by others, soon his weakness gives way to this scandal; he falls, and his fall is the work of those who gave and published this scandal; and when fallen, he is truly put to death: all principle of life escapes from his soul; it is dead; and his blood will fall upon those who have shed it."‡ How deeply this sin was considered in the middle ages, may be learned from the discourse of S. Bernard, upon what he styles the execrable lust of detraction, and of hearing detraction. "Remark," he says, "how easily the swiftly running word can infect a great multitude of souls with the stain of this malice. The feet of such men are swift to shed blood, as swift as the word flies. It is one individual who speaks, and only to one person, and yet that one word, in a moment, will slay innumerable souls. You may see some emitting only deep sighs, and this with gravity, and with a sad countenance, uttering malediction; so much the more plausible, as it seems to proceed unwillingly, and from a sympathizing, condoling heart. I grieve, he will say, for I love him much;—and another, I knew it well, and would never disclose it, but

* D. Ælrædi Serm. in Isaiæ, cap. 13. † Ps. xxxvi. 14. ‡ Origen. Hom. on Ps. iii.

since others have published it abroad, I cannot deny the fact. I say it in sorrow, but it is too true. A great misfortune, truly, it is; for he can act so well, and do so much good in other respects." "Detractors are hateful to God," saith the Apostle; "and it is not wonderful, since that vice is especially opposed to charity, which is God."* Scandal, which thus inflicts death on the souls of men, flies with the rapidity of winged arrows; and Plutarch might refer to this, in alluding to the Homeric expression. *"Επεα πτερόεντα."* "Wondrous, truly, and pitiable it is," says Richard of St. Victor, "that such a noble creature, made in the image of God, and preferred above all his works, at a slight word, a whisper, a stroke of the air, should be violently bent from the state of its rectitude, and afterwards driven about, hither and thither, as in a whirlwind."† Even independent of the eternal woe, these writers remark, that the temporal injury inflicted by detraction is beyond estimation, and that the hearer suffers equally with the speaker; for by destroying our love and reverence for other men, he deprives us of one of the chief intellectual pleasures reserved for our nature. "The demons urge us," says St. John Climachus, "either to sin, or to judge those who sin;" ‡ and that, too, without being, perhaps, aware of our own guilt; for, as Cardan remarks, "Loquacem qui fateatur, neminem invenias: qui lapsus sit verbo, infinitos."§ Interrogate each of these uncharitable speakers, and you will understand how truly said Truth, "Et cœperunt simul omnes excusare." Drexelius wrote an admirable book on the vices of the tongue, against which men were assiduously warned by teachers of the middle ages. "Those who speak evil of others are excluded from the kingdom of God, according to the Apostle;"‖ and what shall we say, then, of those who call their neighbor wicked, envious, rash, proud? This is the remark of St. Chrysostom in his treatise on compunction, addressed to Demetrius.¶ "It is the moment of a feast, too," say these writers, "which is generally selected; it is then that we imitate the wicked man, that sat and spake against his brother; not like David, who said, 'in transitu,' all men are liars, but who sat, a sad, solemn, premeditate, and deliberate posture, that his malice might have a full blow."

Reader, we are not precisely entering upon ground already explored on a former occasion. It is true, we observed that the tone of intercourse in all societies which are not Catholic, wants meekness: but what we have to remark here is, that it wants mercy. The acute and frank Cardan makes a strange confession. "Among my vices," saith he, I acknowledge one great and singular, that I never say any thing more willingly than what will displease the hearers; and in this I persevere, knowingly and willingly, though I am not ignorant how many enemies this alone gains for me, such is the force of nature, joined to long custom!"** Great, he might well term it, but excepting among a people of faith, far from singular

* S. Bernardi in Cantica, Serm. xxiv. † De statu interioris hominis, Lib. i. c. 9.
‡ Grad. X. § Prudent. civilis, cap. 84. ‖ 1 Cor. vi. ¶ Lib. i. cap. 2.
** Hieron. Cardan. de Vita propria, cap. 13.

vice; for it is so essentially a disposition of our fallen nature, that nothing but the supernatural influence of Catholicism can effect a complete cure. When that has not been applied, every one,—the school-boy,—the collegian,—the senator,—the man of drawing-rooms,—the lounger in public places,—the young and old,—the noble and plebeian,—all are Cardans in that respect, and might truly make the same confession, if they had his honesty. Are you about to visit a country where Luther, or Calvin, or Cranmer, or Jewell, are the names in most repute? where there is no such thing heard of by youth or age as confession?—that is, in short, where the mysteries and light of faith have been removed with the discipline of Rome? Then learn to stand constantly on your guard against malice, and the shrewdness of ill-natured criticism, and the spirit which triumphs in humiliating others, and in spoiling, by one cunningly devised blow, their day or hour of festivity. Lay aside the feeling of innocent freedom with which you had been accustomed to conduct yourself in those Catholic lands, where men were taught, from boyhood, in the words of St. Antony, "that there was no greater impiety than causing grief of any kind to others;"* where every one, young and old, rich and poor, looked and spoke as if he joyed in kindness, and were so averse to whatever could interrupt it, that, as we read of Andrew Doria, he would desist from supporting his own cause, though convinced of its justice, rather than seem to seek praise by an obstinate disputation.† You are now with men of a different type, who have revived the old civilization. The spirited and burning retort is here thought, not merely by the openly profane, but by the grave and formal, too, as characteristic of a noble nature, and every one is ready to reply, in the style of Plautus, to the unintentional offender, "Tu contumeliam alteri facias; tibi non dicatur? Tam ego homo sum quam tu." Here you will find, as occurrences of every day, such scenes as those you read about, more proper for a tragedy than a history, which once seemed rare and matchless, as at Padua, when the house of Limina, which had been ennobled by many saints, beheld the mutual slaughter of two brothers, arising not from premeditated wickedness, but from a jest: the one wishing he had as many oxen as the stars that were then shining over their heads, as they walked in the court of their palace, and the other replying, that he wished his lands were as wide as that field of sky, and asking then "where should they feed?"—hearing, instantly, "on your lands;" and then exclaiming, "without my consent?" and when "even so," was the rejoinder, neither yielding to the other, both drawing their swords, and incurring death.‡ Even where such deeds follow not, there is still a secret, and in heart most merciless, war maintained: all is hollow beneath your feet. These smiles and salutations are like those of the third Henry, of whom the Italian poet said,

"Si cui dixit, Ave, fuit hoc ut ab hoste cavendum."

* Serm. S. Antonii.

† Sigonii de Reb. Gest. And. Doriæ, Lib. ii.

‡ Bern. Scand. de Antiq. Pat. Lib. iii. 13.

In spirit, if not in deeds, it is again an all-hating world. Neither genius nor experience has compensated for the loss of the charity of faith: they have only formed the character which the poet describes:—

"The pride, but not the fire of early days,
Coldness of mien, and carelessness of praise,
And that sarcastic levity of tongue,
The stinging of a heart the world hath stung,
That darts in seeming playfulness around,
And makes those feel that will not own the wound."

The remedy which secured human life from these wounds in ages of faith, was wholly indeed derived from a divine source; but it is no less true, that many practices were instituted expressly to guard against them. The horror which such dispositions excited during the middle ages, gave rise even to certain customs, which have often been remarked as belonging to feudal manners. It is curious to find men, merely from observing that six guests could change their relative positions at table seven hundred times, leading themselves and others to reflect how many permutations of evil by the tongue might occur during the time.* The sophist, in Plato, maintains, that it was owing to the want of ability in conversation, that the custom arose with barbarous people of having music and poetry at their banquets; "for they hire," said he, "foreign sounds at a great price; but wherever the men that he admires, καλοὶ κἀγαθοὶ, met to feast in company, one never saw these players on flutes, or poets, but they were sufficient," he observes, "to entertain each other with their own voices, saying and hearing things decorously, κἂν πάνυ πολὺν οἶνον πίωσιν."† We need not at present go back to the days of Plato in search of persons who are as competent as these Athenians to entertain each other with their own voices, where there is no knowledge or remembrance of the judgment that awaiteth every idle, and consequently every suspicious, critical, detracting, calumnious, uncharitable word: but, as during ages of faith, the sense of this future day of reckoning excluded an extensive category of topics, it was found advisable, on many occasions, to return to the discipline of the barbarians, though, no doubt, from widely different motives, and to ordain that sacred readings or music should be a constant attendant on the banquet. Besides this, it was common, not alone in monasteries and bishops' houses, but in castles and secular dwellings, to inscribe lines, deprecating a breach of charity, over the table at which the guests were seated. Thus Sfondrati, the cardinal abbot of St. Gall, so late as in the seventeenth century, caused to be written on the walls of his dining room the words which had been inscribed by St. Augustin over his own table:—

"Quisquis amat dictis absentum rodere famam,
Hanc mensam vetitam noverit esse sibi."‡

* Drexelii de Universis Vitiis Linguæ, cap. 41.

† Plat. Protagoras.

‡ Ildefons. von Arx. Geschichte des S. Gall. iii.

We have had occasion, repeatedly, in the preceding books, to notice the solicitude of persons in the middle ages, like the mother of Guibert de Nogent, to profit by the warning of ascetic guides, and to refrain from criticizing the character of the absent. Those moralists allowed of no distinctions, but said, broadly, from the beginning, with Thomas à Kempis, "You will never be devout, and one of the interior life, unless you resolve to be silent respecting others, and attentive only to yourself." The angelic woman, who profited by these lessons, in themselves secure of censure, yet at bare report of others' failing, shrinked with maiden fear; and they who heard of profanation, or abuse of holy things, were able, merely by their altered hue and looks of pity, to put to silence the intemperate speaker. It is, in truth, most curious, from the details in the ancient books, to trace the operation of charity in the conversational interecourse of life during the middle ages. Sir Thomas More, whenever he heard detraction or criticism of the absent, used to interrupt the conversation, saying, "Let every one declare his opinion, but I affirm this house to be well built;" and thus he either corrected or disturbed the calumniator.* He had well meditated on the text which induced St. Bernard to say, "whether to detract, or to hear a detractor, be more damnable, I cannot easily determine."† "I always had this thought present with me," says St. Theresa, "that I was never to wish nor to say anything of any creature, that I would not have them say of me. Hence, it was generally understood, that wherever I chanced to be, all absent persons were safe." Thanks to the charity inspired by the Catholic religion, in no modern language was there even a word to express that practice which Pericles ascribes to the Lacedæmonians; *τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὑποψίαν*—that daily malicious and suspicious scrutiny of the actions of one another in private.‡ The roots of mercy and indulgence lay very deep in the minds of men: witness the act of that brother Bernard, a monk of the Cistercian order, who hung up in his cell a picture of a profligate libertine, and wrote under it, "The portrait of Brother Bernard;" and who replied to the father master of the novices, who asked him how he came to give himself such a character, that it was from his conviction, that if the grace of God had not preserved him, he would have committed all the crimes of this person, having in himself the source and principle of them all.§ "From vices in every manner he fled," says the ancient chronicle of Ansigisus, abbot of Fontanelle; "but to other men he was neither a morose censor, nor a curious investigator."‖

The care with which men of blessed mercy avoided charging others with any fault, is very conspicuous in the old literature. St. Bernard, having written to Peter the Venerable, complaining that he had not replied to his letters, the latter excuses himself, saying, "The cause of delay arose from the bearer, who, not finding

* Drex. de Univ. Linguæ, cap. 18. † De Consideratione, Lib. ii. c. 13. ‡ Thucydid. Lib. ii. c. 37.
§ Relations de la Mort de quelques Religieux de la Trappe, tom. ii. 189.
‖ Chronicon Fontanellense apud Dacher Spicileg. tom. iii.

me at Cluny, though I was not far off, being only at Marciniac, neglected to bear or send them to me; but lest I should seem to accuse a good-man, I believe that he was either prevented by some business, or afraid to attempt the journey, in consequence of the extreme severity of the weather at that time; for I was detained myself during a month by the snow."* I cite instances from the cloister, because the monastic type, in respect to charity, was that which directed manners in all societies of the epoch, that sought to merit the character of Christian; and I cannot let this occasion pass, without observing, that it is this spirit, perhaps more than anything else, which distinguished Catholic manners from those which prevailed in countries that have abandoned the unity of faith. Other travellers, after visiting Italy, may describe her rich and majestic cities, her beautiful villas, her odoriferous shores, her enchanting lakes; may describe the enthusiasm of her people for the arts, and their inexhaustible provision for all that can ennoble and adorn the human existence; I will commemorate only the charity which reigns there. This was the great novel and distinctive phenomenon of a moral order which attracted my attention. Many English travellers in Spain and Portugal have represented a similar observation, as the most grateful result of their travels. In fact, nothing can be more striking: it comes gradually before you, but in the end, it leaves an impression indelible. Now this spirit of private society, in such countries, cannot consistently with an accurate observation of facts, be ascribed to their geographical position according to the suggestion of certain celebrated writers, who seem to regard all amiable dispositions as inseparable from a southern latitude. No. Such language, however it may pass with some for philosophical, is nothing but sheer absurdity. It is not climate, or nature, which has formed this master of a family, this mother, these sons and daughters, these devout and joyous families, every member of which is so loving and so humble, while surrounded, perhaps, with riches, and having, at the command of their imagination, a thousand associations, the least of which would be sufficient to fill the breasts of others with an ineffable pride, and to dictate expressions of a truly insane arrogance. It is faith, grace divine, which has made them; it is the charity of Jesus Christ which has produced this supernatural society, in which men of all degrees are found, as St. Augustin says, serving the Lord in gladness: "not in the bitterness of murmuring and of judging, but in the sweetness of love."†

We before had occasion to remark the influence of poverty of spirit upon the writers of the middle ages; and to what interesting conclusions might we come, if we were to inquire what was the influence of charity upon literature? Alas! these men of blessed mercy almost esteemed it dangerous presumption to record the virtues of the just: what would they have thought of criticizing and condemning them? "To us, sitting in the narrow corner of a cell," says St. Peter Damian, in the prologue to his life of St. Romuald, "it seemed more useful to recall assidu-

* Epist. ccxxix. † Tractat. in Ps. xcix.

ously to the eyes of the mind our own sins, rather than compose the history of other men's virtues: it is more expedient to weep for the darkness of faults committed, than to render obscure, with unskilful words, the splendid deeds of sanctity." This was according to St. Bernard's wish; "God grant that I may enjoy peace of soul, the sweetness and repose of a good conscience, the spirit of mercy, simplicity, and charity towards my neighbor, the gift of rejoicing with those that rejoice, and of weeping with those that weep; and I desire nothing else. All the rest I leave to the apostles, and to men truly apostolical: the tops of the mountains serve for a retreat to stags, but the holes of the rocks to hedge-hogs."*

Walafrid Strabo apologizes for the warm and indignant language used by Theganus, when describing the ingratitude and baseness of the ministers who had been slaves before they were raised to the highest offices by the emperor Louis the Pious, against whom they so impiously rebelled, and remarks, that it must be ascribed to his affection for that emperor, to his excessive love for justice, and to the force of his natural zeal; being of noble birth, and having a most ardent mind, which was exasperated at beholding the insolence of men against the indulgent master, who had raised them from a servile state to honors.† The monk asks indulgence for the man born to arms, and the office of nobility. The words of St. Gregory, in his reply to Felix, a Sicilian bishop, had been a law to society during ages of faith. "Let no clerk or layman rashly reprehend bishops or superiors, even though he should see them act in a manner reprehensible. The deeds of bishops, however deserving of censure, are not to be struck with the sword of the tongue, lest, whilst convincing them of evil, other men by a consequent impulse of pride, should be precipitated into the abyss." At the same time, there is nothing more striking in the manners of the middle ages than the diligence with which all abuse of authority was provided against, the severity with which vices were denounced by holy men, and the docility with which such correction was received. The tenth sermon of Ælred,‡ addressed to the monks of Rievaulx, contains the most severe reproof of the manners of monks at that time and it ends with these words, "video vos adhuc ad plura audienda avidos, sed parcite jam prolixo sermone fatigato."

No class of society, in our times, would tolerate a writer, who should attempt to expose its defects with the freedom which was then regarded as not only excusable, but laudable. In fact, every one knew that charity was evinced more in admonitions, and even reproof, than in panegyric.

The secular clergy of the twelfth century beheld themselves attacked, in the most unsparing terms, by Alanus de Insulis. If only the thousandth part of what he alleges were to be published by an ecclesiastic of our days, he would be inevitably set down as a dangerous and most suspicious character. What a contrast to ages of faith! This clergy of the twelfth century, so far from turning upon

* Serm. xlviii. sup Cant. † Thegani de Gestis Ludovic. Pii, Præfat. ‡ On Isaiah xii.

the author who thus treated them, conferred on him, by general consent, the title of Universal Doctor. It is true, there was no possibility of mistaking the motive of the ancient monitors, whose rule had always been conformable to the golden words of Melchior Canus:—"I spare names," says that Spanish theologian, "since the judgment of this place is concerning manners also, and not erudition alone, in which censure may be more free; for as to manners, censure ought certainly to be more cautious in regard to the living, and more reverential with relation to the dead."* When obliged to speak of the public guilt of individuals, that could not be concealed, these ancient writers testify their sorrow, and some degree of fear, at the very moment of recording it. "There was in my monastery, which is in Asia," says St. John Climachus, "a certain old man, most negligent, and little moderate, which I say, not for the sake of judging, but studying truth."† "Geraldus de Calcidia decreed himself to be abbot," says the monastic historian of one house. —"Hic male administravit monasterium. Pudor est ejus acta recensere."‡ The chronicler of St. Richarius hurries over the crimes of an evil abbot, and concludes thus:—"But it is enough to indicate the unhappiness of this man, that posterity may know how to avoid his example. Let us speak of what good he did, if he did any.—Dicamus de bono, si quid fecit.—He began to repair the tower of St. Saviour, which was in ruins; and by the alms of the faithful, the Church itself was restored. However, it was at length necessary to depose him, after an appeal to Rome. He died shortly afterwards.

Ultio non sit ei, maneat sed lux requiei. Amen." §

The great scholastic philosophers evince the same spirit as the humble chronicler. Giles of Colonna, when disapproving of any opinion of any doctor, only says, that he does not understand that sentence; and the doctor himself, without naming, he styles a great and illustrious man. Melchior Canus boils over with indignation against the golden legend, without naming the prelate who compiled it; and in a later age, Touron chastises Fleury by remarking, that the late historian, who can see nothing great in Albert but the number and dimensions of his volumes, had probably seen nothing but their number and dimensions.‖ Abeillard held in the utmost horror the opinions of Roscellin; but as he had formerly learned from him the principles of dialectics, he could not bring himself to write against his old master, when urged to do so, but satisfied his zeal for religion by combating his errors without naming him in his work, entitled Introduction to Theology.

In adhering to the spirit of the blessed merciful, the writers of the middle ages were only in harmony with the readers whom they addressed. Many of them,

* De locis Theolog. Lib. xi. c. 6. † Grad. iv.

‡ Chronicon Aureliacensis Abbat. Mabil. Vet. Analect. 350.

§ Chronic. Centulensis sive S. Richarii cap. 36. apud. Ducher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

‖ Vie de S. Thom. d'Aq.

therefore prefix to their volumes those beautiful words of St. Gregory.—"Nor are there wanting little ones who may be instructed by my sayings, nor great who can show mercy to my known infirmity. To the one I have spoken, explaining what they should do; to the others I open myself, confessing what may excite their pity. I have not withheld the medicine of words, from the former, nor have I concealed from the latter the laceration of wounds. I pray, therefore, every one who reads this book to grant me the consolation of his prayers to the strict Judge; and what he shall discover sordid in me, to wash out with tears." Such were, in general, the readers and critics whom these ancient authors had to encounter; men who would, if possible, have washed out the defects of whatever book they read with their tears.

These examples may excite surprise, from being so little in harmony with the spirit and practice of the modern civilization; but when we proceed to hear the instructions which were given continually to men in ages of faith, such astonishment will probably cease, and we shall only admire the consistency of the Catholic society, in making its practice conformable to its belief. As charity was known to be the vital principle of religion, whatever indicated its decay was understood as an index of spiritual death, and denounced accordingly. Hear St. Bernard:—"Beware, lest you become either a curious investigator, or a rash judge of another's conversation;" and St. Bonaventura says, "Even if I should commit an act that you might condemn, judge not your neighbor; but rather excuse the intention, if you cannot the work: think it ignorance; think it involuntary; think it accidental; but if the certainty of the thing should render all dissimulation impossible, say to yourself, it was a vehement temptation; what would have become of me, if I had been similarly tried?" and in this manner, St. Bernard shows how "they that are spiritual, derive gain from everything, even from their own and others' sins, and from things hurtful and from the operations of the devil."*

To excuse one's self and believe one's self always innocent, and to accuse others as the cause of evils, was a disposition deemed so unhappy in the middle ages, that it was thought to be precisely the very sin to which the beatitude of the merciful was opposed. St. Bernard, showing that there are eight vices to correspond with the eight beatitudes, all of which were included in the sin of our first parents, remarks that the fifth is especially directed against that sin of Adam when he sought to throw his guilt upon his wife, saying, "Mulier, quam dedisti mihi sociam, dedit, mihi de ligno et comedi:"† from which men were warned by subtle words inscribed even upon tombs, as on the ancient sepulchre of Bovetinus the Mantuan in the cathedral of Padua, on which this line occurs:—

"Quam sibi plus aliis vigilans pietatis alumnus."

"There are persons," says Guy de Roye, "who can never hear the absent praised

* Meditat. vitæ Christi, cap. 43. † Serm. lxvi.

without insinuating, through envy, that they have some defect or other. This sin is so pernicious, that one can hardly pass from it to a good repentance; for it is against the Holy Ghost, who is the fountain of all good, and God saith that for this sin there will be no mercy in this world nor in the next."*

"Never speak evil of others," says Louis of Blois, "and do not even consent by silence to the calumnies of other men; but if you can with prudence interrupt the conversation, after the example of that holy man who said to those who accused some absent person, 'If we are not such as you describe, we ought to return thanks to God.'"† "Above all things," says St. Augustin, "take care lest you admit any suspicions into your mind, because they are the poison of friendship."‡ St. Bonaventura calls them a secret plague, which drives God far from us, and tears in pieces fraternal charity.§

Totila, King of the Goths, on entering a certain city, and being met by the bishop Cassianus, remarked that the countenance of this prelate was red, and thence judged that he was a drinker, whereas he was a holy austere man. The continuator of Vincent of Beauvais' Mirror, who alludes to this, has collected many examples to deter men from the vice of rash judgment,‖ though the skill which enabled St. Gregory Nazianzen to detect the latent serpent in the breast of Julian before his apostacy—skill which he whose proverbs holy Church hath canonized—attributes to the prudent, and even that science which Gall and Spurzheim have revived, were not wanting in the middle ages; for of the former we find trace when Octo the jurisconsult, and father of Nicholeno the archbishop of Amalpni, is related by Marsilius Ficinus to have predicted from the countenance of his son, when a boy, that he would be a man great in religion; Leander Albertus also ascribing it to Gambarus, a sculptor and canon of St. Petronio, whom he adduces among other illustrious men to prove that Bologna had citizens who were not ignorant of that science; and of the existence of the latter, without referring to John Sanguinacio amongst the ambiguous doctors of Padua, we have evidence in a treatise composed by a Franciscan friar in the thirteenth century; yet the abuse of such researches was evidently guarded against with the greatest care. In fact, theology supplied men with a corrective, by means of which, without danger of any breach of charity, they could pursue those curious investigations which were made after the example of Aristotle, by Albert the Great, in his first book on animals; by Jerome Manfred of Bologna, in his treatise on physiognomy; by Michael Savonarola of Padua, ancestor of the great Jerome, in his Speculum Physionomiæ; by Antonius Cermisonus, an illustrious physician, as ancient writers say; by Bartholomew Cocles of Bologna, styled a surgeon and distiller of medicines, in his Anastasis of Physiognomy, addressed to the most illustrious Lord Alexander Bentivoglio; and by Michael Scot. Guilielmus, a commentator

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience. † Instit. Spirit. cap. ii. 2. ‡ Lib. de Amicit. c. 24.
§ Stimul. Divini Amoris, cap. 10. ‖ Speculum Moral, Lib. i. p. 4.

on Aristotles's Physiognomy, quotes Galen, who observes that the bodies of animals are the instruments of the souls which are in them ; and that as diverse animals have different affections, so have they members diversely disposed to follow these affections. Bartholomew Cocles, therefore, argues, that as men have different moral dispositions, so have they bodies rendered conformable to these different dispositions. Passions, he says, cannot be indulged without causing a physical alteration, which is betrayed by signs. The soul, in wondrous sort received in plastic mould, brings with her both the human and divine ; while the material features assume that form which influence of the mind imprints upon them ; and as the air, when saturate with showers, the casual beam refracting, decks itself with many a hue, so here, the new form on the spirit, follows still. St. Augustin supposed that the dispositions of men, and even their unuttered thoughts, might be learned from certain signs imparted to the body by the mind.* And St. Thomas remarks that the interior affections can be sometimes discovered from the countenance or the pulse.† Hence, as in the sciences, where men proceed not only à priori, or from the knowledge of causes to the knowledge of effects, but also conversely, à posteriori, from the knowledge of effects to the knowledge of causes, "so from the disposition of bodies," says Cocles, "it may be reasonably argued, à posteriori, concerning manners and disposition of mind."

Will you credit Michael Scot, and listen awhile to things that sound alien to the ordinary matter of our pages, attracted by the kind of occult power which old Romance attaches to that name? This deep investigator of nature's secrets will tell you that a small head has naturally a small brain; that if you can determine the complexion of the brain, which is indicated by the hair and by the skin, you may conjecture with probability the internal dispositions ; that a high round forehead indicates a man liberal to his friends, of good understanding, tractable, and of many graces ; that a flat smooth forehead argues a man litigious, vain, deceitful ; a forehead too small in all parts, a foolish man, prone to anger and cruelty, a courtier, and fond of elegance ; a forehead round in the angles of the temples, void of hair, a good and clever man, courageous, magnanimous, loving beauty, and honor ; a forehead pointed in the same parts as if bones projected, a vain, unstable, weak, and simple man ; a forehead inflated as if with flesh, and full cheeks, a man irascible, proud, and of gross mind. Every member, he will assure you, has thus its signification.

Thick lips denote small wisdom, and credulity ; slender and drawn-in lips a man discreet in all things, secret, sagacious, and of much genius ; unequal lips, a man of gross mind, slow intelligence, and of varied fortune ; a chin upturned and sharp, with a hollowness in juncture of the lips, a bad, proud, and envious man ; a large round head, a man secret ; sagacious in action, ingenious, discreet, of great imagination, laborious, stable, and a legist ; a long head and unprepossess-

* De Divinat. Dæmon. c. 5. † Sum. 9, 57, a. 4.

ing face, a foolish, malicious, credulous, and envious man; a voluble head that moves here and there, a foolish, simple, vain, false, presumptuous man; a large head with a wide face, a man suspicious, secret, bold, and immodest. Again, he will desire you to believe that the soft, long, and slender hand signifies a man of good understanding, timid, pacific, a legist, and discreet, apt to service, domestic, and learned; the short and thick hand a man of gross mind, vain, lying, irascible, laborious; the hand which is stiff towards the end of the fingers, a man tenacious, cupidinous, thoughtful, hard to manage, and not easily brought to believe what he hears; that the slow long step indicates a bad memory, a gross mind, a confused intelligence, idle and incredulous; the quick short step, a weak man, hasty in action and imagination; the long and unsteady gait, not holding the straight way, a foolish gross man, sagacious in evil, like the wolf; needless quick movement of the members while speaking, sitting, or standing, a foul, immodest, indiscreet, evil-mouthed, vain, unstable, lying, faithless man.*

Reader, you have heard the wizard; and that such observations of themselves must be always dangerous, no one can doubt; though he, perhaps, of feature prominent, as Dante styles Charles, brother of St. Louis, might deem the science useful which bids him beware lest he be a man "valde minus scientem quam se scire reputet:" for to that peril Michael Scot declares such a configuration subjects him. But in justice to this subtle author, one should note the caution given in the very title-page, which says, "Scientia ejus est multum tenenda in secreto:" and also his concluding admonition to be very cautious lest you should judge any one precipitately from any one member, without attending to the result of all observations of the whole body taken together, and carefully separating from them what may be the mere result of accident or of disease. "No man," saith he, "is to be judged by the sign of one member, for one may counteract another. Therefore with discretion these chapters are to be investigated; and thus with great industry one may form one's judgment without error, if it pleaseth God." Finally, you have the theological corrective in his doctrinal note; for it saith, "When you see a humble man of red hair, faithful and tall, wise and fat, quick with leanness, simple, handsome, not vain, poor, not envious, of white complexion and wise, upright and not audacious or cruel, hairy and not luxurious, having a wandering dissipated eye and not deceitful, lying, or vain, render special thanks to God alone and to his mother, for there is the operation divine." Thus, as I remarked in the beginning, the doctrines of faith preserved men in the slippery and darksome path of these inquiries, and saved them from the heavy and ridiculous falls to which they might otherwise have been exposed. Accordingly, Bartholomew Cocles, who calls physiognomy the royal science, begins his book, which he styles the Resurrection of Physiognomy, a science which, from being long dead, he has recalled to life, with the assistance of an infinite number of authors, by demonstrat-

* Michael Scot, Lib. Physionomiæ.

ing quod anima sequitur corporalem complexionem : et quod prudentia nostra evitare fata possumus. And lest these should seem contradictory propositions, he shows that man by reason even can counteract the influence of the body ; and that no one can prognosticate with certainty, but only in the way of conjecture ; and he concludes with these words, which seem to contain the secret for conducting all future investigations of such physical phenomena in union with charity and faith :—"It appears, therefore, that the corporal signs of physiognomy induce a great probability respecting the natural manners of men, although not a necessity ; for man can conquer the dispositions of his nature, as did Socrates. Note that all these signs induce a great inclination, which it is difficult to obviate, although possible, as theologians also teach us—quare concludemus voluntatem nostram sub nostræ potestatis imperio esse subjectam."*

I cannot refrain from remarking, in conclusion, how well it would have been for many philosophers of later times, disciples of the reformed theology, if, while proposing their observations or their theories to the world, they had borrowed a sentence or two from these strange books on the infinite secrets of nature, like this that was composed in the cell of a distiller of medicines in the middle age. Their investigations might then have been pursued without contradicting the reason of all past times, and, above all, without diminishing charity, without opening fresh fountains of bitterness, to fill with suspicion, and perhaps aversion, minds that would have been otherwise, with all the joyous and generous confidence of youth, cloudless and serene.

But now, leaving Michael Scot and Cocles of Bologna, let us return to the more lightsome path of moral teaching and historic proof.

Pope Pius V. is recorded to have extended the principle of resisting suspicions to the judicial administration so that he would not attend to any informer. Two men had assured the lieutenant of his guard that they had been solicited and bribed by Cardinal Moron to assassinate the Pope. They offered such plausible evidence, that this officer believed their report, and went instantly to apprise the Pontiff ; but he, instead of ordering the cardinal to be arrested, sent for him into his private chamber, and then told him what he had heard, and declared that he did not believe him to be capable of committing any crime. His confidence was proved to be well founded, and the true conspirators paid the penalty. The common voice of the whole monastic host from the time of St. Antony, declares it preferable to dwell with a blasphemer and a tyrant, than with a whisperer.† Yet the moral teachers of the ages of faith went even farther than to forbid suspicions. " Judge not, and despise not even any public sinner," saith St. Bonaventura, " for you know not his end ; and God is powerful to justify the impious and malignant."

* Magistri Bartholomei Coclitis Bonon. Physionomisti. Anastasis; Lib. i. cap. 1.

† Sermones S. Ant. ab. x. ‡ Stim. div. am. c. 4.

Memorable was the saying of Cassien, that "it is the evident index of a mind not yet purified from vice, to regard the crimes of other men without compassion, and to pass upon them the rigid censure of a judge."* "Condemn not any mortal," said the blessed father of the desert, "lest God should execrate thy prayers."†

"Never judge rashly the sayings or actions of others," says Louis of Blois, "and you will not implicate yourself in superfluous cares; and beware how you utter or hear words of detraction. For this purpose do not pay attention to the less composed manners and deeds of others, unless compelled by the necessity of your office; for he who is curious in such matters will grow suspicious and unquiet, sour, and easily moved to anger, and while unseasonably occupied about others will forget himself. We must not immediately conclude that no men are good in a place where many are seen to live ill, nor imagine that all those are irremediably lost who are known hitherto to have led a sinful life, nor suppose that an orthodox and pious man is despised and not loved by God because he is as yet detained by some imperfections. We must not admit sinistrous suspicions, or suffer them to insinuate themselves into our heart, we must not believe easily evil of others, but think well of them, and interpret in the best sense all their works and words, as far as possible; and if any one has grievously sinned, a man of charity will pity him, remembering the infirmity of human nature, and the envy and malice of the devil." "He must despair of no man's conversion, but love and regard with joy all Christians as his brethren, called with him to the same celestial inheritance; and he must not attend to the vileness of the visible body in men, but to the excellent nobility and beauty of the invisible soul, for which the King of kings and Lord of lords, the only Son of God, wished to take flesh and to suffer, and to shed his blood and to die. Vehemently let him grieve that such unspeakable generosity and beauty should be degraded by negligence and polluted by sins. Let him pity, then, with the most inward commiseration all who live ill, all who are in a state of blindness, as well Christians of the right faith, as also heretics, schismatics, and Gentiles; and let him hope for the salvation of them all with true charity."‡

In the houses where religious perfection was professed, men were to overlook evil; and how could they then imagine themselves permitted to judge and condemn it in the world? "Beware how you think or speak concerning the disposition or conversation of other monks," says the blessed John of the Cross. "Whatever you may see, whatever you may hear, be not scandalized, be not astonished, but efface all that from your mind, in order that you may preserve your soul in purity and peace; for although you were to live among angels, you would judge that many things are not good, from your not knowing what was at the bottom of them. Remember the example of Lot's wife: terrified at the ruins of Sodom, she

* Coll. xi. 10. † S. Anton. Serm.

‡ Ludovic. Blosius, Enchirid Parvulorum, Lib. i. Doc. x. Append.

turned to see what passed there, and God, to punish her curiosity, changed her into a pillar of salt. Let that teach you that even if you should live among demons, God does not wish that you should make these turns and reflections upon their actions, since it is not your affair to take cognizance of them."* "Charity," says St. Augustin, "believes well of evil. It is pernicious when any one thinks evil of what is perchance good, through ignorance of what it is. Suppose it be evil, what do I lose by believing that it is good? What does heresy advise? It condemns the unknown; it condemns the whole world."† "Return to your cell and pray," was the advice which Luther received from his confessor when he disclosed his thoughts to him. He was at the point of division whence the two roads separate. Doubtless the temptation for every man is vehement at some period or other of his life, to choose, like him, the broad and beaten way of judging; but in ages of faith there were not wanting benevolent hands to raise a cross or a signal wherever there could be a doubt as to the direction, in order to intimate that the poor little narrow path of not judging was more secure, and even more agreeable to nature, after the first difficulty was surmounted; and, in fact, it quickly led those who followed it into a secret paradise; for the mind, independent of the religious recompence, soon experienced far higher pleasure in rooting out the base suspicions and judgments which rose up in it from time to time against charity, than it had ever derived from nourishing and training them to the maturity of fruit of words and deeds. It found by experience that, as the great St. Antony says, to be a lover of men was, in fact, to live.‡ The discovery or invention therefore, of a good intention in acts that might have seemed injurious, imparted to it the joy of a conqueror; and to those who would have counselled deeds or deep revenge, it only answered, like that ancient king benign and meek, with visage undisturbed, "How shall we those requite who wish us evil, if we thus condemn the man that loves us?" In short, charity became an art, and was cultivated with the same delight as attends the exercise of any other art. Hence it was that men were so slow to discover scandals, or to exaggerate offences. They did not look with scowling eyes at things which cause only mirth in heaven; they contemplated nature not as Manichæans; they loved God not with the dark narrow views of those in later times, who followed the sophist of Geneva, but as Catholics: that is, they loved the just Creator and merciful Redeemer, and therefore they loved all his creatures. They loved men as men, and men as Christians. Imitators of God, other Christs, they loved even those who seemed forgetful of their Lord; for he, from the depths of love's abyss, loves even those who love him not, loves them even contaminated and deformed—not, indeed, to make them continue in that state, but to render them beautiful."§

"Why, O man," asks Marsilius Ficinus, "do you vituperate the world? The

* Precautions against the World.
† Tractat. in Ps. cxivii.
‡ Serm. S. Ant.
§ Idiotæ Contemp. xix.

world is most beautiful, framed by the best and most perfect reason, though to you, indeed, it may be unclean and evil, because you are unclean and evil in a good world."* They considered, notwithstanding all the abuses that existed, how much generosity, how much justice, how much fear, how much love, dominates in the life of men; they marked the exquisite beauty and charm of the universal order, from the sports of joyous youth upon the meadow on a summer's day, to the tranquil meditation of the aged between cloistered walls faintly illumined by the dull lancet pane. Charity looked with the eyes of a painter at the different pursuits and characters of men, and apprehending thus drew a profit from all things that it saw. The expression of angel mildness in the little sister who hastens with her picture of the Madonna to place it in her brother's boat before his departure, did not please it more than the fierce disdain of art observed in the rough figure of that brother, son of one of those Christian fishermen, as old Albertus calls them, whose youthful countenance, all determined as it was, seemed ever on the point of relaxing into smiles. Charity saw a blessed martyr's spirit evinced in simple and low things; it saw the mind after God's own heart in those who, though trained up thus meanly, were innocent and holy, far beyond the trick of others; it saw constancy, courtesy, friendship, gentleness, all wildly but most sweetly growing in the illiterate children of the laborious poor, whom heretics teach men to regard with the disdain of pedants, or with a still more insulting pity; as if grace could not be theirs, merely, perhaps, because they put themselves in posture that divine nature hath suited to the words and affections of the generous.

I said that charity was an art, in regard to the pleasure attending its exercise; and the remark is just also in many other respects; for it rendered men, in regard to conversation, like skilful painters, by imparting to them that delicate tact which feels the necessity of omission as well as of creation—which is evinced in softening all down and covering over some things, casting a shade over objects of sharp brilliancy and throwing a general, subdued and gentle tone over the whole surface. Charity was not on the lips' edge alone, but in the heart of men who continued faithful to the Church, and therefore no one feared malicious scrutiny within the dwelling of his neighbor. None there distrusted kindness, though not promised with an oath; for the will to bless could only fail through want of power—such mercy was in human breasts. You find this remarked incidentally by many of the ancient local historians. What a delightful picture does Ambrose Leo present of the state of society in his native city in the fifteenth century? "In such harmony and friendship are the people of Nola educated," saith he, "that such things as civil feuds and party contentions are wholly unknown to them. The only combats they behold are the mimic battles of the youth, which take place annually before the beginning of Lent, the noble and plebeian promiscuously joining; and which

* Epist. ad Paul. Presbyt.

are terminated ere the setting sun, when all are friends again, relating their exploits to one another, or enduring their defeat with good humor. You will hardly find, elsewhere, so many pairs of friends as at Nola; nor is it only between the inhabitants that friendships abound: they are equally prompt to embrace foreigners; and to this they are inclined, not through any motive of gain, but simply from the joy which they derive from the idea alone and from the friendship."*

Such representations of society abound in the old writings. One ancient author, alluding to the kindness and charity of the people of Amalphi, says that throughout the whole territory one might imagine ones' self inhabiting Paradise. It was the spirit of the blessed merciful, widely diffused and presiding over all movements of the social body, which produced that concord in the state, uniting together the vast multitude of institutions and combinations resulting from Catholicism into one system of harmonious variety which seemed so admirable to the attentive observers of former times, that one who deserved to be ranked amongst them, John Baptist De Grossis, when writing the history of his native city, entitled it Catanense Decachordum;† as if a narrative of its manners and institutions, its calamities and its triumphs, would sound like the music of a lyre; as if each digression on a particular monastery, or church, or hospital, or confraternity of mercy, might be compared to a chord of that instrument, by the extension or contraction of which the modulation of sound would become sweeter. He strikes these chords, and we hear of the faith and piety of his countrymen—of their ancient Basilicas, in which are shrined the relics of St. Agatha. We hear of their solemn processions on the anniversaries of their martyrs, of the antiquity and beauty of their monasteries, of the sanctity and learning of the holy men within them, of the charity of abbots, of the love shown to the mendicant and all religious orders by seculars, whether priests or laics, and of their services to the poor, of the devout women, the nuns and sisters of blessed charity, of the hermits in the groves adjoining, who had given all their possessions to the poor for the love of God, of the diplomas and gifts of munificent founders, of the confraternities of laics to serve Christ in the persons of the poor, of the hospitals and asylums for the miserable, of the colleges and schools, of the just esteem entertained for ancient families, whose highest nobility is derived from having so long deserved the love and admiration of their country, of the gifts of nature, of the works of art, to which the words of holy Jerome are so applicable, that things revolve in this circle, that men should bear one another's burdens, and that the sweat of the dead should be the delight of the living, of the deep religious feeling with which they loved and defended their country, so well expressed in those lines upon the shrine of the virgin martyr, the patron of their city—" Ubi orta et passa, regressa sum, quia nimus dilexi eam, et qui mecum hanc non amat patriam, quæ mea est, me odit,"

* Ambros. Leo de Nola, Lib. i. c. 13. iii. 13, in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.

† Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ et Siciliæ, tom. x.

—and by those inscribed over the city gates—"Noli offendere patriam Agathæ," —the words, it is said, which thrice presented themselves in the eyes of the emperor Frederick II. in a book of prayer which fell into his hands while resolved upon levelling Catana to the ground for its fidelity to the Roman pontiff, and which filled him with such fear that he relinquished his cruel intentions, and withdrew. The chanter proceeds, and we hear of the palace of the senators, where the robed magistrates, the mitred fathers, the steel-clad heroes, and the illustrious citizens, are represented in ancient paintings; we hear of their loyal fidelity to their princes, of the innocent manners of their youth, of the sanctity of their great men, of the solicitude of their pastors, from St. Everius to Martinus de Leon then living, whose charity forms the last tone.

Reader, do you not perceive how easy it was for this minstrel to fulfil what he promised, and how confidently he might predict that his book would resemble the music of a lyre, at one time perhaps causing tears, at another joy, but never awakening jealousy or envy, or other foul passions, or exciting any affections excepting those of a heart that seeks satiety in love? So it is with all such historic representations of a Catholic state during ages of faith; they resemble harps, which you may strike boldly without fearing to coniure up a bad spirit, touch what cord you will. They form, in fact, a most sweet and unearthly symphony, which, whether plaintive or joyous, is always sure to leave the souls of the listeners more tuned to reverence and pity, more loving and devoted—deeper imbued, in short, with the charity of heaven.

CHAPTER III.

TRUE love, that ever shows itself as clear in kindness as loose appetite in wrong, was not a principle confined to the breasts or tongues of those that cherished it. During the ages of faith, it was developed exteriorly in a great variety of works, and necessarily comprised action, insomuch that with ancient writers we find the term work used as synonymous with charity; of which you have an instance in the advice which Michael Scot gave to the Emperior Frederic II.: "Sis amicus Dei, fide, spe et opere."* Since, according to the sentence of the wise, the life of man from youth is prone to sin and obnoxious to divers defilements of vice, there are proposed to him, as Pope Innocent says, many works of charity, that

* Liber Physionomniœ quæ compilavit magister Michael Scotus, Lib. i. Prohem.

where diversity of diseases hath prevailed the remedies for them may be multiplied.*

Love being the universal principle of good, it would be long to describe its effects. The ancient philosopher sought to illustrate this by citing poetry as an example. "Do you not know," saith he, "that poesy is something multiplex? —ἔστι τι πολύ; for it is the cause of every thing that is made; so that all works in every art belong to poesy, and all that thus work are poets; and yet they are not called poets, but have other names; because what we call poetry is something cut off from the whole of poetry, and confined to one part, which consists in music and metre. In like manner, love is the desire of all good and happy things, though men have confined the use of the word to one party only."†

You perceive, reader, that nothing can be more in accordance with the voice of theologians than this passage; for, as the universal doctor saith, "charity binds those that are proximate, draw together those that are far asunder, reduces plurality to unity, diversity to identity: this is a concordant dissonance, and united plurality, an accordant dissent, an harmonious variety; that is the tunic of Christ, woven throughout without seam—the tunic of Joseph of many colors."‡ "Be it known," says an author of the thirteenth century, whose moral mirror has been ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, "that although the mercy of God is one essentially, since that God is one, yet is it multiplex in effect; so that we read, 'Thy mercies are many, O Lord!' and 'Many are his mercies'—truly so many that no one can tell them, quis sapiens et intelliget misericordias Domini?"§ In this respect, Catholic manners were to be multiform and simple, so that truth and beauty were both secured.

"Therefore," says Richard of St. Victor, "you who wish to be always in contemplation know not to be clothed like the mystic queen of virtues, in a garment of variegated colors. One seeks to be assiduous in prayer, without perceiving that charity wishes to be adorned with variety. Whoever is delighted only with one work, however precious, has not the ornament of charity, which is clothed with variety."‖ In what manner does the charity of the blessed merciful, force itself upon an historian's notice? and in connection with what subjects that fall within his range of inquiry does it pass before him? This is an interesting question, that will lead to results, as far as the middle ages are concerned, widely different from what the majority of readers at present are inclined to suppose; for whoever would study their history with impartiality and erudition, must come eventually to this conclusion—that while, like all other pages in the annals of mankind, it is stained with blood and tears. what is peculiar to it is a supernatu-

* Epist. tom. iii. Lib. xvi. 124. † Plat. Conviv.
‡ Alani de Insulis Summa de Arte Prædicat. cap. 21.
§ Vincent. Bellov. Speculum Morale. Lib. 1. p. iv. 10. ‖ Richard S. Vict. in Ps. xliv.

ral display of mercy. If when visiting under its guidance tribunals, prisons, and battle-fields, he must be often led to exclaim, with Shakespeare,—

"Here's much to do with hate,"—

he will be constrained, even in the darkest scenes, to add with the same poet,—

"But more with love"

Perfectly to develop this truth, would require more than a volume; but sufficient details will be found in this Seventh Book to show, at least, in what manner this may be done; to expose the prodigious error and injustice of modern opinion respecting Catholic manners; and to convince every impartial reader, that in relation to mercy as well as justice, the men of former times stood pre-eminent amongst the blest.

Here, no doubt, would be a fitting occasion to speak to those immense labors undertaken for the spiritual good of mankind, in very early times by the Benedictine saints, and in later by the Dominican and Franciscan friars, and by the Jesuits, all heralds and dispensers of the mercy of God, who made the offering of their repose, their health, their liberty, and their lives, in order to preach the gospel to barbarous nations. The subject, however, rather belongs to a different order of observations from that which we are pursuing. In the last Book, moreover, an allusion was made to the missionaries; and in a future volume we must unavoidably meet with them again, when accompanying the peaceful children of St. Benedict through the forests and mountains of the north. I quit this path, therefore, for the present, to follow a way that keeps nearer to the level of ordinary life and manners.

It may be well, perhaps, in the first instance, to remark, that the simple symbolic forms of government, whether monarchical or republican, which prevailed during ages of faith, were more favorable to the development of mercy in public measures, than the complicated oligarchical constitutions, which the ambition of a powerful minority, discarding all supernatural views, has attempted, in later times, to establish in their place, upon interests purely material. An English writer, who had studied the course of affairs around him during the civil wars, and the usurpation of Cromwell, made the observation, that the very constitution of a multitude seems not so inclinable to save as to destroy. "Rulers," he says, "in aristocracies, or popular states, are never seen to forgive." He looked back, probably, to Pagan times, when certainly no one but a Cleon would ever have accused a democracy of being too inclined to change when it was to show mercy."*

Many popular governments in the middle ages exhibited a striking contrast to such representations, evincing evangelic mercy to their enemies; but, at all events, the experiment was made during a longer interval, and on a much greater

* Thucydid. Lib. iii. 37.

scale, in the monarchies than in the republics of Christendom. How many splendid instances do we find of forbearance and long suffering exercised by sovereigns in the ages of faith, who had heard it proclaimed on all sides, that mercy and truth should guard the king, and that by clemency his throne should be established? How full of mercy was the emperor Lewis the Pious, how slow to anger and quick to forgive, never refusing pardon, whatever might be the provocation! What examples of this in his conduct towards Berca, count of Barcellona, convicted of high treason, as also towards those who followed the party of his son Lothaire, as well as towards a multitude of others! "Tardus ad irascendum, facilis ad miserandum," says Theganus, of this great emperor; and the astronomer, who lived in his palace, and who wrote his life, observes, that along with magnanimous fortitude, he evinced a merciful meekness, to a degree, that was almost beyond what is attainable by human nature.* Such, again, was that Charles the Bald to whom Pope John wrote, saying, "ab infantia crevit vobiscum miseratio."

It is curious to observe how this disposition was estimated in later times, and to hear Luther, on the revolt of the peasants, blaming the patience of Duke John of Saxony, and saying, that he had formerly learned from monks, his confessors, to support the disobedience of his subjects.† The King Don Emmanuel of Portugal one day returned thanks to a man for having discovered reasons why a certain criminal should not be put to death; and Don John III., king of the same Portugal, assisting at a judgment, and observing that the voices were equally divided, on being asked to give his own, replied, "You have done right in finding him guilty, and the others ought to have been of your opinion; but, nevertheless, my voice shall absolve him; for it must not be said, that by the single voice of the king, a subject has been condemned to death."‡

The early history of Spain presents a memorable example of the same kind. Shortly after the coronation of Wamba, at Toledo, a conspiracy was formed by certain nobles in Catalonia, which was soon manifested in open rebellion. The king sent an army against them, under the command of Paulus, a distinguished general; but no sooner had this traitor arrived at the quarters of the rebels, than he declared himself one of their number, and persuaded his troops to pass over with him into Gaul. On their approaching Narbonne, Argebadus, the Archbishop, at first closed the gates against them; but being unable, rather than unwilling, to make an effectual resistance, the rebel army took possession of the city. Then Paulus harangued the troops, and having declared Wamba to be dethroned, was himself saluted King of the Goths. On receiving intelligence of what had occurred, Wamba hastily passed the Pyrenees, and the two armies came to battle near the city of Narbonne, when victory declared for the legitimate

* Vieta et actus Lud. Pii, apud Duchesne, tom. ii.

† Michelet Mem. de Kuth. II.

‡ Savedra Christian Prince, tom. ii. c. 85.

king. On his advance to enter the city, the Archbishop was deputed to go out, and intercede for the vanquished. At the fourth stone from the gate, he met the king, and immediately alighting from his horse, presented himself as a suppliant. His address was affecting. "Pity," he said, "O king, men who, through ignorance, or the comman calamity of the times, or by an insuperable force of fate, have fallen into this crime. The greater their treason, the greater will be your glory if you have mercy on them." Wamba, in warlike acts equal to any former king, was surpassed by none in clemency. "Moved by your entreaties," he replied, "I grant these men life; but lest the absolution of wickedness should be interpreted, as if there were to be impunity, hereafter, for all offences, the chiefs of the rebellion must suffer the punishment which I deem necessary for preserving the dignity of the empire." The Archbishop proceeding to urge him further, and to implore a complete pardon, the king closed his mouth saying, "Does it not seem enough to have suffered the culprits to live? We have pardoned you, Archbishop, because you were unwillingly accessary to the revolt; but as for these men, let them think it sufficient gain to have escaped ignominious death."

Then the king entered the city, and at the head of the troops, commanded Paulus to be degraded from all military honor; after which, he led him back a prisoner into Spain, along with the other chief conspirators; and, on entering Toledo, Paulus was led in triumph, wearing a black leather crown on his head, and then, with the others, was consigned to perpetual imprisonment. All this is related by Julian, the Archbishop, and repeated by Mariana. If the doom should be thought severe, we must, at the same time, acknowledge, that there is no government existing at the present day which would not, under such circumstances, have inflicted death. Much importance, however, should not be ascribed to any form or accident of government; although one cannot avoid being struck with the fact of the insensibility of all democratic states, but such as are purely and fervently Catholic, to the suffering of persons who are not in harmony with their views. It was a singular trait of magnanimity which Socrates ascribed to his countrymen, after relating their determined contest against the king, when he says, that they prepared themselves to make war for freedom, but that they forgave those other states who chose his alliance, thinking that with their humble means of defence, it was allowable for them to seek safety in any way whatever.* In general, for neither persons nor states, would there, under such circumstances, be any mercy. In our time, the gates of Spielberg have opened at the voice of an emperor, while those of Ham remained closed, under a system of rule professedly popular, and in pursuance of a sentence which is said to have been the work of no one; from which it is but natural to infer, that a prisoner may have more to hope from a personal enemy, than from a cold and passionless abstraction, though supported by men who are continually repeating the words philanthropy, moral progress, and beneficence.

* Paneg. 60.

Leaving, however, such points, let us attend to the maxims of government, and judicial administration, which were universally received during the ages involved in this history. St. Augustin had shown, that mercy was to attend justice, even in the formal decision of the civil tribunal; and commenting on the words of Solomon, noli esse justus multum, had said, "the law, because it cannot mitigate itself, must be mitigated by us, in order that it may benefit those acting under it. He, therefore, is not just to excess, who is an imitator of God."* Pelisson, in defending Fouquet, reminded the king of this doctrine, and also appealed to the oath which he had taken at his coronation, in face of the altar, before heaven and earth, angels and men. "Item ut in omnibus judiciis æquitatem et misericordiam præcipiam; ut mihi et vobis indulgeat suam misericordiam clemens et misericors Deus." Kings, therefore, were anointed with oil, that they might be, as it were, consecrated with the unction of mercy;† and, consequently, in the rescripts of Arcadius and Honorius, and in the edicts of Constantine, the imperial office is expressed by the terms "tranquillity, and serenity."

St. Cyril, of Alexandria, reminds the Emperor Theodosius, that it becomes his dignity to possess a serene and placable mind. "A prince who would know all things," says Vincent of Beauvais, "must pardon many."‡ The office of chancellor, and of a court of equity, is thus described by Hincmar:§—"If any cause should be such, that the worldly laws should not have provided for it in their definitions, or that, according to the custom of the Gentiles, they should have ordained statutes with more cruelty in regard to it, so that the rectitude of Christianity, or holy authority, could not justly consent to them, it must, in that case, be transferred by the court of the palace to the moderation of the king, in order that he, along with those who have the knowledge of both laws, and who justly fear more the statutes of God's law, than those of human laws, may so determine it, that where both can be preserved, both may be preserved; but where the law of the world deserves to be repressed, the justice of God may be preserved." The universal doctor, who flourished in the twelfth century, speaks more strongly still to rulers, in recommendation of mercy.—"O man, in the misery of another recognize thyself. If thou art just, thou canst fall; if wise, the wisdom of man has no constancy. Thou who hast experienced in God the fountain of mercy, should at least suffer the streamlet of compassion to flow to thy neighbor. What will it be if thou, to whom thy Saviour has been clement and pious, shouldst be pitiless and austere to thy fellow-men? In the mercy of God, thou canst read what thou oughtest to do in holding the rule of clemency, and certes thou shouldst rather embrace mercy than justice; for every man ought to be naturally more inclined to mercy than justice, for mercy produces love, but justice fear; and love is more worthy than fear, since charity excludes fear.

"There are many things which admonish us to relax somewhat from justice;—

* In Quæst. Vet. Test. Q. 15. iv. † Cresolii Anth. Sac. ‡ Speculum Doctrinal. § Rem. aa. c. 21.

the infirmity of human nature,—the utility of the thing,—yea, the very dignity of mercy, which exalteth judgment. Let mercy arise, therefore, not from negligence, not from pusillanimity, not from indiscretion; but let it be, in every respect, so circumscribed, that it may retain its own property, and infringe not upon other virtues. Behold, O man, in Joseph, mercy which forgets the injustice of his brethren;—in David, the grace of clemency, which weeps for the madness of his persecuting son. If thou shutteth the bowels of thy mercy against others, thou shuttest the door of the mercy of Christ against thyself; for mercy is the key which unlocks heaven. This is the gate of the Lord; the just shall enter it. It is mercy which illuminates the New Testament, and mitigates the rigor of the ancient law; this is the wood which sweetens the ocean wave; this is the salt with which Elisha exterminated the bitterness of the waters; this is the meal which Elisha used against death. Clemency is the ornament of princes. O man, where wilt thou appear, unless clemency should come to thy assistance? What will be thy punishment, if God should execute justice in thy regard? Be not avaricious, therefore, in dispensing mercy; for thou hast thyself experienced the largess of mercy in God."* The docility of magistrates in attending to the suggestions of the merciful, and in recognizing constantly their own responsibility to a divine judgment, is often presented in a most remarkable manner during the ages of faith. Witness a scene in Venice, in the year 1552. At a time when the tribunal of Quaranthia was assembled, in which the doge, with the senators, sat to determine causes of life and death, lo! a hermit, a friar, enters the hall of judgment, crying out, with a terrific voice, "To hell shall go all who do not administer true justice;—to hell the mighty who oppress the poor:—to hell the judges who shed the blood of the innocent." After the first emotions of surprise, this intruder was recognized to be Matthieu de Bassio, a Capuchin friar, who, two years before, had exercised in Venice the evangelic ministry, with an admirable zeal and courage. He was known in that city as a holy stranger, intrepid in admonishing sinners, constant in preaching, spending his days in works of mercy, and having no habitation, his nights under the portico of St. Mark, or of the Rialto, or under the campanile of the church of St. Moses. After a short sleep on the ground, or on the little tables of the merchants, he used to pass the remaining hours of darkness before the church-doors in prayer. He had been accustomed to enter frequently the courts of the tribunals, denouncing eternal woe on all who suffered the poor to be oppressed; and sometimes he indicated clearly enough, that there was somewhat to correct in the administration; so that the government, feeling his correction too sharp, under pretence of placing him in a position to do more good, decreed that he should remove to preach at Fossaclodio, which is a city on the Venetian territory, not far distant; and two years had elapsed since his removal thither, when he made his appearance in this manner before the tribunal. The

* Alani de Insulis Summa de Arte Prædicatoria, cap. 18.

doge, being displeased at such an interruption, made signs to the officers of the vestibule, that they should eject him from the hall; but Sebastian Venerius, one of the illustrious senators, interposed, and turning to the doge and other senators, said, "Most serene prince, and conscript fathers, we are constituted by God judges in this republic; and what ought to be more desired by us in our administration of justice, than that we should be admonished of our duty by celestial messengers? This is a most serious judgment, for another sentence can be corrected; but that which deprives men of life is immutable. Here we cannot take counsel with too much deliberation, and these words of the holy man merely recall to our minds how important and perilous is the office which we discharge. And though there is to us all, by the benignity of God, that rectitude of mind which would hold in horror a wilful violation of justice, yet, on account of many causes, our judgment may sometimes sleep. And now, if God should have sent this man, and destined him as an angel to our city, that he should awaken us from sleep, ought he to be driven out thus, or is the divine benefit of admonition to be rejected, because we judge the man who conveys it to be sordid, estimating his mind from the habit which he wears? Far be such scorn from us senators, who are disciples of the humble fisherman." These words of Venerius made such an impression on the assembly, that the friar had permission, from that day forward, to repeat his imprecations wherever he pleased. This Venerius was he who, subsequently, commanded the fleet of the republic, to whose prudence and vigilance the glorious victory over the Turks, in 1571, was partly ascribed; and who finally attained to the supreme honors, being elected doge in 1578.* With historic truth, many of the Venetian princes are represented, in the palace of the dukes, in solemn paintings, in company with saints and angels, adoring the Saviour; and thus the mystery of all this is explained.

The kings of Portugal had made the archbishops of Bragua lords of that city and territory, so that the civil, as well as ecclesiastical, jurisdiction belonged to them. They had their criminal courts, therefore, and their chamber of justice; and the directions which these magistrates received, respecting their administration, would throw great light upon the history of judicial manners in ages of faith. The discourse which Bartholomew de Martyribus addressed to them, on being raised to that see, was truly pathetic. He besought them to aid him in dispensing prompt and effectual justice, that the poor might have the same facilities as the rich; and adding, that he came not to complain of them, but, moved by pastoral charity, to remind them, that it is a great thing for a man to be judged by a man, and still greater for a Christian to be judged by a Christian. "The Pagans," said he, "recognized the first truth, and the holy Scripture teacheth the second. You are the judges of your brethren, and God is your Judge, to whom you must one day render a strict account of every sentence that you render

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1552.

here. How must not man tremble," he added, " when he considers, in a criminal cause, that his opinion can deprive a man of life? I know that there is, at times, a necessity to constrain you, and that one must not arm licence by the hope of impunity; but, O, let humanity and gentleness never be put aside, even when justice must prevail."* Thomas Carbonel, bishop of Siguença, being also the temporal lord of that city, used to obviate the necessity of having recourse to the tribunals, by his personal efforts in reconciling enemies, and terminating disputes; and when some interested officers complained that many faults were left, in consequence unpunished, the bishop replied, that the parties being satisfied, order re-established, and public peace preserved, one ought to be content, whatever were the means employed.†

Independent, therefore, of any natural cause, we must perceive, from such examples as these, that as the monarchies of Europe had been, in a great measure, originally the work of the Episcopal order, there was reason to expect, that a larger proportion of the spirit of mercy should enter into their composition than could have ever been developed under any previous state of human society. St. Bernard's work, "De Consideratione," was recommended, in the middle ages, as a manual for all rulers, who might learn from it how they ought to examine themselves, in order to estimate their own advance in virtue. The questions proposed to Pope Eugene, were such as these:—"Hav you made proficiency in sweetness of manners? Are you more patient, more lenient, more easily entreated, more clement, more discreet?"‡ Pope Gregory IX. made St. Raymond de Pegnafort his own confessor; and Clement VIII. testifies, that the usual penance which he imposed on that pontiff, was to hear, with benignity, the prayers and just complaints of those who were without protection, and to expedite the cause of widows and orphans.§ Such were the men who were at the side of kings in the middle ages, ever laboring to calm, to mitigate, to preserve.. Geoffroy de Beaulieu, the Dominican confessor to St. Louis during twenty-two years, wishing to console that devout king on the death of his mother, and to give his mind some distraction, used to propose, we are told, some works of mercy for him to perform.‖ "After trial, and just judgment," says an ancient historian, of Normandy, "Pandulf, Prince of Capua, was condemned to death; but, by the prayers of the Archbishop of Cologne, the emperor was persuaded to remit the sentence."¶ To the last, the clergy were faithful to their blessed rule. Cornelius Agrippa acknowledges, that the Emperor Charles V. would have certainly put him to death, if he had not been prevented by the intercession of the bishop of Liege, and of Cardinal Campegio.** Those privileges of clergy, of which we hear so

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. liv. 31.

† Touron, Hist. Hom. des Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. v. liv. 39.

‡ De Consideratione, Lib. ii. c. 11. § Clemen. VIII. in Bull. Con. n. 16.

‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom, tom. i. 3.

¶ L'Ystoire de li Normant. Lib. i. c. 24. ** In Querela super Calumn. Scholast. et Monach.

much, have been strangely misinterpreted by many modern writers. If the Irish synod, in the eighth century, whose decrees were published by Dacherius, declares that no one most presume, without the bishop's permission, to cite any clerk before a secular judge,* the same synod decrees, that for similar offences, the punishment of clerks should be double of that which would be incurred by laics.†

In the ecclesiastical courts men found science and charity. From their codes the pains of death and mutilation were banished. If their jurisdiction extended not only over the clergy and their numerous vassals, but also beyond all limits that could seem assignable to them, the reason must be sought in public confidence, and in the mercy of the Church, which co-operated with the efforts of the poor people to escape from the rigor and corruption of the secular tribunals. At the same time it should be remembered, that if the law towards some classes was weak, religion was firm and uncompromising; that these privileged persons were subject to the tribunal of penance; and that the canons of the church forbade absolution where wrong had been committed, unless the best satisfaction possible followed. Besides, let it be observed, if the sanctuaries afforded a refuge to the criminal, he was not sure of impunity. A certain time only was allowed, till his friends could prove his innocence, or, if guilty, engage to pay the pecuniary compensation. Nor was this protection awarded to all; for some criminals might be dragged from the very altar, to receive the punishment of their crimes.

We beheld the penitents before amongst the blessed mourners, and here again we catch a glimpse at them as criminals, suffering the pains enjoined by apostolic authority. Now, reader, think within thyself how any fear and execration of guilt could be inspired greater than by the sight of what thou mayest see in this place though death is not seen. The wretch who moves this way is Lòmberd, a layman soldier of the Count of Catana. Barefoot he walks, his hand armed with rods, having his legs and arms naked, and his countenance distorted in such guise, that the tongue hangs out like an ox that licks his nostrils; but on looking nearer, one perceives that it is pulled without the lips by means of a slight cord, of which the other end is fastened to the neck. In this state he has with haste returned to his country. During fifteen days he must continually show himself upon his own lands where he was born, and upon the land where his crime was perpetrated; and on reaching the entrance of the churches, he must refrain from going farther; he must prostrate himself upon the earth outside, and from his own hand receive the discipline. And thus, in absolute silence and fasting, he is obliged to pass each day till after vespers, when he takes bread and water sufficient to sustain nature; and after the time allotted he is to depart for the Holy Land, where he must serve in the Christian army during three years, fasting until the last every sixth feria on bread and water. He cannot speak, to tell thee of his crime; but the public voice proclaims it. This is the man who,

* Lib. xx. cap. 26. † Id. Lib. xxviii. cap. 7.

being in the army of the Count of Catana, and present at the storming of the castle in which the Bishop of Catana was made prisoner, was constrained by some of the count's soldiers to cut out that prelate's tongue; for which barbarous act the third Innocent hath imposed upon him the penance which you behold him suffering.* The next that follows hath to endure longer misery. Barefoot he also walks, clad in a woollen tunic and a short scapular, having a penitential staff of the length of one cubit in his hand. His famished looks move you to pity; but lo! he refuses your generous alms, and will accept but that poor pittance which will suffice to procure food essential to sustain nature for one day, as he is forbidden to take more from any one. Henceforth to his death he must never taste flesh, whatever be his necessity or disease; and on every sixth feria, as also on the second and fourth during Lent, he fasts on bread and water. In one place he must never remain for two successive nights; and during three years he must visit the thresholds of the saints, without presuming to enter the churches until he has received the discipline prostrate. One hundred and twenty times each day the prayer of our Lord must pass his lips with due attention, while his knee humbly bends between each pause; and when three years are expired he is ordered to return to the apostolic see, to ask for mercy. Meanwhile, however, the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors, to whom the chief pontiff 's letters have come greeting, are enjoined to show mercy to the miserable, opening to him in his necessity the bowels of commiseration. O holy Church of Rome! how wonderful the art which thou dost manifest in the evil world, tempering severity with mercy!—how just a meed allotting by thy virtue, unto all! This penitent, by name Robert, came to the holy see, confessing with tears and groans his dreadful sin, and relating that when captured by the Sarassins, and confined with his wife and daughter, there came an order from the chief, that in consequence of the want of food, whatever captive had a child should kill it; on which occasion, being pressed by famine, he killed his daughter and ate her flesh; and when, a second time, there were similar orders given, he killed his wife, though of her flesh he durst not partake. Pope Innocent, disturbed, as he declares, by his horror of such a crime, hath imposed upon him this penance. Had we time to stay longer here, of such penitents many a flock we should behold, all weeping piteously, to different laws subjected—living witnesses to the world how greatly should be feared the vengeance of Heaven!

There are many occasions on which we must remark that the systematic opposition to the influence of the holy see, and of the ecclesiastical power in general, was always accompanied with a disposition to exercise greater severity in the punishment of criminals. It is a fact not a little curious, that the reign of St. Louis should have been distinguished for the celebrated measures which are supposed to be the foundation of what are termed the liberties of the Gallican

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. v. 77. † Epist. Inn. III. Lib. v. 78.

Church, and also for the publication of the "Establishments," in which the penalties seem so wantonly rigorous, and according to which justice was to be administered with such extreme severity. Stephen Pasquier, who even in this instance shows his disinclination to ultramontan principles, says that the gibbet is one of the chief means by which a republic remains calm and without trouble.*

So taught not men in earlier times of faith. St. Augustin writes to Count Marcellinus in behalf of certain criminals, and says, "Notwithstanding the greatness of their wickedness, I implore you that their penalty may be less than death, on account of our conscience, and on account of Catholic mildness. Lest they should incur the pain of eternal judgment, we desire that they may be corrected, not slain." Although the Church had to denounce the error of certain heretics, who maintained that men ought never be put to death by human laws, for this was one of the maxims of the Waldenses, which Alanus de Insulis refuted in the twelfth century, it is certain that the Catholic mildness of which St. Augustin speaks would have found much in the earlier codes conformable to its desires.

The pain of death seems hardly to have been contemplated in the eighth century, by the legislators of Ireland, of whom ye have already heard. The penalty of a wicked man's crime, say they, is first to fall upon his substance; if he has no substance, then upon his land; if no land, then upon his lord; if no lord, then upon the man, who gave him arms and clothes, or who gave him food and a bed; and if no such persons should be discovered, it falls upon the chief ruler of the province.† If, however, the Church hath given meat to the criminal, his penalty falls not upon her, though she may have given it to an evil man—"quia Columba vera est; Columba autem non suis tantum pullisministrat, sed omnibus avibus aperientibus os suum."

Pecuniary compositions for crimes was a prominent feature of all the ancient Germanic codes, which proves the anxiety of those legislators to stay the bloody hand of revenge; and it has been justly remarked, that, to make the acceptance of a fine obligatory on the party aggrieved, in nations amongst whom the deadly feud had been so long known, was a wise and a humane measure. If the minute graduation of these compositions should at first seem ridiculous, we should consider, as the same writer observes, that this anxiety to fix a scale of compensation for every possible crime, effectually prevented the infliction of arbitrary or oppressive penalties. Childebert decreed, that for deliberate homicide the pecuniary compensation should cease, and that qui injuste novit occidere, discat juste mori.

This decree, however, had little effect; but the Carlovingians renewed it, and assigned death, though the history of Charlemagne proves that in regard to the

* Recherches de la France, Liv. viii. 40.

† Recherches de la France, Liv. xii. cap. 28. ‡ Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv. Id, cap. 29.

worst criminals he generally commuted death into seclusion within the walls of a monastery. The correspondence between St. Augustin and Pope Gregory the Great presents an interesting illustration of the mildness which the ecclesiastical influence was prompt to infuse into the legislature. To the question what punishment is to be inflicted on stealers from a church, St. Augustin replies that a distinction should be made between those who steal through want, and those whom want does not affect, and that the number of stripes must be proportioned accordingly. Yet even when the crime was more aggravated, he enjoins that the chastisement be applied in love, not in anger, lest a soul should be sent to the fires of hell. "In our corrections of the faithful," he adds, "we must imitate worldly parents, who, though they inflict pain on their sons, yet design these sons to possess their inheritance. Thou askest what amount of compensation will satisfy the Church? God forbid that the Church should gain from her losses—that she should profit from crime!" Yet in all ages the Church was anxious that strict justice should be maintained; and here we may remark the action of mercy in facilitating the redress of the poor, who could always find speedy satisfaction by applying in person to the highest authorities at once, without either incurring delay or expense. The example of St. Louis sitting under the oak of Vincennes is well known, but the clergy led the way here. St. John the Almoner, patriarch of Constantinople, used to place a chair and a table before the Church on the fourth and sixth ferias, in order that the poor might approach him without obstacle for a decision of their causes, saying, that if men entering the Church wished to be heard quickly by God in their affairs, they ought before entering, to hear the poor quickly, and give them satisfaction. It was by the advice of St. Dunstan that King Edgar exhibited new zeal in the discovery and punishment of the numerous criminals who, during the late domestic troubles, had so long agitated the kingdom. But the sword of justice was seldom unsheathed. Banishment, whether for a period or perpetually, was the usual penalty of crime. On one occasion, however, St. Dunstan inquired of the people whether justice should not be done on three criminals, then in custody, convicted of coining false money. As the day was a high festival, and the primate was about to celebrate mass, the reply was that justice had better be deferred. "Not so," said the archbishop; "I know of no crime more injurious to society than the one committed by these men; nor will I approach the altar until they have suffered the penalty decreed by the laws. My conduct may seem cruel, but God knows my motive. I have a duty to fulfil towards the widow, the orphan, and the poor, who have been injured by these criminals. I must not, by false notions of mercy, remit or suspend the legal penalty; for by so doing, I encourage others to crime." Eadmer, however, observes, that his heart belied his words; that he wept while the malefactors suffered the legal punishment; but that when justice was done, he washed his face and advanced with a more cheerful countenance to the altar.

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord.S. Dom. tom. iii. Liv. xvii.

St. Vincent Ferrier similarly gave proof not alone of mercy, but of a love of justice and regard to the interests of society. It happened, while he was at Genoa, that a malefactor who was of Valencia, his own native city, was arrested, convicted of many crimes, and condemned to death. Several persons prayed him to use his interest with the doge or the senate to gain freedom for this man A word from him would have opened the prison doors; but he judged that such mercy would have been a false virtue, and contented himself with saving the prisoner's life and having his sentence commuted in such a manner that he would have space for penance, and yet society be secured from a renewal of his crimes.*

The capitularies of Charles the Bald evinced great zeal and rigor in the punishment of robbers, who, if they fled into a different kingdom, were liable to be seized there and sent back to the judges of the state where the crime was committed.†

The counsel of St. Bernard to Pope Eugene was conformable to these examples. "You will not be innocent," he says, "if either you punish him who ought perhaps to be spared, or spare him who ought to be punished."‡ When Theobald Noterius fled to Rome, after procuring the murder of Thomas, Prior of St. Victor, at Paris, St. Bernard wrote to Pope Innocent in these terms:—"The wild beast that hath devoured Joseph is said to have applied to you for assistance, as if the seat of highest equity were a den of lions. He flies to the bosom of a mother, though still wet with the blood of her son If he seeks penance, it is not to be refused to him; but if it be an audience that he demands, let him have such as blessed Peter gave to Ananias and Sapphira, for the voice of a brother's blood cries against him from the earth."§

But even of the basest criminals the doom was not without much weeping sealed; and where the punishment of death was awarded, its execution was certainly attended with very different symptoms in society from those which are at present observable in countries where the principles and manners of faith have been superseded. A recent traveller, who beheld the execution of a murderer at Turin, remarks, that amidst the multitude present he does not believe there were twenty women, and those of the lowest description.‖ Pity, not curiosity, moved the rest, on hearing of the vengeful doom, though just.

St. Chrysostom remarks, that when the patriarch and his family had entered the ark, God closed its door with the same hand as that with which he made the world; adding, "Nor did he permit those within to behold what passed without, for this reason, that although those who perished were most wicked, yet the minds of good men have great compassion, even when they see the guilty punished; and therefore the Father of the human race consulted the consolation of a piteous and holy man, in not allowing him to see the destruction of sinners."¶

The use of torture had come down from the Pagans. Its having been continued through the middle ages must be ascribed to the fact that the legislation had not been wholly delivered from the old error. It does certainly seem strange, and

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. Liv. xvii.
† Capit. Car. Calv. Duchesne, tom. ii. ‡ De Consideratione, Lib. ii. cap. 11. § Epist. clviii.
‖ Bell's Observations on Italy. ¶ Hom. 25. in Gen.

a just cause for profound humiliation, that so long a time should have been necessary to convince all just men of the inconsistency of such contrivance horrible with the charity of the gospel. The ecclesiastical courts rejected all extorted confessions, but in the secular still prevailed the opinion of the old civilized world—ut facinoris veritas quæ indice vocis non promitur, dolore corporis exprimatur.* We can only account for this by the disposition of the Christians to suffer rather than to act, to take as little part as possible in public affairs, and by remarking that the complete extinction of Pagan traditions in the administration of the civil power was necessarily a work of time. As effects are not often produced until the cause which led to them has been removed, so the total abolition of this execrable custom was at length obtained, though not until the faith which had been for eighteen centuries in constant action to undermine it had in many places ceased to operate. Be this as it may, the religious reformers have won no glory here. The torture was abolished in Sweden till a short time before Howard's visit. In Hanover it was still used in 1781, and at Hambourg he gives a fearful description of what he saw. Nowhere does he seem to have found so horrible a scene of torment provided for captives as in the prison at Nuremberg, which was the first city that embraced the reform, and where he penetrated into the dismal chamber of torture on which he read the horrible line—

"Ad mala patrata, hæc sunt atra theatra parata."

I forbear to cite domestic testimony, but the Catholic traditions of England are still fresh, and therefore such evidence may be passed over. At the same time, we must remember that the legitimacy of torture was not an universal belief in the middle ages. It is not the fact, that every man in judicial authority approved of it. The difficulty was, to inspire mercy in the civil power, which, without the influence of the Church, would have often lapsed into a cruelty even surpassing that of the ancient governments; for men who resisted the mercy of Christ were of the blackest dye of all; and it sometimes happened that the ferocity of men was too strong for the ecclesiastical spirit to repress it, as when the French court would not permit the constable of Pol to receive the communion before his execution,†—fearful instance of what Richard Plantagenet says, in the words of Shakespeare,—

"————heart he wrathful still,—
Priests pray for enemies, but princes kill"

With respect, however, to severity of legislation in general, there may, perhaps, be some truth in the observation, that in proportion as a people becomes sensual and merciless, its laws will become mild; for it will have the desire and the energy to throw off whatever presses hard upon the passions, in the same manner as with corruption of manners language often affects greater chastity; and in a licentious and unprincipled community, every one fears for himself—a fact which did not escape the notice of ancient writers, one of whom says, "Cum sint mali-

* S. Cyprian, Tractat. cont. Demetr.

† Pasquier, Recherches de la France, vi. 10.

tanquam suæ sibi conscii malitiæ sibi timent, et malos prædicant, non puniri. Hoc autem pietatis intuitu non prædicant, sed timore."* Besides, we might expect to find severity of punishment in proportion to the sense entertained of the magnitude of danger or crime; and it was certainly a maxim of our ancient legislators, qui parcit uni malo nocet omnibus bonis. That it was just and useful to terrify the imagination of the people by the appalling forms of execution, no one will question who reflects how much their abolition has tended to embolden desperate men, who have so often been found to encourage each other by the remark that the worst they could suffer would be from a blow of the guillotine—a death not very ignominious in their eyes, and which some great criminals have declared preferable to the protracted sufferings of an old man, confirming their opinion by the verses of a poet:—

"While gasp by gasp he falters forth his soul,
Ours with one pang, one bound, escapes control."

But it is enough to glance at such an odious subject. There is evidently a dilemma. The assent of the ancient Christian legislators to what they had found existing, presents, no doubt, a difficulty; but however severe or execrable their customs may have been, our duty, in the present instance, as observers of manners, imposes on us the strict obligation of never viewing them apart from a series of most remarkable facts, attesting the heroic exercise of individual mercy, either in attempts to infuse greater mildness into the civil authority, or in saving culprits from the hands of the temporal magistrate. Witness that noble judge, of the Brignioli family at Genoa, whose portrait is seen, among those of other benefactors, in the Albergo dei Poveri in that city, who renounced the high office with which the state had entrusted him, and became a priest, rather than continue to administer law under a legislature which required torture. The traitors who conspired against the Emperor Lewis, were condemned to death, but he would not consent to have the sentence executed. Bernhard, however, the chief who sought to dethrone him, had his eyes put out, and died three days afterwards; and when the emperor heard of the event, he wept with great lamentation during a long time, and made his confession before all the bishops, and received penance from them, because he had not prohibited his counsellors from performing this cruelty; and on this account, he gave great alms to the poor for the purgation of his soul.† Witness, again, the act of King Edward the Confessor, which was delineated and wrought by the hangings about the choir of Westminster abbey, and which is thus briefly related by an ancient writer:—"The king detected, three times, a poor courtier pilfering money from his casket, and when his chamberlain was greatly moved on discovering the theft, the king willed him not to be grieved. 'For,' said he, 'he that hath it, hath more need of it than we have.'" Similarly, King Charles the Fifth of France would not suffer the law to be enforced against his barber, when detected in attempting three times to steal gold from his person. Hear how a contemporary related the merciful acts of King Robert. "Being

* Evrardus cont. Waldens. c. 15.

† Thegani. de Gestis, Ludovic. Pii, 23.

about to celebrate the holy Pasch at his palace of Compiegne, twelve nobles were arrested, on a charge of having conspired to assassinate him. After interrogating them, he ordered that they should be confined in the house of Charles the Bald, fed with royal viands, and on the holy day of the resurrection, fortified with the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. On the second feria, they were tried and condemned, but the pious and prudent king absolved them, on account of the benign Jesus, saying, that men, nourished with the celestial food and drink, ought not to be condemned. Lest, however, they should return to act iniquity, he addressed them in holy words, and then dismissed them, to return to their own homes."* Ogger, a poor clerk, coming from the kingdom of Lothaire, was received by Robert, and associated into his college of clerks ; but he was a traitor, like another Judas. One evening after supper, when the darkness of a night covered the earth, the king, as usual, went to his chapel, to say his last prayers ; his clerks preceding him, carrying massive candle sticks, which, being placed, he retired into a corner and meditated. At this moment, Ogger approached the altar, and thinking himself unobserved, seized one of the candlesticks, and concealing it under his dress, departed. When the clerks returned, and discovered the theft, they asked the pious king concerning it, but he would give no information. Constantia, the queen, of whom it used to be said.

"Constans et fortis, quæ non Constantia ludit,"

was inflamed with anger, and she declared that the eyes of the sacristan should be put out, unless the thief was discovered. The king, hearing this, took the wretch aside, and said, "Friend Ogger, depart hence, lest my inconstant Constantia should destroy you. To provide for your return to the land of your nativity, you have already taken enough. May the Lord be with you, wherever you go. Departly quickly."† These are not isolated examples : they paint whole ages. St. Benedict, of Aniana, would not even punish the robbers who committed depredations on the estates of his monastery. When the peasants one day brought him a man, whom they had caught riding away with several horses belonging to the fraternity, and whom they had ill-used, he caused the thief to be healed, and dismissed. On another occasion, while walking with a monk in the neighboring fields, he met a man mounted on one of his horses ; and when the monk called his attention to the circumstance, he contented himself with observing, that many horses were alike ; though he afterwards admitted, that he knew both the animal and the thief. Of St. Gregory, of Utrecht, we have a similar anecdote, related by his friend and disciple, St. Liudger. Two of his brothers had been murdered in a forest. The murderers were seized, and, in conformity with Germanic custom, were brought to him, that he might decide on their fate. He caused them to be bathed, clothed, fed, and quietly dismissed with this gentle admonition :—"Go in peace, but refrain hereafter from crime, lest a worse thing happen to you."

* Helgaldi Epit. Vit. Rob. ap. Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. iv. † Id.

hese examples are, indeed, of ancient date ; but let it be remembered, that St. Antoninus, the great Archbishop of Florence, amidst all the refinement and complicated interests of one of the richest cities in Europe in the sixteenth century, acted in the same manner. A certain scandalous priest, named Ciardi, who had been cited before his tribunal, came to his house before the hour of audience, entered his chamber, where he found him alone, and, without saying a word, struck at him with a dagger, and with such force, that, on the archbishop leaning aside to escape the blow, the poignard remained sticking in the back of the chair. The holy prelate, retaining his wonted composure, only knelt down to thank God, and the assassin fled. From that day, the saint never ceased to pray for his conversion, and on no account would he suffer him to be pursued. After some time, his devout prayers were heard. Ciardi entered into himself, and, in order that his penance should be as long as his life, took the habit of St. Francis, in the little convent of St. Michael, where his perseverance edified the faithful, and consoled the holy archbishop.* Such was the unwillingness of men who loved justice, in these ages of mercy, to punish persons who were guilty of the greatest crimes. Commiseration and solicitude for such wretches, in a Catholic country, is even at the present day sanctioned by the magistrates, who permit and encourage merciful individuals to come forward in their favor ; which conduct of rulers and people has most certainly come down from the ages of faith ; for so little has modern philanthropy contributed, that all moral writers of the present day denounce it in the severest terms as a morbid sensibility, debasing and injurious.

Following the steps of the blessed merciful, we must now enter the prisons ; and therefore, prepare thy soul, companion, to encounter objects full of gloom ; for I will nothing extenuate, but show thee at once the dismal reality, the first glance at which will remove all fear that we shall not find the dungeons terrible enough. Nevertheless, ere we pass the first threshold, let me admonish thee to stand upon thy guard against the inference that modern sophists are sure to draw from a retrospect of this kind. It is well to be armed against them from the first ; and, therefore, mark well this fact, which, in few words, can put them down ;—that however deplorable may have been the condition of prisoners in the middle ages, the revolution of the sixteenth century, and the religion which succeeded, brought them no relief, as the black assizes at Oxford, in 1577, could bear witness. The Chancellor Bacon and Dr. Mead ascribe the death of the chief justice, the sheriff, and three hundred persons on that occasion, to an infection brought into court by the prisoners.

Testimony of the same kind, to the influence of the new opinions upon the state of prisons, was afforded at Taunton in 1730 ; and again, twenty-five years later, at Axminster, when the whole town was infected by the release of one prisoner ; and again at London, in 1750, when three judges, the lord mayor, and a number of others, died of the jail fever, of which Howard found little or no trace in any

* Touron. Hist. des Hom Illust. de l'Ord S. Dom. iii. Liv. xx.

Catholic country. The great prison at Naples contained, in 1781, nine hundred and eighty prisoners; yet he found no indication of fever, but an air within it as wholesome as in the prisons of Austrian Flanders, France, Spain, or Tuscany, "where you rarely experience," he says, "that infectious odor which fills the English prisons, as also those of Sweden, Denmark, and Russia. In Spain," he says, "most prisons have spacious courts, fountains, running streams, arcades, and fresh air." The fact is, that every cruelty, every abuse, in regard to prisoners, was left untouched by the reformers, while in countries that remained Catholic, a gradual amelioration had taken place; so that at the close of the eighteenth century, when Howard wrote, the condition of prisoners was incomparably more wretched, amidst the nations of the north, than where Catholicism still reigned. The first pages of his work on the state of prisons disclose a fearful picture of the inhumanity which was exercised towards persons in confinement in England. Their allowance of food being determined by the relative value of money in remote times, had become insufficient for the support of life; and when the guardians of the bridewells used to ask for additional food, the reply of the magistrates was, "Let them work or die;" though in many places, they were not permitted to work, or receive profit from their work. The prisons opened only once in the year; and at Hull, the assizes were held only once in seven years. The reform had not done more for prisoners in other nations. Such was the infected air in the blue tower of Copenhagen, that when the Count Struensee was drawn from it to be led to a terrible death, he exclaimed, "O what a pleasure to breathe the fresh air!" Howard found that the prisons of Sweden were not better administered than those of Denmark; the air was infected in them all. In a prison at Stockholm, remarking the half-famished looks of some prisoners, whose allowance of bread and water was barely sufficient to support life, the jailor scornfully replied, "It is good for the health." Yet, at this epoch, the state of prisoners, in Catholic countries, was in general far different. While in England, Scotland, and Russia, no attention was paid to their morals, he found in the prisons of Austrian Flanders, France, Spain, and Italy, wise rules to prevent any immorality, or profanation, or disorders; so that, like the prisons in Egypt, when their management was confided by the Prefect to Josephus, "the place," as Philo says, "did not resemble a prison, but σωφρονιστηριον, a school of virtuous discipline. At Antwerp, a fine of two sous was imposed on every one who swore, or uttered an imprecation. The administration of the prisons at Genoa, at Manheim, at Strasbourg, and at Paris, filled him with admiration. He says, that the Agastro and the Caza di Correzione, at Milan, do honor to the country. While prisoners in England were frequently half starved to death before their trials, he found in the prisons at Florence, Naples, Paris, Madrid, and Brussels, that the food was abundant and wholesome. At Antwerp only, the allowance was small; but he adds, that the monasteries took care to supply what was wanting through the parsimony of the government. Similarly, the prisoners in the tower of the old castle at Bonneville, in Savoy, used to be sup-

plied with soup on two or three days every week by a convent. While in England, prisoners were loaded with irons, at the discretion of the jailors, he found them exposed to no such cruelty and despotism in Catholic countries. Instead of the merciless despots who had charge of the English jails, whom he describes as being more cruel even than the magistrates, retaining sometimes in confinement, as at Durham, in 1755, prisoners after their acquittal, but who could not pay the price which they asked for the certificate of the judge's sentence, he found this class of men, in Catholic countries, humane, and even affectionate. "Prisoners in France," he says, "have no reason to complain of jailors. While in Scotland prisoners for debt were prohibited by law from enjoying even the fresh air, though with the jailor at their side, he found that this class of miserable men, then very small in Catholic countries, was always treated with a kind of generous liberality. By the ancient Catholic laws, the creditor was even bound to supply proper nourishment to the imprisoned debtor; and if a poor debtor should be sick in prison, he was to be carried to the house of the creditor, and have medical advice and assistance at his expense; and if the creditor refused to receive him into his house during his sickness, the debtor was to regain his liberty.*

In the prison for debtors at Milan, in 1781, there were only eleven persons confined; "though," adds Howard, "this city is vast and commercial." At Strasbourg, in 1778, there were but three. At Mayence, the prison for debtors was empty; so were those at Coblentz and at Manheim. At Cologne, in 1779, he found no prisoners of any description in the tower. In the same year, the great prison of Aix la Chapelle was empty, and in the bad tower of Fribourg he found no prisoner.

Having this point well established we may now recur to ancient times, with less danger of being led into error, while visiting, in imagination, the fortress or the feudal dungeon, to inquire whether there can be found within them any trace or memory of the blessed merciful.

"Our forefathers," says Cicero, "meant the prison to be a security for the punishment of notorious and nefarious criminals;"† but such was not exactly the idea in the society of the middle ages, where public prisons were required; for we observed in the last book, that many cities could then boast of having no prison. Merciful correction, and not vengeance, was the object then contemplated, all the very walls were made to proclaim. On the prison at Syracuse, built by John Capoblanco, bishop of that see, might be read this inscription:— "Hic mentis sanies afflictione corporis curatur. Joannis Syracusani Episcopi pietas commiseraus malos á fundamentis erexit."‡ In a prison at Rome, Howard remarked the following inscription:— "Parum est coercere improbos pœne. nisi probos efficias disciplina." The words justice and clemency are inscribed over the gate

* Novarii Tract, de Privilege. Miserab. Person. 139

† Catil. II.

‡ Sicilia Sacra, tom. i. c. 48.

of the great prison built by Innocent X. On the portal of the prison at Vienna was a striking picture of the crucifixion, in which the two thieves were represented. Over the first of the five gates which you have to pass before arriving at the court of the Prison Dellestinche at Florence, were inscribed two words, "oported misereri," which may have served to another purpose, besides awakening a sterile pity, though Howard deemed them useless.

Amidst the mouldering desolate chambers that may still be traced in so many old castles, as in that of Baden, the tales that memory is sure to recall, and the dark scenes that fancy so readily suggests, will seem, indeed, to contradict this testimony, and to confirm a very different opinion respecting the nature of prisons in the middle ages. Horrible exceptions, undoubtedly, they were; but it should not be forgotten, that even under the worst circumstances wherever the Catholic religion was known, the traditions of mercy were known, at least, by some that could not be far off; and, therefore, there was a great probability that the force of measures, or the cruelty of some, could not wholly prevent the action of individual grace, and the tenderness of others. There was besides, something always at the bottom, even of the sternest heart, to which the unhappy could appeal. The feudal tower, like the fortress of Spielberg, might confine the wretched captive; but the chances were nearly infinite against his finding a keeper wholly insensible to pity, like a personification of a political system, or the blind instrument of a blood-thirsty heart. The authentic documents of the trial of the Maréchal de Biron mention, that the name of the jailor of the Bastile at that time was Rumigny; and the historians of that prison inform us, that he had a wife who prostrated herself in prayer when the Maréchal was conducted to the scaffold. A French writer remarks, that the prison of Bonneville, in Savoy, was left in a deplorable state. He found seventeen prisoners in one of the two towers of the old castle on the mountain. "The jailor," he adds, "is a rough fellow, yet full of sensibility, and he collects alms for them with great compassion." Silvio Pellico, whose book is a book of all ages, relates, that one day, being reconducted to his dungeon, he found the door of Oroboni's cell open. They had hitherto only heard one another from their respective casements. The guards were hastening to shut it, but Pellico was too quick for them; and, in an instant, the two prisoners were in each other's arms. Schiller, the old jailor, was confounded at the sight, exclaimed horribly, and raised his hand with a theatening air; but his eyes filled with tears, and he exclaimed, sobbing, "O my God, have mercy on these poor young people, and on me, and on all the unhappy; Thou who wast also upon earth unhappy!"

You have a similar instance in the ancient chronicles of Italy. The monster Eccelino de Romano used to leave his prisoners to die of hunger. There were shrieks of woe, and a sound of hands smote together, and spectres of wretched captives expiring through famine; so that to visit one of his prisons, was like entering hell. How could one hope to find that Catholic mercy was able to penetrate here? Yet it did penetrate, as the history of Arnaldus, that mirror of

monks, Abbot of St. Justina, at Padua, will demonstrate. This holy man died on Ash-Wednesday, in his prison at Asilum, in the seventieth year of his age, after remaining eight years and three months in a dark dungeon, a true martyr, who patiently and innocently endured that long passion of captivity. In the last years, the tyrant commanded that he should be left alone, and fed on black bread and water; but the guards loved him, and secretly supplied him with better food, and with various refreshments. At his funeral, the fear of the tyrant could not prevent a vast multitude from attending, and following the body to the convent of the minors, where he was to be buried, extolling him as a martyr, and pronouncing his death to have been blessed.* During the wars between the houses of Montfort and Blois, for the duchy of Brittany, John count of Montfort, and duke of Brittany, invited Oliver de Clisson, a Briton, and constable of France, whom he knew to favor his cousins, to inspect the castle called L'Ermine, which he had lately built in the outskirts of Vannes. On reaching the principal tower, the duke stopped below, and desired the constable to mount; and no sooner had the latter reached the first story, but he was made prisoner by some men of arms, who had been placed there for the purpose, loaded with irons, and left in solitude; and orders were given to the Seigneur de Balavan to drown him secretly at midnight. This gentleman made great remonstrance, but nothing could prevail upon the duke. Balavan, however, like a good and loyal knight, knew his master's interest better than he did himself, and resolved to wait for time to cool his passion, but to pretend that he had fulfilled his orders. After the duke's first sleep, reason began to combat his fury, and to represent the treachery of this act in its true colors. At break of day, he sent for Balavan, and asked if the sentence had been executed, who replied that it had. At this, the duke gave way to the most bitter lamentations, and ordered himself to be left alone, passing the day in tears and groans, refusing food. Towards evening, Balavan, not being able to endure that the duke should pass the night in such a state, came into his presence, and told him that he came to console him, and to bring him a remedy for everything. "Yes, for all but death," replied the duke. The other, however, informed him, with a smile, that he had disobeyed his orders, and that the constable was alive and well. Then the duke wept for joy, and promised to reward Balavan, for having rendered him such a service.† So, again, the monk of Monte Cassino, in the history of the Normans, relating the delivery of Tridinocte, Hugo of Fallaise and many others, from their prison in the great tower of Guaymere, Prince of Salerno, in the year 1046, says that Martin, the guardian of the prison, readily agreed to let them escape, and that for two reasons; —l'une porce qu'il avoit compassion de lor misère, and the other, in hope of a recompense.‡ But it was to the heart of the woman especially,

* Monach. Paduani Chronic, Lib. ii. c. 2.
† Pasquier, Recherches de la France vi. 30
‡ L'Ystoire de li Normant, Liv. ii. c. 33

that prisoners, in ages of faith, were indebted ; for she was imaged there, by whom the key did open to God's love ; and in sweet acts of grace and tenderness did they develop what they felt within them of resemblance to that Virgin Mother, whom St. John Damascene beautifully styles the friend of Mercy. What pilgrim to the holy city had not heard of that Queen, whose death did so ennoble the island in Bolsena's lake, where the king of the Ostrogoths commanded her to be slain ? Cassiodorus says, that such was the incredible sweetness and gravity of her speech, that when criminals were condemned to death, they were soothed by hearing her speak to such a degree, that they made light of the judgment passed upon them. How many of these Amalasiuntas were sent upon earth in the middle ages as ministering angels, to console the miserable ! St. Anastasia, a noble Roman matron, used to give all she had to the Christians in prison ; and when they were executed, she wept, exclaiming, that they had taken from her the objects of her mercy ; and so confessing Christ, became herself a martyr. St. Radegund, wife of King Clothaire, walking one evening after supper in the garden at Perona, the prisoners cried out to her from the grate of the prison, vociferating. She asked what cries they were, and the servants falsely said, that they arose from a crowd of beggars ; and she believing them, sent out alms. Meanwhile, the prisoners were enjoined to keep silence ; but when night came on she began to make her accustomed round, and then, it is said, that these poor captives came to her, expressing their gratitude, having been miraculously freed from their chains.*

During the short interval in which Latude, one of the victims of Pompadour, had enjoyed liberty after his deliverance from Vincennes, and before his second arrest, and imprisonment in a subterraneous dungeon at Bicêtre, he had written a short account of his misfortunes, intending to send it to a President of Tournelle ; but the paper being lost by the messenger, Providence ordained that it should fall into the hands of a mercer's wife, named Legros, in the street of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. This woman had never seen Latude, nor was she aware that such a person existed ; but he is unfortunate, and she will use every effort to save him. Her charitable husband enters into her views, she hastens to the court, employs all her interest with the subalterns ; the birth of the dauphin gives occasion for an amnesty, but a surety is required ; the mercer's wife subscribes it, and Latude is free, after a captivity of thirty-nine years.

The mercy of the clergy towards all persons in captivity, is continually traced. Thus by the canons of the council of Clermont, in 549, it is ordered, that the prisoners should be visited every Sunday by the Archdeacon, or some other minister of the Church, who must provide for their wants. St. Cæsarius, having sold even the ornaments and sacred vessels of the Church, in order to relieve the wants of the prisoners taken from the enemy, was accused of disloyalty to King Theodoric,

* Vincent Bellov. Speculum Historiale, Lib. xxi. c. 80

who ordered him to be conducted to Ravenna ; but he was so struck with his venerable air, that he immediately pronounced him innocent, and dismissed him, with a present of a silver basin, weighing sixty pounds, and 300 sols in gold. Cæsarius sold the basin, and with the money, according to his custom, redeemed several from captivity. The clergy, both regular and secular, of all cruelty the foes, were unremitting in alleviating the horrors of the feudal prison. "O, the great virtue of St. Fale," exclaims an ancient writer. "A certain cruel man, in the reign of Childebert the Sixth, reproachful and insolent, proud and vicious, kept in prison a young man, who, indeed, deserved some punishment for his faults, but he punished him with much greater severity than justice required. The father, named Æmilian, ran, with tears in his eyes to the saint, and begged his assistance. The man of God consoled him to the best of his power, and gave him the stick which he usually carried, desiring him to present it to the cruel lord, and to desire him, on his part, to set his poor young captive at liberty, and to pardon him. Such was the power of sanctity in those ages, that this tyrant, although he outraged, in consequence, his holy admonitor, was not the less obliged to deliver the victim, whose rescue was ascribed to the prayers and intercession of the saint."*

When Totila, king of the Lombards, moved by the fame of St. Benedict's sanctity, came to Monte Cassino to visit him, we only read of the interview, that the saint exhorted him to mercy. There is an anecdote related by St. Jonas, which is still more striking. While St. Columban was at Besançon, he was told, that the public prison was filled with condemned criminals. To them he hastened, to preach the word of God ; but he also did them other service. Having made them promise that they would amend their lives, and sustain the canonical penance for their respective offences, he ordered their irons to be unloosed, and set them free. Such was the reverence in which he was held, that no one dreamed of opposing him. Having washed their feet, a common work of humility, he sent them to the cathedral, to assume the usual penance, and to mourn over their sins. The mercy of the Church is continually seen in action in behalf of prisoners. The first canon of the synod which was held at Reis in 1284, under Rostagus II., Archbishop of Aix, commands prayers to be offered, for obtaining the liberty of Charles, Prince of Salerno, who was then in the prison of the Sicilians ;† and there is extant a long and beautiful Latin poem, which was sent to Aigulfus, Archbishop of Bourges, in the ninth century, by Teudulfus, then an exile, praying, that by his prayers, and those of his brother bishops, he may be permitted to return to his country, from which he was banished, on suspicion of having been implicated in the conspiracy of Bernard, king of Italy, against his father, the emperor Lewis.‡

" The Roman Church," says St. Bernard, writing to the Milanese, "hath treated you as a mother. What ought she to do for you, and hath not done? If you

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocese de Troyes, 117.

† Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 16.

‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 51

asked that your fellow-citizens might be delivered from the chains of the Placentians, this has been done."* But still more remarkable is his letter to the Genoese, in which he says, "When I visited your city last year, each morning, noon, and night, I announced to you the word of God; and there was as much charity amongst the hearers, as there was avidity of hearing. I went forth to sow the seed of peace, and the celerity with which I reaped fruit was truly wonderful; in one and the same day sowing and bringing back the sheafs with exultation; for this is the harvest which I reaped,—the return of exiles to their country; the deliverance of captives from chains and prisons, the glory of the Church, the joy of the world."† The Theodosian code ordains as follows:—"Let the judges personally inspect the prisoners who are to be brought before them every Sunday, and ask them whether, in consequence of corrupt jailors, humanity hath been denied to them; nor let there be wanting the laudable care of the priests of the Christian religion to admonish the judges to the practice of this observance.‡ Concerning those who are imprisoned, we order the bishops of the place to visit them in their captivity on one day in every week; that is, on the fourth or sixth feria, and diligently to inquire the cause for which they are detained, and whether they are slaves or free men, whether they are confined for debts or for other charges, or for homicides, and to admonish the illustrious magistrates, as well those who are in this happy city, as those who are in the provinces, that those things may take their course which had been ordained by our constitution to the illustrious prefects, licence being given to the bishops, if they should know of any negligence on the part of the illustrious magistrates, or of those who serve them officially, to declare it."§

This "laudable care of the priests," can be traced through all these ages. In the twelfth century we find the great Dominican, Robert Kilwarbi, archbishop of Canterbury, in the first year of his government visiting the prisoners, consoling and instructing the criminals, relieving the debtors, giving great alms to all, and restoring many to liberty. There is extant one of his letters, dated the 18th of May, 1273, in which he orders certain men in authority, to release from prison and to set wholly free many persons who were unjustly detained there, and he threatens them with canonical penalties if they neglect to comply.‖

We find that one of the first acts of the great and merciful pontiff, Benedict XIII., was to visit the prisons, and order that all prisoners, whatever might be their crime, were to be treated with humanity from the first to the last day of their confinement, and that the greatest attention should be paid to maintain cleanliness and salubrity. The Church, on all her great anniversaries, endeavored that prisoners should partake of that common joy from which she says, "Let no one be excluded." At Rheims the two archdeacons, who were at all times to

* Epist. cxxxi. † Epist. cxxix. ‡ Cod. Theodoc. lix. tit. iii. 1. 7.
§ Cod. Justin. i. tit. iv. l. 22.
‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. liv. 4

take care of the prisoners, were especially enjoined to visit them on the principal festivals.*

It was ordained by the consuls of Bologna, in the twelfth century, that during eight days before and as many after the festival of St. Petronio, debtors who chose to assist at the solemn office of the finding of his relics should be free from all molestation of creditors, and that their goods also should be protected during the interval.†

This was providing for a want that in the middle ages would have added greatly to the bitterness of a prison. The continuator of Vincent of Beauvais' work relates, that the son of a certain Norman noble who had been taken prisoner by the Sarassins, being in a deep dungeon, called to memory the great festival which his father used to celebrate in his chapel on the day of St. Nicholas, and began to weep at the recollection; and that when the Sarassins heard the cause, they scourged him cruelly. It is added, however, that he was miraculously delivered, and that after sleep he found himself in his father's chapel.‡

In the year 1287, the Prince of Salerno, who was afterwards Charles II., King of Naples and Count of Provence, sent Raymond de Nevellion, Bishop of Gap, from Barcelona to Pope Martin IV. at Rome, to beg that his holiness would permit him to have mass and the divine office celebrated in his prison, notwithstanding the interdict under which Catalonia then lay—which petition was granted.§

The extent to which mercy was exercised on the great festivals, by the state, would seem incredible if it were not so well attested. St. Eloy, in his Homily on Maunday Thursday, speaking of the mysteries of that day, adds, "Malefactors are pardoned, and the gates of prisons are opened, throughout the whole world." Though this general amnesty was subsequently restricted, it still continued to be a custom with the feudal princes to deliver two prisoners or to enfranchise two serfs on Christmas eve.‖ At Rome we find this practice continually prevailed. Thus Benedict XIII., at the Christmas solemnities, visited the prisons and ordered some prisoners to be set free, in honor of the mystery which has delivered all men from the captivity of the demon.¶ In Navarre, the viceroy and magistrates used to repair twice every year to the prisons, at Christmas, and eight days before Easter, and release as many prisoners as they pleased. Howard says, that in 1783 they released thirteen at Easter, and some years before they released all. Even where prison gates remained closed, it seems on these occasions to have been the desire of the civil authorities that the condition of captives should be somewhat alleviated. Roger de Breteuil, Count of Herfort, being convicted of treason against William the Conqueror, was condemned, according to the Nor-

* Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv. i. 88. † Sigonii, De Episcop. Bonon. liv. i.
‡ Speculum Morale, liv. iii. Pass. x. dis. 24.
§ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. liv. 6.
‖ Marchangy, Tristan le Voyageur, tom. iii. 132. ¶ Touron, tom. vi

man laws, to pass the rest of his days in prison. Orderic Vitalis says, that "when the people of God were preparing to celebrate the festival of Easter, the king sent to the count in his prison a present of precious clothes, a mantle and a tunic of silk, and a robe of precious skins and furs, which Roger threw into the fire to show his scorn of the king."* Such a present was only in accordance with the general practice of that time. When Duke Robert closely besieged the strong rock of Saint Severin, where Balalard had taken refuge, "it happened," saith the monk of Monte Cassino, "that the clothes of Balalard, through age, began to fall to pieces; and he besought Roger, the Duke's son, that on Easter-day he would supply him with what was necessary, for one should be clad in new cloth on a great festival; and the young man went to his father, and told him that Balalard asked for a robe; and the duke commanded that there should be brought to him good cloth and proper, of different kinds, and he gave them to his dear son, and commanded him to present them to Balalard: and so it was done."†

Of the desire of comforting prisoners on the festivals, we can trace some faint vestiges in the use of certain poor formalities down to the worst times of the modern political despotisms. By the terms of the regulations for the interior economy of the Bastile in 1764, we find mention of three days every year on which an extraordinary allowance was made to the prisoners. On the festival of the Epiphany, as also on the feasts of St. Lewis and of St. Martin, there was to be half of a roasted fowl provided for each;—a great addition, no doubt, to their ordinary fare.

"————such as captives' tears
Have moisten'd many a thousand years,
Since man first pent his fellow men
Life brutes within an iron den."

At Madrid, prisoners were treated with better fare on the three festivals of Christmas, Easter, and San Fernando. Howard remarked that at Leghorn, on the two great days of Easter, the prisoners were supplied with meat and rice, that the prison slaves at Civita Vecchia were supplied with beef and wine at Easter, Christmas, and during the carnival, and that in Austrian Flanders prison fare is better on all holy days. We have frequently had occasion to notice the acts of sovereign grace with which the celebration of the Christian festivals was accompanied. Speaking of the notorious adventurer, Gilles Baignart, Sieur de Juez in Normandy, the ancient writers say that he could never have obtained his pardon from the king, "not even on a Good Friday;" for on that day, when the Church prays that prison gates may open, the kings of France always delivered one prisoner convicted of unpardonable crimes, in memory of the pardon which Jesus Christ obtained for the human race. Power of this kind was not an exclusive ornament of the crown in ages of mercy. On the chief religious festivals, the laws or immemorial custom in many places conferred singular privileges on the clergy, and

* Hist. Norm. Lib. iv.

† L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. vii. c. 19.

gave them the power of delivering a certain number of prisoners. Thus at Paris on Palm Sunday, the clergy of Nôtre Dame used to deliver one captive from the prison of the Petit Chatelet, before which they made a station, who used then to follow them into the choir of the metropolitan Church.*

At Rouen, to commemorate, as was supposed in later ages, a miracle wrought by St. Romain, his successor St. Ouen was said to have obtained a privilege of this kind from King Dagobert, which continued to be observed till the Revolution; in consequence of which, every year, on the festival of the Ascension, the canons of the Church of Rouen had the power of liberating a prisoner whom they chose amongst all those of the town whose confessions they had heard during the fifteen days preceding. The prisoner was delivered amidst the joyful sound of bells and organs and chant; while the clergy and all the confraternities, with lighted tapers, went in solemn procession, in honor of God, to the shrine of St. Romain. There the prisoner received absolution, while the people cried "Noel;" and then, having his head crowned with flowers, and his chains suspended from the reliquary, he supported the front of the bier which carried it, the rest being borne by others, who, during the last seven years, had been similarly delivered. In this manner they returned to the choir, where high mass was sung; during which, the prisoner went to each of the canons and asked forgiveness on his knees, who severally exhorted him to amend his life. After mass, he was conducted to the master of the fraternity of St. Romain, and magnificently entertained, served, and lodged. The next day, he heard a sermon in the chapter-house, and was admonished to return thanks to God; after which, he was dismissed, having promised to return every year during the space of seven years, to bear a taper at the procession. Taillepied describes this ceremony as observed in the reign of Henry III.;† but it is given in greater detail by Floquet; and I believe that no one can read his account, at least for the first time, without tears. What must have been the emotions of innumerable breasts, when the great bells of the cathedral and those of all the churches of Rouen announced, with a voice of thunder which could be heard for seven leagues round, that a prisoner was delivered in honor of the saint of God! "At the sound," says an ancient poem, "not alone the city, but every village within that compass, was filled with joy. The peasants drank their oldest wine, the citizens gave banquets to express their exultation at the mercy of God extended to the poor criminal. There was no one, however indigent, who had not his share of gladness at this great and exuberant manifestation of divine grace." What must have been felt by the spectators, when, at the close of the long and solemn train, the revered reliquary of St. Romain appeared borne in front by the prisoner, having the crown of white flowers on his head, who had no light burthen to sustain, though, as an old manuscript says, "There was no child of a good mother that did

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, i. 4.

† F. Taillepied, Recueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de Rouen, pp. 97—104.

not lend a hand to help him." Now was a moment to proclaim again the mystery of our general deliverance; so when arrived in front of the cathedral, the archbishop and all the clergy fell upon their knees and sung aloud, "Tu rex gloriæ, Christi—tu ad liberandum suscepturus hominem." Truly an impressive thing it was to consider what provision was made by these men of mercy to secure the recovery of this single soul. After the pontifical mass of the Ascension, he is conducted into the chapel of the confraternity, where mass is said especially for his intention, at which he makes an offering of his chains; and on the following day he is conducted processionally into the chapter-hall, where, in presence of all the canons and a multitude of other persons who are admitted, he kneels down and hears an allocution, in which is set forth the horror of his crime and the wondrous benignity of God in granting him space for repentance; and then, in a pathetic remonstrance, generally followed by a flood of tears, as old writers say, he is exhorted to live in future virtuously and Catholically, and to be ever grateful. Some were heard to say, after beholding the whole ceremony, that they would have preferred losing their heads to the privilege; but how merciful was the infliction, which recalled men to shame and justice by a solemnity so beautiful and so holy! Floquet proves that this privilege had only been gradually established, through reverence for the ascension of our Lord, and in honor of the patron saint of the cathedral, whose triumph over Paganism had in latter times been mistaken for the destruction of a dragon, under which form the old error had been represented.* The grant of a prisoner under sentence of death, having been at first freely made by the dukes on the humble request of the canons, came to be considered in the end as a right; in defence of which, when occasion required, they never hesitated to oppose a passive resistance to the power, not alone of the local magistrates, but even of such a king as Louis XI., who, having intimated to them by letters, and by the chief justice of Rouen, that they should not grant the privilege, in 1472, to Stephen de Baudribosc, whom he was determined to judge according to his crime, received for answer, "that they would always endeavor to obey the king; that as for the choice of a prisoner, they would proceed to it according to God, and their consciences." After making which reply, they chose the said Beaudribosc, whom the king pursued with such bitterness.

By virtue of this privilege, no prisoner could be put to death until the canons had made their choice; and sometimes, when the magistrates attempted to evade this necessity, prisoners, as in the case of Robert d'Auberbosc, were rescued at the foot of the scaffold. If at any time, the local authorities attempted to violate the privilege, the clergy proceeded in procession with the reliquary of St. Romain, which they deposited before the prison, where they remained night and day, regardless of any violence—for even their temporal possessions were sometimes seized in consequence—until the murmurs of the people induced the magistrates to respect the ancient custom.

*. Floquet, Hist. du Privilège de Saint Romain.

In the year 1193, when Richard Cœur de Lion was in the dominions of the Duke of Austria, the Church of Rouen discovered no prisoner, as it was deemed indecorous to grant such grace while the royal crusader was in chains; but in the following year, lest mercy should have been a sufferer, the chapter obtained a prisoner, not alone for the present year, but also a second for the preceding. The same resolution that this work of mercy should not fail was evinced in 1563, when the canons demanded two prisoners in consideration of their having been unable to deliver one the preceding year, when Rouen was possessed by the Calvinists, who then in the general sacrilege demolished the beauteous and inestimable reliquary, and committed to the flames the bones of God's confessor, in honor of whom, during perhaps more than seven centuries, so many had been rescued from the jaws of death. The formal recognition of the privilege as a right, is supposed to have been first obtained from Philippe Augustus, whose piety was disposed to favor the merciful disposition of the clergy, whom he loved so greatly that according to an ancient document, "the Church of the malignant used to call him the king of priests."* Louis XII. confirmed the privilege, as "tending wholly to the praise of God, and to the utility of poor prisoners in peril of death, which, as the edict states, is a work of pity and mercy worthy of great recommendation, and of the very Christian king, zealous in the Catholic faith and in defence of themselves."

The prisoners who had been delivered in this manner were in future eligible to all offices, as if they had never committed the crime; and it was even considered an injury to the Church, if any one dared to trouble or stigmatize them on account of it. Neither were they, at first, amenable for other crimes previously committed, though unavowed at the time; so that the delivered prisoner, however great a criminal, after he had raised the reliquary of St. Romain, became a new man, re-established in reputation, and irreproachable; but this extension of the privilege, signified by the crown of flowers placed upon his head at the moment of absolution, which Floquet condemns as exorbitant, seems to have been essentail to its utility; for, without it, there could not have been the same probability of effecting a moral as well as physical emancipation. The abuses to which the privilege gave rise were easily separable from the institution itself, as long experience bore witness before the decline of faith consequent upon the religious wars, when it became subservient to other purposes, as the illustrious magistrates, who loved it complained. Even, however, in those latter times, it often well merited the affection of the merciful. In 1598, it obtained pardon for a whole village, when Peter Maillard bore the reliquary, securing thus forgiveness for himself and all his accomplices, being the unhappy peasants who had joined the revolt of the Gauthiers nine years before. In 1644, Rouen beheld a still more affecting spectacle. Two years preceding, the parishioners of Tronquay, a neighboring village, had been barbarously outraged by a troop of sol-

* Necrologe de l'Eglise du Mans, ap. Flouguet, i. 70.

diers, some of whom, with their captain, being slain by the peasants in their own defence; the privy council took cognizance of the affair: and as there was nothing for them to expect but vengeance, the poor villagers fled into the woods, leaving their children to beg their bread. After being hunted like beasts of prey during two years, these unhappy men turned their eyes to the Church of Rouen, and resolved to have recourse to the privilege of St. Romain. Sixteen of them surrendered themselves. The noble relatives of the deceased captain left nothing undone to prevent their receiving the benefit; but in spite of all their efforts, notwithstanding the persuasions of the Duc de Longueville, and though the queen and the young king Louis XIV. wrote to the canons to threaten them, the sixteen prisoners were delivered, and consequently their accomplices—that is, the whole village—became exempt from further persecution. Indeed Bouthillier, the avocat of the parliament, who attacked the privilege, complained that amongst all the prisoners whom it had delivered from the time of Louis XII. there were but few gentlemen, the rest being persons of the lowest rank;—incidental notice of which fact occurs in documents relative to the confraternity of St. Romain, where it is said that the brethren were often obliged to give an entire new suit of clothes to the criminal, who was often in such a state of indigence that he could not appear decently in the procession.*

Nor was the Church of Rouen singular in the enjoyment of this privilege. The Bishop of Geneva had the right of delivering whom he would, even after capital condemnation.† The Bishop of Laon, on the day of his taking possession, could give an amnesty to all persons in exile.‡ The Church of Vendome delivered a prisoner every year, on the day of St. Lazarus, in execution of a vow of Louis de Bourbon, Count of Vendome, who on that day in 1448 was delivered from an English prison.§ The archbishop of Embrun enjoyed, for a long time, the right of pardon. At Rheims, also, when the archbishop made his first entry, it was a day of grace. The prisons were opened to all, excepting murderers and criminals exposed to capital punishment; and all persons who had been banished returned to the city.‖ The privilege enjoyed by the bishop of Orleans, which was without any modification, extending to the deliverance of all prisoners, was traced from the fifth century, when St. Agnan's holy prayers were believed to have delivered Orleans from Attila, who had besieged it. When the new bishop arrived within a short distance from the city, all the prisoners were led before him, who then threw themselves on their knees, crying mercy. After this supplication, they rose and walked in the procession, two by two, with a rope round their necks. On entering the church, they heard mass in the chapel of St. Yves; and in the evening, being assembled in the court of the bishop's palace, the prelate addressed them from a window, exhorting them to make amends, by voluntary

* Defense pour le. Privelège, par Dadre, ap. Floquet.

† Arnisæus, de jure Majestatis, ii. 3. ap. Floquet ‡ Devisme, Hist. de Laon, i. ap. Id.

§ Jousse, Traite de la Justice Crim. ap. Id ‖ Anquetil. Hist. de Rheims, liv. iii. 4.

penances, for the remission of the punishment which was due to their crimes Then they all knelt down and received his benediction ; after which, dinner was provided for them, and each might depart whither he pleased. In latter times, most of these privileges were restrained or abolished. Such monarchs as Louis XV. were assured by lawyers and parliaments that the power of extending mercy should be confined to the crown, and the suppression of these privileges was termed by Bouchel, " cutting the wings of those who wished to fly aloft." A few years later, the right of pardon was taken even from the king, as being inconsistent with the new order of things. But a history of manners in ages of faith leads us not on such ground.

Let us return. Prisoners were often set free, in order to testify respect and affection on the arrival of some eminent servant of God. This was the case so lately as in 1647, when Thomas Turco, general of the Dominicans, passed into Spain to make the visitation of his order ; for he no sooner arrived on the domain of Don Gaspar Alphonso Perez de Guzman, Duke of Medina Sidonia, than this grandee ordered all the magistrates and governors of places to go out eight leagues to meet him, and not only to present him with the keys of cities and castles, but also to open the prisons, and at his own expense to pay the debts of every prisoner, in order to mark his veneration for a successor of St. Dominick of Guzman.*

This mode for evincing respect for the servants of God was very common in earlier times. The holy hermit Leonard, in the sixth century, who inhabited a cell in the forest of Pauvain, at four leagues distance from Limoges, had been a nobleman in great repute at the court of King Clovis I., and converted by St. Remi, after the battle of Tolbiac. Before retiring into the desert, he had evinced great charity towards prisoners, for whose consolation and instruction he exerted himself with indefatigable zeal ; and when his sanctity became known, on his embracing a religious life, the king by an especial privilege granted him the power, on certain occasions, of setting prisoners at liberty. To the efficacy of his prayers multitudes in all parts of the world ascribed their deliverance from bonds. In the thirteenth century, we find that his festival was a day of obligation in England. One of the most celebrated instances was the escape of Martel Sire de Bacqueville, in the fourteenth century, from the dungeon of the Turks, on the day which was to have witnessed his death. It is said that the irons were still on his feet and hands when he found himself at the skirts of the forest of Bacqueville. He hastened to testify his gratitude, by building a chapel in his castle, under the invocation of the saint to whose prayers he ascribed his deliverance ; in commemoration of which there was a solemn procession every year, on the first Sunday of November. The reliquary which contained his bones, in the collegiate church of Varzi, represented the prison of the Bastile at Paris.

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. v. liv. 36.

Travellers in the sixteenth century relate, that in the beautiful church of the convent of St. Leonard, near Blondo Ferensuola, in Apulia, belonging to the Teutonic knights of Prussia, there were suspended on the walls an incredible number of irons, chains, manacles for the arms and feet, and collars, which had been placed there as votive offerings by those who ascribed their escape from the galleys or dungeons of the infidels, and also their deliverance from prison in Christian countries, to the merciful prayers of that saint.*

In general we find that the clergy took every occasion to impress upon the civil power the duty of mercy to prisoners. Their deliverance was termed, in canon law, causa maximè pia; so that the intervention of a festival presented no obstacle to pursuing it according to judiciary forms.†

In the seventeenth century, St. Leu, Archbishop of Sens, by the calumny of some envious persons, had incurred the anger of King Clotaire, and was sent into banishment, contrary to the form of ecclesiastical rights. His archdeacon hastened to find St. Vinebauld, and besought him to assist the Church of Sens in this misfortune. The holy man set out from Troyes immediately, and passing by Paris, arrived at Rouen about the hour of vespers. It was too late for him to enter the city that night, so he ordered his tent to be pitched, and then he received a crowd of devout poor people who were drawn by the fame of his sanctity. The next day he was admitted to the king, who received him as if he had been an angel; but the saint freely remonstrated with him on the folly and crime of banishing a holy bishop who prayed every day for the prosperity of his kingdom, and reminded him that the kings, his predecessors, had always respected bishops

The king yielded in every thing, and desired him to dispose of the affair as he wished. St. Vinebauld then obtained the deliverance of all the prisoners in the city, who were set free at his request, in order to honor God the more, and to draw down a blessing on the crown of France. The saint then returned to Paris, whence he conducted St. Leu back to Sens. The people of the city came out in a body to receive their archbishop and his angelic deliverer, who entered amidst the joyful peal of bells and melodious chants, while fires shone on all sides. After singing Te Deum in the Cathedral, St. Vinebauld took leave of the archbishop, and set out on his return to Troyes.‡ There were cases, however, when the influence of the local clergy could effect but little towards obtaining mercy for a prisoner; and on these occasions it was to Rome that illustrious captives during the middle ages were naturally directed to look, in hopes of exciting an effective commiseration.

The Emperor Henry III. having taken the kingdom of Sicily from William, who had succeeded to the throne on the death of his father, King Tancred, had carried him prisoner into Germany, along with his mother and sisters, where the young

* Leandri Alberti Descript. Italiæ, 384.

† Novarii Tractat. de Privileg. Miserab. Person. 106.

‡ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocese de Troyes, 143

prince, after five years, died in captivity in the castle of Ems, in the diocese of Coire in Switzerland. "Despairing of transitory things, as report went," says Otto of St. Blaise, "he sought eternal, breathing after those joys in heaven which he could not find on earth; for, being debarred from active pursuits, he studied by constraint contemplating things, and, I trust meritoriously." The mother and her three daughters, Constantia, Alexia, and Mardonia, were imprisoned in the convent of Hamburg in Alsace; and two nephews of her husband were doomed to perpetual imprisonment in the gloomy fortress of Trifels, from which, as an old writer says, no one ever went out who had entered it in chains. "Nullus exivit, qui vinctus ibidem intravit."*

The darkest scenes of this tragedy were over before the death of Pope Celestin; but Innocent III. immediately after his election, sent the Abbot of St. Anastasius into Germany to procure the deliverance of these and other Italian captives, whom Philip, Duke of Suabia, still kept in prison; threatening that, unless they were released, he would subject all Germany to an ecclesiastical interdict. "You will convey," says the pontiff, "to our venerable brethren all the archbishops, and to our beloved sons the noblemen, marquesses, dukes, barons, and other princes of Germany, our mandates that our dear daughter in Christ, the noble woman Sibilia, her son and her daughters, and others of the kingdom of Sicily, who are imprisoned in Germany, may be delivered from their bonds and sent to us free, without excuse or delay; and if these our mandates be not obeyed, you will pronounce sentence of excommunication against them, and place all their dominions under an interdict, until these prisoners shall be restored to liberty."† The result of this mandate was the deliverance of the Archbishop of Salerno and his brethren, as also the release of Sibilia, the widow of King Tancred, with her daughters, who, on thus escaping from prison, fled into France, where the eldest was soon after married to Count Walter, a noble and magnanimous knight, who, by intervention of the Pope, procured the principality of Tarentum for his wife, according to the original agreement of the late emperor.‡ The Viscount of Castle Ayrard and some other Paladins, on their return from the Holy Land, were detained as prisoners at Cremona; on which occasion, Innocent wrote to the Emperor Otho, reminding him how he had been taught to detest a similar outrage when it was perpetrated against his uncle Richard, of illustrious memory, King of England; and bidding him tremble lest he should commit a crime, which he had condemned in another, to whose seat, and not to whose wickedness, it is to be hoped, he has succeeded. At the same time, he addresses letters to the bishop of that see, and to other prelates in whose dioceses the pilgrims returning from beyond sea may be detained prisoners, charging them to procure their instant liberation and permission to proceed, with all their effects, in peace; or in

* Rad. de Dicet. ap. Hurter.

† Inn. III. Epist. Lib. i. 26

‡ Gesta Innocentii, III. 22

the event of not succeeding, to publish a sentence of interdict and excommunication against the states and persons implicated.*

When Philip, king of France, attempted to have his recent marriage with Ingeburgh, sister of Canute, king of Denmark dissolved that unhappy young princess, most beautiful and holy,† being present in the assembly, and not understanding the French, was told by an interpreter, a sentence of divorce was about to be pronounced; upon which, she could only utter these few words, weeping, "Mala Francia, mala Francia—Roma, Roma." The king immediately banished her from the kingdom, and caused her to be placed in a certain convent, whence she was afterwards removed to confinement in one of his palaces. All who feared God, and loved justice, turned their eyes now to the apostolic seat, then occupied by Celestin, who immediately declared null and void the Gallican sentence against the helpless, unprotected woman. Innocent III., who soon succeeded, acted with memorable vigor on this occasion; and though he could not induce the king to love her, yet he never ceased laboring to make him honor her. He sent her consoling letters, and caused her to be visited by his own nuncios, endeavoring to afford her some solace.‡ The cry of the miserable and oppressed, throughout all these ages, was that of poor Ingeburgh,—"Roma, Roma!" And in this respect, the holy see appears, in history, invested with such a sublime grandeur, that a mere remembrance of it, suddenly presented to the mind, is sufficient to fill the eyes with tears. Lo! that island castle in Lochlieven, which has received under its gloomy battlements, another captive queen:—lo! Fotheringay, and the place where thou hadst need to arm thy heart with strength;—how frozen and how faint became those who loved her, ask me not, reader; for I write it not. Think thyself, if lively fancy work in thee at all, how they did feel.

> O'er every feature of that still, pale face,
> Had sorrow fix'd what time could ne'er erase:
> The tender blue of that large loving eye
> Grew frozen with its gaze in vacancy.

Yet hath she one great consolation in all the horrors of her prison;—the knowledge that she is the object of the chief Shepherd's tenderest solicitude;—the knowledge that the fifth Pius meditates on her sorrows, and seeks her deliverance, with all the ardor of his soul. In fact, all that a vicar of Christ on earth could do to restore such a victim, this holy pontiff did. He commanded public prayers, to obtain the suffrage of the faithful; he prayed for her in secret; he wrote, in her behalf, to all Christian kings and princes; he tried to send experienced persons into Scotland, with great sums of money; and, again, after her escape and defeat, when falling into Elizabeth's hands, she was consigned to another prison, he wrote letters of consolation to her, which, even at this distance of time, cannot be read without tears. In reply to her generous promise to hold fast her faith, his strain is all seraphic: he

* Epist. Inn. III. Liv. xii. 77. † Rigord. 37. Vinc. Bellov. Spec. xxix. 55. ‡ Id. 55.

congratulates her on being permitted by the divine Saviour to suffer for sake of justice, adding, that he feels assured the holy love of God, whose sweetness surpasses all the joys of earth, will wholly take away the bitterness of her captivity.* The same pontiff exerted his efforts to procure the deliverance of Don Carlos. He wrote to Philip II., imploring him to change his resolution, representing to him the fatal consequences that would result from keeping his son in prison, the stain that he would inflict on his own reputation among all nations of the earth, the murmurs that would assail him from his subjects, who would regard him as an unnatural father, and as a king careless of the future interests of his people, by destroying the hereditary prince who was one day to govern them.† That the horror of the result was enhanced by the circumstance of Philip having been always faithful to the Church, may be inferred from the fact, that the emperor Frederick II., who made his eldest son, Prince Henry, die in prison, for having blamed his conduct with too much freedom, is always extolled, by modern historians, as the model of a great king, which proves their conviction, that such an act does not impart an equally determinative stamp on the character of a declared enemy of the holy see.

But now, methinks, I mark impatience on my reader's brow: for I have held him long in parlance, in outward courts and chambers, that still received day's cheerful beams, and he, perhaps, is one of those who love to penetrate into the recesses of old castles, and to amuse their imagination by assigning uses to most unaccountable collections of arches, vaults, and passages; and if the light should fail, and all sound but the distant moaning of a wind through some hollow stones, so much the better. Well, it is true, we cannot tell of mercy without having been led through many scenes that would be fitting in romance, and constrained to witness sad, appalling trace of the cruelty and malice of the human heart. We must penetrate into these dungeons, deep and old, whose massive columns are dim with a dull, imprisoned ray, and where, at times, perhaps, our guide will tell us, that we must take leave of all light but what a torch can give.

The monk of Monte Cassino describes the prisons of Gisolf, the ferocious prince of Salerno, who surpassed Nero in cruelty, commanding pirate vessels on sea, and troops of banditti on land, by means of which he used to cast men into dungeons, where they were half starved, and scourged and mutilated, until they paid a great sum for their ransom; and no cruelty was ever like this; and some died in prison through fear, and other tribulation; for in a narrow place he kept sometimes forty together, and his servants used to bury the dead by night, secretly; and those who died by torments, were said to have caused their own death: and during Lent, he would eat no other food but the hands, and feet, and ears of his prisoners, and being contrary to all the virtue of God, he caused the feet of twelve citizens of Amalphi to be cut off in his presence, as he sat at supper on

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. IV. † Id. iv. liv. 28.

the day when St. Peter was delivered from prison by the angel; and no marvel that he would not honor St. Peter, when he ceased not to afflict the miserable on Maunday Thursday, when Christ supped with his apostles. At one time, some Pisans, having been saved from perishing in a storm at sea, by invoking the prayers of St. Matthew, of Salerno, being afterwards anxious to visit the holy shrine in that city, through gratitude, besought a safe conduct from Gisolf, on permission to enter Salerno for that purpose. The prince granted it, and prommised favors. The Pisans entered the port, disembarked, went barefoot to the Church of St. Matthew, gave a rich pall to the altar, lighted innumerable tapers, and then returned to the port, but they could not find their ship; for Gisolf had seized it. The rich were then thrown into his prisons, while the poor were suffered to depart in quest of ransom for the others, not one of whom obtained his liberty without a great price: and Gisolf, seeing his treasure increase, was filled with worldly joy, and it seemed to him that he was no longer a mortal man, but a god.

Now there was in the city of Amalphi a noble man, called Maurus, to whom Almighty God gave riches, and six sons; the eldest of whom was named Panthelo, who was every day before God, and who at Salerno, gave great alms to those who were going to the holy sepulchre of Jerusalem, received them into his house, and enabled them to accomplish the voyage they had undertaken; and he had built a hospital at Antioch, and at Jerusalem, which he supported with his riches, so that his renown spread throughout the world; and not only those who knew him, but those who knew him not, spoke of his goodness. And when Gisolf was going to the emperor of Constantinople, he and all his people were lodged and entertained by Panthelo in his house; and while Gisolf was in his house, he began to consider how he might possess himself of Panthelo's riches. So, on returning to Salerno, he pretended great friendship for Maurus, the father, and for all his sons, and promised to repay them for all their kindness. At this time, Gisolf hated and persecuted the people of Amalphi; but by commandment of the pope, he had promised Maurus, who was now a monk, that if any of his sons should fall into his hands, he would dismiss them safe and sound, without ransom. Shortly after, in a battle at sea, one of his sons, John, was slain, and another son, called Maurus, was taken prisoner. At first, Gisolf treated him with honor, and made him eat with him, and invited him to play at tables with him; and then he began to think how he could get money from him. So, through great avarice, had him seized at table, and put into a prison-room, and afterwards into a dark place under the rock, and put divers irons upon him, and tortured him; and then demanded from Panthelo, his brother, 30,000 besants, but the brother could not pay more than 10,000, for he had no more. Finally, the empress Agnez came to his aid, a woman most Christian and devout, all whose care was in works of mercy in prisons, and in comforting the poor, and in adorning the Churches. So she came to Salerno, and threw herself at the prince's feet, and promised to

pay one hundred pounds of gold, and cut off her own finger, if she could only deliver this Maurus. And at another time, there came all the college of St. Benedict to deliver him, and to pray for him. The empress was despised by the prince, and her prayer was void before the face of the tyrant, who feared not the judgment of God, nor the shame of mankind. At first, he caused his right eye to be put out; and then, day by day, he had his fingers and toes cut off, and by torments he made weak the just man; and it being the winter season, he plunged him into vinegar and ice, and after this martyrdom, Maurus was drowned in the sea, and passed to Jesus Christ.* This is the first prison; and we have paused long enough to feel its dismal horrors. The glimpse of angels amidst such execrable gloom, is one of the miraculous scenes which the history of the middle ages furnishes, in proof of our position, that supernatural mercy was ever near. Here is the second; and again a vault opens before us, that strikes, with damp and cold, both body and soul. In the year 1599, there is cast into the prison of Naples, by order of the Viceroy, another illustrious victim, for whose deliverance the sovereign pontiffs must maintain an earnest, and during a long period, ineffectual struggle. This prisoner, whose captivity commences when he is only in his thirty-first year, and who is doomed to grow old in dungeons and torments, is a Dominican friar of Calabria, named Thomas Campanella. Hear how he speaks of himself in a book, which the horrors of his prison have not prevented him from composing, against Atheists, and which sees the light in 1608, through the liberality of a friend, who publishes it in Germany.—"I have been made to change my prison already fifty times. I have been applied to the question on seven different occasions, and on the last I was made to suffer during forty hours, and I think I must have lost ten pounds of blood. It pleased the Lord to preserve me, and to cure me after six months; but I was hardly cured, when I was thrown into a pit, whence I have been only drawn to undergo examinations. They accused me of being a demoniac and magician; of having made the book entitled the Three Impostors, which was known thirty years before I was born; of following the opinion of Democritus, though I have written against him; of being disaffected to the government of the Church, though, in my book on Christian Monarchy, I have proved, that no philosopher has ever formed the idea of a republic more perfect than that of the prince of the apostles, established at Rome. Lastly, they would make me out a heretic, though, in a known dialogue, I have expressly combatted all the heresies of our time. On these charges, I have been again thrown into the obscure pit, where I have neither air nor light."

This relation is very remarkable, as showing the hypocrisy of the civil power in pretending to punish men for offences against religion, when the real cause of displeasure was solely political; for Touron has shown, that Campanella was arrested merely in consequence of his too great readiness to declare his political

* L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. viii. c. 4.

opinions, at a time which was very critical for the kingdom of Naples. Gabriel Naudeé remarked also, that having his head filled with all the astrological observations of the Chaldæans, Egyptians, Greeks, and Arabs, he had looked higher for the origin of all the disorders of that time, and that he was denounced to the Viceroy as if he had not simply predicted changes, but had conspired to effect them. After the first period of his confinement, he was permitted, however, to write and to see his friends; many of whom visited him from distant countries. Meanwhile, the children of mercy were not remiss. The superior of the Dominicans, many grandees of Spain, and the Pope Clement VIII., exerted all their efforts with Philip III., to procure his deliverance, Pope Paul V. sent Sciopius to Naples for the same purpose; but all was in vain. At length, in 1615, Don Pedro Giron, duke of Ossona, being made Viceroy, the prisoner's condition was much ameliorated. The new Viceroy used to visit him, and consult with him as a friend; and would certainly have soon delivered him, had he not himself fallen into disgrace with the court of Madrid, and been obliged to return to Spain, where he was imprisoned in the castle of Almida, where he never left till his death. This event dispelled the hopes of Campanella; yet, being ever anxious to sanctify his sufferings, he consoled himself with reflections on the advantages arising from his captivity, declaring, that in chains and solitude, he acquired greater knowledge than he could have obtained in the society of the learned; for, being deprived of the view of this corporal world, and, as it were, buried among those who persecute him, "my mind," he says, "struck deeper root, and rose with less distraction towards Him who is called the Father of light, and the Lord of wisdom." It was reserved for Pope Urban VIII. to effect his deliverance. Innocent Maxime, bishop of Catana, and Seraphin Rinaldi, bishop of Motala, in Apulia, being both in great credit with Philip IV., were employed by his holiness; and at their earnest solicitations, the king sent orders, in 1626, to the duke of Alba, Viceroy of Naples, to set the prisoner at liberty, and declare him innocent of high treason, of which he had been accused. Nevertheless, the Pope had only been able to extricate him by pretending that, since he was accused of errors in his books, it was to Rome that he ought to be sent, to render account before the inquisition. Thither, accordingly, he proceeded immediately, and on his arrival constituted himself prisoner of the holy office; but with an understanding, that, this was merely an act to color the pretext which had been used for procuring his deliverance, and that he should have every liberty that could be desired, being prisoner only in name. After some time, Pope Urban VIII. ordered all his papers to be given up to him, assigned him a pension, and showed him so many marks of tender affection, that Gabriel Naudeé took occasion to pronounce a public discourse in praise of his holiness, in which he returned him solemn thanks, in the name of the whole scientific world. These favors awakened the jealousy of the Spanish government. It is true, Campanella was only employed in writing books of science, metaphysics, and theology: he could even think of the sorrows of others

and in his tragedy of Mary Queen of Scots, and diverse elegies on the calamities of his friends, gave proof how deeply he could feel for all who had been, like himself, unhappy. But he received warning that he was not in security. The Pope and the Romans had nearly lost all hopes of saving him, when, as he says himself, the very Christian king, the perpetual defender of the holy Church, contrived, by means of his ambassador, the Count de Noailles, to secure his escape into France, where he was mercifully received by bishops, and men of learning; Peiresc, counsellor of the parliament of Provence, entertaining him, for many months, in his house at Aix, and defraying the expense of his journey to Paris, where he ended his days in peace, in the Dominican convent in the street of St. Honoré.

Compassion for prisoners, and heroic self-devotion to obtain their deliverance, characterized men, however, of all orders in the society of the middle ages. Provenzano Salvani humbled himself so far for the sake of one of his friends, who was detained in captivity by Charles I. of Sicily, as personally to supplicate the people of Sienna to contribute the sum required by the king for his ransom. This act of self-abasement is represented by Dante as having atoned for his general ambition; for on finding him in the lesser torments which purify the proud, he inquires from Oderigi how chanced so presumptuous spirit to gain admittance there; who replies,

> When at his glory's topmost height,
> Respect of dignity all cast aside,
> Freely he fix'd him on Sienna's plain,
> A suitor to redeem his suff'ring friend
> Who languish'd in the prison-house of Charles;
> Nor for his sake, refused through every vein
> To tremble.————————————
> This is the work that from these limits freed him.*

Adalbert, duke of Lorraine, chancellor of Henry V., and archbishop of Mayence, was accused of disaffection to that emperor in 1112, and thrown into prison, where, as Otho of Frisingen relates, he suffered various torments, and was left without food for an almost incredible time.† He finally owed his freedom to the heroic charity of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who gave himself up to Henry as a pledge in his stead. That many other persons, however, evinced blessed mercy towards him in his calamity, appears from the following diploma, which he published soon after his deliverance in 1135, conferring privileges on many citizens of Mayence, in consideration of what they had suffered to serve him,—"Let posterity learn from my fall," said the prelate, "what danger and sudden ruin may attend prosperity. Henry V., as you know, after many benefits, merely on account of my obedience to the Roman Church, cast me into a dungeon. There I remained in darkness, bound for a long time, having for my sole consolation that saying of

* Purg. xi. † Chronic. Lib. vii. c. 14.

the chief Pastor, 'si quid patimini propter justitiam beati;' and those examples, which I so often called to mind of Isaiah in captivity, and Daniel in the lion's den. Finally, by many tribulations, God from on high, visiting the contrite heart, moved the faithful citizens of Mayence to use their efforts to obtain my deliverance. At length, therefore, clerks, counts, and freemen, with citizens, and they of the family of the said emperor, having yielded up pledges in my behalf, offering their dear sons and relations, received me, weakened in all my body, and scarcely half alive, as faithful children would receive a father; but in what manner the pledges were treated, no one can tell without horror; for some returned, having had limbs cut off, others by hunger perished, and others, in exile and nakedness, contracted diseases of which they died. These things the faithful citizens of Mayence suffered for justice. Considering, therefore, how I should recompense such mercy shown on me in captivity, it seemed right that I should confer something on them to conduce to their honor and utility. Therefore, with the advice of my council, I have conferred these privileges, confirming them with my seal."* The ransom of prisoners was a work which the blessed merciful were never slow to perform. After the sack of Rome by the imperial troops, we find the great cardinal Cajetan, who fell into their hands, borrowing money, in order to ransom not alone himself and his servants, but many poor citizens of Rome, who had been utter strangers to him before that day of adversity.† It must be remembered, also, that one duty which devolved upon nearly all the pious confraternities of the middle ages was the visitation of prisoners; so that under the worst circumstances, in the darkest, deepest dungeons of merciless despots, there was always an especial ground of probability of having some observer, to whom might be addressed the words which Dante heard in hell:—"O gracious creature and benign! who goest visiting through this element obscure us whom the world with bloody stain imbrued." Spenser describes the person whose especial office it was

> Poor prisoners to relieve with gratious ayd,
> And though they faulty were, yet well he wayd
> That God to us forgiveth every houre
> Much more than that, why they in bands were lay'd
> And he, that harrowed hell with heavie stowre,
> The faulty souls from thence brought to his heavenly bowre.‡

That the visitation of prisoners formed a most important part of the offices of mercy, a captive in our age, from whose memoirs I have already quoted, can tell us from experience.—"One person of distinction, who came to visit us in prison," says Silvio Pellico, "was a man of fifty or sixty years, who evinced, in his manners and in his words, the most noble compassion. He could do nothing for us; but the sweetest expression of his goodness was a benefit, and we were grateful

* Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 355.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. liv. 25. ‡ Faery Queen, i. 10.

for it. O, what a desire has the prisoner to see creatures of his species. The Christian religion, which is so rich in humanity, has not omitted to announce, as among the works of mercy, the visiting of prisoners. The sight of men who grieve for your misfortunes, even though they may not be able to relieve you more efficaciously, is a great consolation."* Howard made the remark, that there is no country where religion dispenses so much succor to persons under confinement as Italy. "Everywhere," he says, "there are institutions of mercy; and, in most cities, pious confraternities, whose members are exclusively occupied in consoling prisoners." The monks and friars persuaded the laity to form associations for this purpose. Thus, in 1577, we find brother Archangelo, of Palermo, founding a confraternity to supply necessaries to prisoners.† The noble fraternity of St. Basil, at Messana, was originally founded for the same object.‡ At Venice, Howard found a society of a similar kind; the rules of which were printed. In Catana, the mere circumstance of a fraternity having its oratory in the Church of the prison of St. Agatha, would be enough to indicate what compassion prisoners might expect to find. In fact, such was the zeal to serve them that it occasioned a contention between two of the confraternities of mercy in that city. The brethren of the White, who are exclusively nobles, and those of St. John the Baptist, both claimed the office of assisting criminals condemned to death. The painful duty, which was the object of so much emulation, was finally assigned to the noble brotherhood, whose oratory was in the Church of St. Catharine.§

In 1519, the confraternity of the White was instituted at Naples by Calistus, of the order of regular canons of St. John Lateran, in the church of the Holy Trinity, near the royal palace; the members of which were appointed to console and exhort criminals under sentence of death. This fraternity was afterwards transferred to a chapel, of which the expressive title was Sancta Maria Succurre Miseris. Many noblemen were received into this pious association.‖ At Bologna, in the fourteenth century, the confraternity of St. Mary of Death, whose especial office was to tend the sick, took charge, also, of prisoners condemned to die; for whom they had a chapel, under the title of the Decollation of St. John, where they gave them decent burial.¶ In Florence, similarly, the brotherhood, styled Di St. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, not alone attends to the comfort of prisoners during life, and to their consolation at the moment of death, but after receiving their last sighs, takes charge of their burial. On digging, lately, at Lyons, on the site of an ancient religious building, a great quantity of human skulls and bones were found, which were known to be those of criminals who had suffered capital punishment, whom the brethren of the order of Mercy had charitably buried in the

* Le mie Prigioni. cap. 84. † Annales Capucinorum.
‡ Bonfilii Messenæ Descript. Lib. iv. in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. x.
§ De Grossis Catanens. Decachord. 11. 15. in Thes. Antiq. Siciliæ, x.
‖ Annales Capucinorum, an. 1542. ¶ Sigonii de Ep. Bonon. Lib. iii.

vaults of their own chapel. The confraternity of this kind at Rome is described by Howard as consisting of seventy persons, nearly all of whom are noble. When a prisoner is conducted to death, they attend him in a body, and afterwards provide for his burial in their cemetery.

The rigor of magistrates sometimes exercised towards the dead, furnished an occasion to call forth the compassion of the blessed merciful, of which Petrus Tudertinus, a holy Capuchin friar in the convent of Foligno, gave a remarkable example when the governor of the city had ordered the bodies of fourteen criminals to be suspended upon the gibbets, and left exposed to public view; for this friar, being moved to pity at the sad spectacle, and having obtained leave from his superior, went in the dead of night, and by means of a ladder of ropes which he brought with him, succeeded in taking down the bodies, which, with the assistance of one companion, he removed and buried in holy ground so secretly, that the author was never discovered.* Indeed, that after death, criminals continued to be objects of compassion, is a fact attested by many ancient documents; as where we read that Marguerite Mousset, wife of Jacques Aubert, maitre d'hotel of the ladies of honor of the court of France, moved with pity and charity for poor deserted souls, and particularly for those of persons executed, founded, in 1658, in the church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, a daily mass to be said for their intention.†

In Portugal there are similar confraternities. In most prisons of that kingdom the prisoners are supported by the charity of the public. Justice there is not severe, but it is slow. Even after prisoners have been tried and condemned, they often remain some years in prison before the sentence is executed. Before the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, the jailors used to let them go out upon their word of honor. One culprit enjoyed this favor during seven years, though he had been condemned to death; and when the order came for his execution, on the mere summons of the jailor, the culprit, who was working in the provinces, without hesitating an instant, returned to his person; and this respect for his promise moved the authorities to pardon him.

Howard observes, that at Paris there was a charitable society, founded by the Abbé Breton, to supply prisoners every week with clean linen. The poor prisoners in the tower of the old castle, on the heights of Booneville, in Savoy, experienced a similar relief from a sisterhood of charitable ladies. A stranger who had been imprisoned in the Bastile founded a library there, from which the unhappy captives might be supplied with books. With the exception of that state fortress, every prison in Paris possessed a lady protectress, who collected alms from the rich, and distributed them among the prisoners, and at her own expense, supplied them with soup twice each week, and meat once in fifteen days. By a royal ordinance, charitable persons who desired to give alms might pen-

* Annales Capucinorum, 1540. † Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, tom. 1. 9

etrate into every prison, and, in the presence of the jailor, the closest dungeons were opened to them. In the council chamber of the prison at Bruges, was a picture, representing a man delivering some prisoners, and a list was shown there of all the alms that had been given from the year 1315 to 1734.

"Prisoners are to be visited," says the continuator of Vincent de Beauvais' Mirror; "in compliance with the Sacred Scriptures; they are to be consoled, redeemed, and delivered. Mementote vinctorum tanquam simul vincti. They are to be visited after the example of Christ, who descended into hell, whence he led out the conquered in strength. For this end he chose to be captive, that he might deliver the captives—to be bound, that he might loose those that were bound—to be sold, that he might redeem those that were in the bondage—to be slain, and to descend into hell, that he might free his own from death and from the infernal prison. To this the example of the angels exciteth us, who visited Daniel in the lions' den, Peter in the prison, Agnes, Vincent, Catherine, and many other saints, in dungeons. To this the example of living saints inviteth us, of whom the apostle saith, "Vinctis compassi fuistis." It is delightful to trace this tradition of mercy through the obscure night of time, and amidst the dark annals which recount the reigns of a Clotaire and a Dagobert, to hear St. Ouen's exclamation, "Where was there a prisoner whom Eligius did not visit and console?" When St. Dominick was at Rome, he used every day, after the office, to go round the walls and preach salvation to the prisoners wherever they were confined.* Those who were expiating part of their crimes in dungeons, or whom the hardness of creditors retained in obscure prisons, found in this man of mercy a consoler, a friend, an intercessor, and sometimes a deliverer. There was hardly a day that he did not enter into these sombre places, to alleviate by words of consolation, or by real effect, the pains of these sad victims of the justice of men, or to teach them to sanctify their crosses by submission to the order of Providence.†

The young Ambrose, of the illustrious family of Sansedoni, at Sienna, is described as going, on certain days every week, to visit the prisoners who were confined in that city.‡

Afterwards, when appointed legate of the holy see in Tuscany, we find him establishing pious confraternities, the members of which were especially bound to visit and console the afflicted spirits in prison. Cardinal Orsini, archbishop of Beneventum, used to visit the prisons of that city, in order to console their unhappy inmates; and when raised to the supreme chair, as Benedict XIII., he continued to practice the same office of mercy. Berenger de Landon, general of the Dominicans, and archbishop of Campostello, used to pass, in like manner, as an angel of mercy, through the sad seats of woe.§ Bartholomew de Carranza, archbishop of Toledo, the same who received the last sighs of Charles V. in the

* Speculum Morale, Lib. iii. p. x. dis. 24. † Touron. vie de S. D Lib. ii. c. 6.
‡ Toruon, Hist. des. Hom. Illust. de l Ord. S. Dour. tom. l. liv v. § Id. ii. liv. ix.

monastery of St. Just, was also in constant habits of visiting the prisons, to console the captives. He used to give alms to some, and procure liberty for others; and there were many who owed their deliverance to his having paid their debts. Prince Maurice, of Hungary, who became an eminent member of the same order in the fourteenth century, and who had himself suffered an imprisonment of six months in a tower, by command of Ladislas, governor of Buda, was another of these gracious creatures and benign, who went visiting in mercy through the obscure dungeons. When at Bologna, he used to intercede for the poor debtors; and he often succeeded in obtaining their liberty.* The blessed Ventura, of Bergamo, used also to prevail upon creditors to remit part of what was due to them, and to restore unhappy prisoners to their homes and family. When, in the year 1334, he traversed Italy at the head of 10,000 pilgrims, who bore a cross for their standard, on which mercy was one of the three words inscribed, their passage was marked every where by their deliverance of prisoners. At Milan, Cremona, Bologna, Sienna, Ferrara, and Rome, the prison doors were thrown open at the voice of these men of blessed mercy.† If we visit the celebrated Ludovicus Sforza, in the obscure dungeon in which the King of France cast him, where his hair turned gray in one night, and where he was retained the rest of his days, we find there merchants of Florence who had penetrated into it to visit the fallen prince, through charity, doubtless; yet in part, perhaps, to observe in trembling the rest that soothes his lot—to mark

> "How that lone and blighted bosom sears,
> The scathing thought of execrated years."

To them he used to say, that these calamities had all been often predicted to him when he was at the height of his prosperous fortune, by the friar Jerome Savonarola, whom he now at length recognized to have been a just man most foully calumniated. Sforza had been one of the chief instruments to effect the ruin of that great friar, by exciting him that sat in the supreme chair; and it is delightful to remark, that it is now a friar and vicar general of his order, Vincent Bandelli, who strains every nerve to obtain the deliverance of this prince, using for that purpose all his interest with Cardinal George d'Amboise, legate in France, and that it is another Dominican, the celebrated John Clerée, confessor of Louis XII., who cooperates with him to the same end, though the efforts of both prove ineffectual.‡

To visit prisoners, the blessed merciful braved and sometimes incurred death. Many citizens of Verona were seized and executed by Eccelino, in consequence of their having visited the just man, Ugo of St. Juliana, whom that tyrant had deprived of his prætorial office and cast into prison, and who, it is said, deplored their fate far more than his own.§ Alexander de Lugo, an Italian Dominican, was

* Id. ii. liv. x.

† Id. Lib. xii.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iii. liv. xxiii.

§ Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patav. Lib. iii. 13.

cast into prison by the Turks, in the Isle of Chio, and told to prepare for death within three days, or else to embrace the law of Mahomet. The infidels, on conducting him to prison, after inflicting on him the bastinado, would not give him time to descend a staircase of twelve steps, but pushed him down into that obscure dungeon, where he was guarded with such severity that no friar or religious person could possibly be admitted to see him. Nevertheless a Catholic carpenter, known to the Turks on account of his skill in making furniture, contrived to penetrate into his prison to console the confessor with a few affectionate words. He found him in prayer, prostrate on the earth, and bathed in his blood; and the jailor said that he had never ceased to pray since entering the prison.*

Reader, if thou canst dare to do it in imagination, after all that thou hast heard, descend with me now into the dungeons of the Bastille. Behold, in farthest gloom, a nameless and abandoned sufferer, imprisoned and asleep!

"He sleeps!—who o'er his placid slumber bends?
His foes are gone, and here he hath no friends;
Is it some seraph sent to grant him grace?—
No! 'tis an earthly form with heavenly face!"

This friar, who comes to minister here in tenderest pity, is Vincent Baron, the same who is so often seen going from his convent in the Fauxbourg St. Germain to the Bastille, and to other jails, to visit prisoners. People are alarmed for him sometimes, and bid him beware; but he closes his eyes against all danger to himself, and only thinks of his duty of visiting and consoling afflicted persons, whose own dearest relatives durst not openly solicit the government in their favor.†

Now is the day departing, the air embrowned with shadows, and all animals on earth are from their toils released. The friar alone, or the member of some holy brotherhood, prepares himself the conflict to sustain both of sad pity and that disgustful way, through precincts full of gloom and horror, where man's vengeance or suspicion frowns. That wherever the Catholic religion remains, the same works of mercy which were required by the constitutions of the ancient confraternities are still performed, proof has been given in modern times, and while I was writing this history. A devout pilgrim of the Holy Land, better known to France as an historian of the crusades, has described his visiting that ancient castle of the counts of St. Pol, on the river Somme, cited occasionally in the annals of the middle ages, but which in our days has become memorable from having received under the doom of perpetual imprisonment the ministers of Charles X. "On our first appearance in the town," he says, "I found that we were taken for persons who came to visit the prisoners, and I remarked that this served as a good recommendation. Every one replied to our questions with an affectionate interest. Although the prisoners can only be seen from a distance, on the platform of the castle, all the inhabitants of the town know them perfectly,

* Touron, tom. v. 36.

† Touron, tom. v. liv. xxxvii.

and take a lively interest in their fate. They send them flowers to deck their prison walls, and the finest fruits of the markets are reserved for them. Pious persons cause masses to be celebrated, to obtain from God their deliverance; the poor follow with blessings those who are going to see them. They are visited not only by their relations, but by many other persons, who come from a great distance for the purpose. Some have travelled as far as two hundred leagues, for the sole object of passing an hour with one of these prisoners. I would gladly have visited all of them, but I had pledged my honor to confine my visit to the prince." Thus misfortune has its courtiers, wherever the Catholic religion exists; and each act of cruelty only presents a fresh field for the exercise of blessed mercy.

In the latter years of Gallican misrule, a young maiden named Sando, who made dresses for the court, was suspected of having facilitated certain communications with the members of the parliament exiled at Troyes, and on that charge was suddenly hurried off to the Bastille, where she fell sick and required an attendant. As she refused all service unless it was afforded by the presence of one of her attendants named Maugin, that young person was sent for; but on her arrival at the gates, the proper officer did not fail to remind her, that if she once entered within those walls, she could not again leave them, unless along with her mistress. Now bethink thee, reader, what cheer was hers at sound of those stern words, and at the aspect of those towers, darker still, those draw-bridges, and narrow apertures, through which the faint expiring beam of day descended to the dungeon deep below! She might well believe she never would return. Nathless in this extreme, her mercy failed her not. "Only grant me the pleasure," said she, "to embrace my young mistress. I will remain with her as long as you please—twenty years, if it must be so." She had to remain, however, but three months and twenty days.

In short, not to multiply these instances further, wherever the traditionary manners of faith prevailed, there were some persons endued with mercy from heaven to a degree wholly supernatural, whose appearance was always simultaneous with scenes of extraordinary horror. In shades most pestilential, the medicinal grew near the poisonous herb; while over the general surface, mercy expanded its enchanting blossoms in profuse abundance, and characterized the soil.

Howard complained of the barbarous obduracy of his countrymen, whose general reply to all his representations of the woes of prisoners, used to be, "They must have deserved it, since they are in prison." He found a very different spirit, among all classes of men, where the ancient faith prevailed.

The magistrates of Nola are said, by a writer in the sixteenth century, to discharge their office without remuneration; but he adds, also, that they accept and exercise it through charity, as if fathers correcting their children.*

When James the Great of Carrara was on his death-bed, having abdicated his

* Ambros. Leo de Nola, Lib. iii. c. 7; in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix

power some time before, he ordered the doors of the house to be thrown open, and proclamation made, that if any man had been injured or defrauded by him, he should enter and state his grievance, that it might be repaired. Only one appeared at this summons, and he arrogantly demanded restoration of a fine which he had been condemned to pay; to whom James replied, "If justice had been done in your regard, you would not be here at present to make such a complaint; for you were guilty of a capital crime, and the penalty was commuted through compassion. Go thy ways, and amend. I am not conscious of having sinned, in respect to you, unless, perhaps, in having made your fine less than it ought to have been."*

In fact, the history of the middle ages will contain some inexplicable pages, if we do not bear in mind the fact presented even at the present day, that in Catholic countries a criminal, whatever may have been his guilt, is no sooner incarcerated than he becomes an object of general commiseration. As soon as the error is rendered harmless, men think only of the victim; and, ah! what reason do they not then discover for a tear of pity?—his youth, his abandoned state, the evil example which he saw around him, the neglect of those who ought to have instructed him; or, where no such palliative is found, the wiles of Satan, who ever goeth about seeking whom he may devour.

Acts corresponding to these views, which modern writers would assuredly deem extravagant, and even pernicious, are always commemorated, with peculiar fondness, by the ancient authors; of which an instance may be cited from Paradin's History of Lyons, which is thus quaintly related:—"A certain poor wretch escaping from the gibbet in the public square of Lyons, and the officers of justice calling upon the people to fly in pursuit, an Italian merchant, moved to compassion, scattered all the money in his purse among the people who pursued; and as he hastened for his life with still greater devotion than they ran for the prey, this merciful artifice was crowned with success. Not content with that, the Italian gave a crown to a lad to swim across the Rhone, in order to deceive the officers, who, on running to the other side, found only the poor pickpenny."†

Such commiseration every prisoner in Catholic countries can still hope to find in human breasts. When crime covers him with disgrace, and consigns him to the last punishment—when his heart sinks within him at the prospect of man's vengeance, and with a terror of future judgment, he has still a comforter and a friend in the priest, in the poor friar, or in the holy laic, who comes to him in obedience to the rule of his blessed order, or, moved by personal gratitude perhaps, and provided with mystic balms of consolation, like the hermit in the legend, who kissed the hands of a robber at his death, saying, "These are the hands which carry me to Paradise; for they often took my substance from me, and, when I was angry, struck me; and as patience was granted to me, I consider that they have conduced to my salvation."‡ The wretch is led within the prison,

* Scard. de Antiq. Patav. Lib. iii. 13.

† Hist. de Lyons, liv. iii. c. 23.

‡ Guy de Roye, le Doctrinal de Sapience.

'tis closed; he looks and sees the latticed bar, the bed of straw;—he dares not look again. The delusion of years vanishes in an instant: he turns, with sickening soul, within the cell, and sighs, "It is no dream—and I am desolate." But stay awhile:—the midnight passed, and to the massy door a light step comes; it pauses—it moves once more; slow turns the grating bolt and sullen keys. Who enters here?—it is the veiled penitent, who, through the love of Jesus, has come to give the prisoner alms and food—to bring him pictures of some saint or holy image; it is a hooded friar, to speak words of consolation to his soul—words of the Saviour, words of his blessed mother, words of his apostles—replete with hopes of atonement and grace, of peace and mercy. Or mark the worst!—

> "'Tis morn—and o'er his altered features play
> The beams, without the hope of yesterday.
> What shall he be ere night?—perchance a thing
> O'er which the raven flaps her funeral wing,
> By his clos'd eye unheeded and unfelt,
> While sets that sun, and dews of evening melt,
> Chill, wet, and misty, round each stiffen'd limb
> Refreshing earth, reviving all but him."

The same friar, the same penitent, is at his side; and it is a mourning now full of rejoicing, for they have spoken to him of sin, and of its penalties—of the cross of Christ, and the way of the cross, which all that are Christ's must tread—the woe reserved for the hardened heart, and the subtle mystery of God in leading men by calamity and shame to peace. Human justice cannot complain, for the debt is paid, and society avenged; for heaven and heavenly spirits smile, for mercy in the soul and secret world reigns.

Connected with the administration and execution of justice, the spirit of Catholic countries, in regard to sympathy with the guilty, has, I am aware, been a source of offence to the modern philosophers; but it should be remembered, that however extreme may appear the development of mercy in this respect, it could hardly have exceeded, at least in its principle, what was not only recommended, but required by religion in ages of faith. The great guides of the middle ages are continually reminding men of the summary of our Lord's charge to his disciples—misericordiam volo, et non sacrificium—of those exhortations of the Sacred Scripture, "Be merciful to one another, humble;* put on, as the elect of God, holy and beloved, bowels of mercy"—of those solemn invitations from the Almighty, who desires above all titles that of the Father of mercies, and the God of all consolation—the merciful and compassionate Lord, of long-suffering, who, commanding his creatures to show mercy, proposes himself for their example, saying, "Estote misericordes sicut et Pater vester misericors est."† Hence the Ambrosian sentence, which the Jesuit Drexelius presses on the especial attention of prin-

* Pet. i. 3.

† Vin. Bellov. Spec. Morale. Lib. i. p. iv. dis 21.

ces, that the whole sum of the Christian discipline consists in mercy and piety.* Cresolius, another member of the same company, remarks, that the word holy, with the Hebrews, signifies merciful ;† and he proceeds to point out how many times holiness is used for mercy with the royal prophet, as in the psalm where he says, "Dominus mirificavit sanctum suum," which in the Hebrew is read, "misericordem suum."

"If we investigate the reason and cause of mercy," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "we shall find that it includes in itself the perfection of all virtues; for he who is truly merciful feels and bears the miseries of all as if they affected himself, pardons all injuries, deplores all sins, wishes to all men plentitude of grace, injures no one, circumvents no one, is always poured out to all liberality, beholds all men as a father and mother behold their children.‡ Not that the mercy here spoken of was thought to arise from the effect of the imagination, placing men in the same situation as that of the sufferer, who was its object. A great French physician, faithful to the doctrines of Christian times, has well shown that even natural benevolence and pity have a higher source than the effect of a return on ourselves, as certain sophists have pretended, who explain every thing in the animal economy by the theory of personality. "Visit the hospitals," he says, disproving their assertion; "the most dreadful maladies you will pity most, and yet they are those from which it is nearly certain that you will be always preserved.§ Nevertheless the grace of the blessed merciful was distinct even from the sublime faculty which consists in the innate want that we feel of sympathizing with the misfortunes of our fellow-creatures; and this the Catholic moralists are careful to show in their very definitions, which always include as an essential principle a motive divine, which has no influence in the virtue of nature or preceding grace.

Thus, in the moral Mirror ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, the author, showing that no material sacrifice so much pleased God as mercy, adds this proviso—shown on account of God.‖ This is that mercy which was known to confer beatitude, of which Pope Leo says, "The force is such, that without it, there can be no other virtue," the grounds of which are shown in those solemn paintings that may be so often remarked over the ancient tribunals; as where the Blessed Virgin, with joined palms, and head inclined as if regarding the earth, is seen on one side, while the last judgment is represented on the other.¶ In short, a glance at the crucifix explains the whole difficulty; and it may be remarked, that the symbol which has superseded it in the modern civilization, representing a woman blindfolded and holding a balance, is never found on any monument of the middle ages. No foolish Pagan allegory was then used, to instil proud

* Drexelius, Gazophylac. Christi, p. iii. c. 6.
† Anth. Sac. 513.
‡ S. Bernard. Senens. Serm. ix.
§ Alibert. Physiologie des Passions, tom. ii. 87.
‖ Spec. Morale, Lib. i. p. iv. 10.
¶ In Thes. Antiq. Ital. v. Splend. Ven.

thoughts into human breasts. The balance was for the hand of the archangel; —the justice of man was mercy.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM prisons let us pass to other scenes of woe, that we may contemplate the charity of the blessed merciful in ages of faith. Nearest to where we stand at present, are the slaves. Let us visit them, and mark how Catholicism alleviates their sorrows, and gradually accomplishes the glorious, godlike work of their moral and social enfranchisement.

How wide a field was here opened for the exercise of mercy, may be inferred at once, if we only consider the fact that those nations of antiquity whose manners approached the nearest to the virtue of the Christian discipline—as the Dorians generally, and above all the Spartans—were nevertheless precisely those that were distinguished for the obstinacy with which they retained slavery. Humanity, indeed, was not one of the Dorian virtues; But no nation, no philosopher, no legislator, no founder of any religious system, seems to have conceived the idea that it would be either possible or well to abolish such a custom, so deeply and universally was it interwoven with the whole state and destiny of the human race.

To form a just estimate of the effects of Christian mercy in alleviating the misery of slaves, we should bear in mind what was the moral as well as social degradation of these wretched men in the ancient society. Plato puts the saying in the mouth of an Athenian, that there is nothing sound in the soul of a slave, and that no man of sense will ever put confidence in any one of that race. As Moëhler remarks, however, it is not strange that a legislator who would recommend a goverment to banish or put to death weak or sickly children, should regard slaves as being only half men.† Aristotle is most anxious to prove that slavery is, all throughout, conformable to nature. Hesiod says, that slaves are to the rich what oxen are to the poor. The master had full and uncontrolled power of life and death over the slave, and whatever the latter could acquire became his possession. Seneca describes their condition with the Romans in many families. "Unhappy slaves," says he, are not allowed so much as to move their lips. The rod silences every murmur: and not even fortuitous sounds, such as

* De Legibus, Lib. vi. † Geshichte der Aufhebung der Sklaverei durch das Christenthum.

a cough or sneeze, are suffered to pass without stripes. All night long they must remain fasting and silent."*

Notwithstanding the great revolution which was inevitably to result from the propagation of the Church, it is evident, however, that the apostles and first teachers of Christianity contemplated no other means of deliverance, for this class of men, than what would naturally and gradually follow from the operation of divine faith. No word that could encourage rebellion or acts of violence ever escaped their lips; they left the divine seed to fructify in its due season; and so well justified was their confidence, that as soon as religion began to exercise its influence upon society, we find the spontaneous mercy of individuals dictating and carrying into effect the measures which those who took a comprehensive view of the whole scheme and spirit of divine faith must have seen was comformable to it from the very first.

The apology of Origen, in the third century, supplies evidence that the Christians had become very active and successful in the conversion of slaves. "We confess," he says, "that we wish to instruct all men; and though Celsus may not wish it, we wish to show servants how, by acquiring a free mind, they may be ennobled by the Word."† In fact, as Moëhler remarks, had not this interior emancipation preceded the reception of external liberty, the action of Christian mercy, in the deliverance of slaves, would have brought upon the world unparalleled calamities; and the effects would have been the same as if hell itself had sent out all its inhabitants at once, and had given them their freedom upon earth.

The council of Gangra, in the third canon, declared, that if any one, under pretense of piety, should teach a slave to despise his master, and not to minister to him with benevolence and all honor as to his master, he should be anathema. But what a new era dawned upon the world when the voice of the Christian teachers preached faith and freedom to the servile race! "Some one may say," observes Lactantius, "'Are there not amongst you, also poor and rich—slaves and masters? Is there not a difference, then, between each?' No! nor do we, on any other account, style one another brethren, excepting that we believe ourselves to be all equal; for as we measure all human things not by body, but by spirit, though there be a different condition of bodies, yet we have no slaves; since those whom we have we call brethren in spirit, and our fellow-servants. For God, who creates and inspires men, wished that all should be just—that is, equal; that no one should be separated from his celestial benefits. With him, no one is a slave—no one a master; for since he is the same father to all, by equal justice we are all his children."‡

Since the time of the apostle Paul, no one conferred a greater service upon slaves than St. Chrysostom, who, in his preaching, continually expatiates upon the change which Christianity had effected in regard to them, whose deliverance and

* Sen. Epist. Lib. i. 47. † Adv. Cels. Lib. i. 54 ‡ Lact. Div. Instit. Lib. v.

enfranchisement he shows to be an irresistible consequence of faith. "I know," saith he, alluding to this, "that I am displeasing to those who hear; but what can I do? To this I am bound, and I will not desist."* God made man free. Abel, Seth, and Noah, had no slaves. It is certain that originally all were free; but sin, beginning with Adam, prepared the way for servitude, and entailed it on the human race in the three-fold form of subjection—that of the wife to her husband, of the servant to his master, and of all men to the rulers of the state; all which relations are divine, as being rendered necessary by the fall.† Yet the deliverance wrought by Christ includes exemption from what is evil in each of these. "In the Christian Church," says Chrysostom, "there is no slavery in the old sense of the word. There is only the name among the disciples of the Lord; the thing itself is abolished, in the same manner as death is now become only a name, having lost its terrors and its reality. No Christian is a slave; those that have been born again are all brothers. We attend not to the noble. but to the second birth. You say, 'My father is a consul—why does that affect me?' You have ancestors, no doubt, since you have come after them; but I may call a slave a nobleman, and a nobleman a slave, when I am informed as to their moral characters; for who is a slave, but he who commits sin? The other slavery is but an external and accidental affair.‡ Slave and free are only names. What is slavery?—a name. How many lords lie drunken upon their couch, while slaves stand by, fasting? Which shall I call the not free—the fasters or the drunkards? But Christianity makes no confusion—there are masters and servants still. The slave praises Christ as his master, and the freeman feels himself as the servant of Christ; so both are left free in subjection. Masters and slaves serve one another; and it is far better to be in this manner the slave, than under any other circumstances the master. Let us suppose that one man hath a hundred slaves, who serve him unwillingly, and that another has a hundred friends, who assist him with cheerful zeal: which would be happier? In the latter case, there is no anger, no chastisement, no threatening. The one serves through necessity, the other through gratitude. So God wills it. He himself washes the feet of his disciples, and says, 'He that will be your master, let him be your servant.'"

St. Chrysostom concludes his admonitions with these words—most important as Moëhler remarks, in judicial history:—"Let there be a reciprocal, and in that manner, no service—*ἔστω δουλείας καὶ ὑποταγῆς ἀντίδοσις· οὕτω γὰρ οὐκ ἔσται δουλεία.* Let the master attend to the wants of the servant. Does the master renounce his obligatory service? Then in that case there is no law why the slave should be any longer a slave."

But it was not deemed sufficient to lay down these principles. In one of his homilies he blames those who proceed with a train of slaves to the market-place,

* Hom. xl. in Ep. i. ad Cor.

† Hom. xxii. in Ep. ad Epb.; xxix. in Genes.; and Serm. iv. in Genes

‡ Or. in Lazar. Hom. xviii. in Ep. i. ad Tim.

and make the brethren of Christ, the temples of the Holy Ghost, mere ministers to the vainest pride. He says that one or two slaves should be sufficient for the real wants of a rich master—nay, one slave can serve two or three masters. Whoever has more should cause them to be instructed in some handicraft, and give them their freedom;—nay, men should purchase slaves, and when they are well instructed in some trade by which they can gain a livelihood, set them free.*

The history of the middle ages supplies an interesting comment here; for Catholicism was not content with destroying slavery, but, as De Coux remarks, "it had secured by a thousand admirable modes of industry the lot of the newly enfranchised; and so long as society remained faithful to its voice, it knew how to preserve it from those dissensions between the rich and poor which were the disgrace and the scourge of the most flourishing republics of antiquity."

But to resume the discourses of St. Chrysostom. "When the multitude of believers at Jerusalem had all things in common, there were certainly no members of that community who had slaves." He excuses Abraham, by saying, that though he had a number of slaves, he used them not as such. In short, this great father of the Eastern Church went as far, in this respect, as it was possible for a writer.

Historians proceeding to trace the operation of the same principles in the West, produced several remarkable passages from the writings of St. Ambrose, who shows how they are to be reduced to practice in many of his works, as when he treats on Abraham, on Jacob, and the blessed life,† and on the patriarch Joseph.‡ "Slaves, therefore," he says, "have an origin whence they may glory. Joseph was a slave. They have whence they may be consoled; they have what they may imitate, that they may learn the possibility of a change of state without a change of manners, that there may be freedom and constancy in slavery. No condition causes an obstacle to the commendation of a man. Whether slave or free, we are all one in Christ; and there is no greater dignity than to serve him, for this is the servitude in which Paul found glory. Is it not the highest glory to be estimated so high that the blood of the Lord is the price of redemption?"§

After St. Ambrose, among the Latin fathers, we meet nowhere with a nobler development of this doctrine than in the works of St. Augustin, and in the works of St. Peter Chrysologus, bishop of Ravenna, who labored to extirpate the remaining spirit of Pagan severity in respect to slaves.

The first known instance, among the great, of a real enfranchisement of slaves, was that of Hermes in Rome, prefect of the state, who was converted to Christianity by Pope Alexander, in the reign of Trajan, while this emperor was absent on his expedition against the Persians. Hermes went over to Christianity with his wife, and sister, and sons, and 1250 slaves, with their wives also and children; and

* Hom. xi. in. Ep. and Cor.
† De Jacob. et Vit. Beat. Lib. i. c. 3.
‡ Lib. i. c. 4.
§ Exhort. Virginit. c. 1.

on Easter-day, when they were baptized, he gave them all civil freedom ; and as they had learned no trade, and beside had no capital, he enriched each of them with costly gifts. Another memorable example was given, in the time of Diocletian, by the prefect of Rome, Chromatius, who had been converted by the centurion St. Sebastian, and who was received into the Church along with all his family, composed of 1400 slaves of both sexes, whom he immediately set free, saying, that they who begin to have God for their father should cease to be the slaves of a man ; and to these he gave all necessaries.*

But even had we not such express records, the evidence would have been satisfactory. What new ideas and acts of mercy must have been in operation, before such a picture could have been presented to the world as that which the Church proposes in the office on St. Charles's Day, when she tells of Vitalis, a slave, and Agricola, his master, both arrested at Bologna, in the persecution of Diocletian, for preaching together Jesus Christ—when, after the slave had suffered with constancy all kind of torments, to death, the master, the fellow-servant of his slave, is fixed upon the cross, and shares with him in the glory of his martyrdom!

From the writings of St. Jerome, also, we can infer what multitudes of slaves were then receiving their liberty from rich families. St. Melanæ the younger, with consent of her husband, Pinius, discharged 8000 slaves ; and she presented to her brother-in-law, Severus, many others, who chose not to be free. She had also possessions in many parts of Italy, Sicily, Gaul, Spain, Britain, and Africa. The holy Sampson, a contemporary of the Emperor Justinian I., would not suffer, we are told, a troop of slaves to continue attending him, but deemed them all worthy of freedom, and gave them at once from his own property what was necessary for their future maintenance.† Justinian himself boasts that it had always been an object of his solicitude to raise from slavery to freedom as many as possible.‡ The mercy, however, of the Church and of the Christian society, was not content with delivering those who had been born slaves, but it sought also to redeem those who were become such by capture and imprisonment; and one object on which the riches of both were expended, was the ransom of such persons.

The Popes exercised the right of enfranchisement, and recommended to all men the same practice. "Since our Redeemer," says Gregory the Great, in one diploma, "the founder of all nature, wished for this end to assume flesh, that he might restore us to pristine liberty, it will be well done if men, whom from the beginning nature made free, and the law of nature subjected to the yoke of slavery, should be enfranchised by the benefit of manumission ; therefore, by the intuition of piety moved, we make free from this day, and Roman citizens, you Montana and Thomas, servants of the holy Roman Church."§ Constantine extended the law farther, and declared that no Jew could possess a Christian slave. Later ordinances applied this prohibition to heathens and Samaritans.

* Bolland, Mai, Januar. † Acta SS. Boll. Jun. ‡ Novell. 89. § Greg. M. Ep. Lib. vi. 12.

The great philosophers and legislators of the middle ages transmitted these traditions, and continued to perfect the harmony between the external order of society and the principles of faith. It would be curious to compare the language of popes and councils respecting slaves and savages with the solemn discourses of the philanthropical presidents of modern states, who avowedly consign whole nations to destruction in the name of humanity and universal benevolence. St. Thomas showed that Christianity should necessarily induce freedom. He maintained that if a Jew who was a slave should receive baptism, he would become free, without ransom, from that moment. And, in point of fact, we have seen that the laws of Constantine had restored liberty to those who were kept in slavery, and permitted their enfranchisement in the Churches on the simple testimony of a bishop. Nevertheless, till so late as the seventh century, slavery continued to exist in many parts of the old Roman world, for it was not possible that the Church could at once wholly extirpate it. Nay, it continued to be necessary, as in the time of the apostles, to make no other opposition to it than by preaching the Christian doctrine, and leaving men to draw from it the natural inferences, and to exercise of their own accord the mercy which it was designed to inspire. That such inferences continued to be drawn by private persons, is proved by abundant testimony. The influence of the Catholic spirit, in this respect, may be gathered from any one of the innumerable instances on record, such as the description which St. Theresa gives of her own father; for though this is evidence of a modern date, it represents most faithfully the agency which had all along been in operation. "My father," she says, "was a man of much charity towards poor people, and compassion towards the sick, and especially so much so towards his servants, that he could never resolve to keep any slaves, for the tenderness which he had towards them; and there being once a slave in his house who belonged to his brother, he caused her to be treated and fed as if she had been one of his own children, and said, that through compassion he could not well endure to see her unless she might be made free."*

The Church, however, in receiving land from the barbarian converts, was even obliged to accept with it the institution which had become an integral part of the whole social and political system of the nations in which she found herself. She respected the common law of those nations, and made less use of absolute decrees than of the slow but more certain power which was imparted to her by faith and her influence on the human heart. By degrees, and as soon as it could be done without causing greater misery, she procured the abolition of slavery, first, by setting an example in generously relinquishing the right which the state annexed to her possessions, afterwards, in moving the consciences of the people, inducing them to imitate her, and finally, in prevailing on the state to legalize its suppression.

A recent historian remarks, to the honor of the Church in general, that during

* Life of the Holy Mother, S. Theresa, 1.

the middle ages, the condition of the serfs would have been intolerable, but for the ministers of religion. Through forming a part of the feudal system, prelates and abbots were uniformly the protectors of the villains; and as one third of the lands throughout Europe were under their immediate control, we may conceive how greatly the worst evils of that system were mitigated.* "In all ages and countries," he remarks, "the Church has been an indulgent landlord; so that the condition of the serfs in one fourth of France would not be oppressed. When the Church had no temporal jurisdiction, she yet considered it incumbent on her to interfere in behalf of the poor, and the bondsmen: wherever there was a rural community, there would be a Church and a resident pastor, whose influence in those days of religious feeling, would not be inferior to that of the resident judge or noble."

The serf held an intermediate state between the ancient slavery and the modern service. This kind of servitude inspired less compassion, and that is one cause, no doubt, of its long duration. Bathilde, wife of Clovis II. and Regent, during the minority of her son, had declared, by an ordinance, that henceforth slaves might possess property. Under the princes of the second race, personal servitude was either abolished, or greatly mitigated. A capitulary of Charles the Bald, in 864, gave permission to serfs to enfranchise themselves and reminded those who might not conceive themselves bound to give their money to a free man, in time of famine, that our Lord has said, by the mouth of the apostle, "can he who, having the riches of this world, shall see his brother in need, will shut up the bowels of his compassion from him, believe that the charity of God abideth in him?"† Under the third race, the care of providing for the liberation of the serfs seems to have been regarded as a part of the inheritance attached to the crown. In 1135, Louis le Gros enfranchised the serfs in his domains. Louis VIII. signalized the beginning of his reign by a similar enfranchisement. Queen Blanche, during the minority of St. Louis, hearing that many serfs, men and women, had been thrown into prison by their patrons, on not being able to pay the tax, ordered the prisons to be thrown open, and delivered them. Finally, in 1315, the celebrated ordinance of Louis X. made the enfranchisement of the serfs an express object of legislation. "Servitude began to disappear," says Ducange, "insensibly; moved by pity and mercy, or receiving a pecuniary compensation, the seigneurs granted full and entire liberty to their serfs; but it is remarkable, that on these occasions the master used to present a request to the bishop, desiring that he would confer freedom on his slave, as if wishing to give the honor to religion, which had inspired them."

A prince, at the end of the ninth century, expressed himself in these terms:—"In the name of the holy and undivided Trinity, we Odo make known

* Lardner's Cyclop. Europe in the Mid. Ages, vol. i. 286.

† V. tit. 36.—Edict. Pictens, cap. 34.

to all the faithful of the holy Church of God, present and future, that for the love of God, and in view of the eternal recompense, and by the suffrage of the bishop Rainon, we enfranchise the serf belonging to us, named Albert, and deliver him from all bondage." It was a pious custom of the great to accord enfranchisement, whenever they had received any great favor from God. A formula of Marculf recalls this usage,—"Divine Providence having procured us great joy by the birth of our son, in order to draw down the mercy of God, and that He may deign to preserve the life of this child, we ordain, that in each of our domains three serfs shall receive enfranchisement." It is delightful to find a full recognition, at all times, that it was to the influence of the Church this great work of mercy was to be attributed. The Holy See, in fact, had always raised its voice against the crime of selling men for slaves, as even the French sophists of the last century acknowledged.* That odious traffic was denounced by the Church as antichristian. Among the ecclesiastical laws in England, of King Ine, in the year 643, we read, "If one buy a slave of his own nation, though a malefactor, and send him over sea, let him pay his weregeld, and make deep satisfaction to God."

It was through the representations of the archbishop Lanfrac, that William the Conqueror was induced to forego the traffic to Ireland in slaves. The redemption of foreign slaves was still left to the Church, and to the voluntary mercy of individuals. In England, a law of the Church prohibited the sale of ecclesiastical goods, unless the produce was to be applied to the ransom of serfs; truly a sublime exception, as the Count of Stolberg remarks. Of the episcopal zeal in this respect, we discover early traces. When the Sarassins, having invaded the desert of Sinai, had carried off Theodulus, the eldest son of St. Nilus, who had withdrawn with them from the world, the sorrowful Nilus set out in search of him, and at length found him at Eleusis, with the bishop of that city, who had ransomed him from the infidels. This was in the fourth century. St. Paulin, bishop of Nola, moved with the tears of a widow, whose son was a prisoner, rendered himself up in his stead. After some time, the chieftain, whom he had served as gardener in Africa, gave him not only his own liberty, but that of all his fellow-citizens who had been slaves there, with whom he returned in great triumph; and the anniversary of the day of their entry into Nola had always been celebrated in that city with divine ceremonies, and popular games, down to the sixteenth century, when Ambrose Leo wrote; as it is, probably, to the present day.† Fortunatus, describing Sidonius II., archbishop of Mayence, dwells at great length upon his mercy to captives.

"Nudos veste tegis, captivis vincula solvens,
Deposito reddens libera colla jugo.

* Bernardin de Saint Pierre, Etudes de la Nature, tom. i 496.

† Ambros. Leo. de Nola, Lib. ii. c. 13. In Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.

Exulibus domus es, et esurientibus esca,
Felix cui Christus debitor inde manet."*

He renders a similar testimony to St. Nicetius, archbishop of Treve.—

"Captivus quicunque redit sua limina cernens,
Ille lares patrios, tu capis inde polos.
Hic habet exul opem, jejunans invenit escas
Qui venit esuriens, hinc satiatus abit."

The ardent zeal of St. Germain, bishop of Paris, at the close of the sixth century, for the redemption of slaves, is known to all students of history. "If the voices of all men were to be united in one," says the ancient writer of his life, "it would be impossible to say how prodigal he was of alms. Often contented with a tunic, he would cover some poor naked person with the rest of his clothes; so that while the indigent was warm, the benefactor was cold. No one can tell in how many places, or in what multitudes, he ransomed captives. The neighboring nations, the Spaniards, Britons, Gascons, Saxons, and Burgundians, could attest how people ran to him from all parts, to be delivered from the yoke of bondage. When nothing remained to him, he would continue seated, sorrowful and disturbed, with a more sad countenance and severe conversation. If by chance any one then invited him to a repast, he excited the guests, or the very servants, to contrive means to deliver a captive; and then the soul of the bishop was delivered from its depression. If the Lord sent to his hands any sum, he used to say immediately, Let us return thanks to the divine clemency, for we have now wherewithal to redeem some men; and immediately the effect followed his words. Then the wrinkles passed from his forehead; his countenance became more serene; he walked with a lighter step, and his discourse was more abundant and joyous; so that in redeeming others, this man appeared to be delivering himself from the yoke of bondage."†

St. Exuperus, bishop of Toulouse, sold the sacred vessels of the church, in order to redeem slaves from bondage; and his example was not rare. Bede relates, that whatever money St. Aidan received from rich men, used to be employed by him either in the relief of the poor, or in the redemption of captives. St. Otho, bishop of Bamberg, and apostle of Pomerania, is said to have softened even the most obstinate of the Pagans by his generosity in redeeming captives. When the coast of Kent was ravaged by the Danes, in the reign of Ethelred, St. Elphege, the archbishop of Canterbury, used frequently to repair to their camp with what money he could raise, in order to redeem his captive flock; but when he himself, with his monks, fell into their hands on the sack of the city, and was cast into a horrible dungeon, he refused to sign an order to the different churches of his diocese, that the treasures intended for the relief of the poor should be surrendered for his ransom. He would not, he said, purchase life on terms so disgrace-

* Gallia Christiana, i. 347.

† Acta S. Ord. S. Benedict. tom. I. 244.

ful. From his childhood he had been the father of the needy: he would not, in his last days, deprive them of their resources. In similar circumstances, the blessed martyr, St. Lawrence, had hidden them: should he act so contrary to that example as to betray them?

Let us follow the history of the serfs. St. Wilfrid, the Northumbrian prelate, who had the happiness of converting Sussex, which was the last Pagan kingdom that remained in England, was presented by the king Edilwalch, on receiving baptism, with the isle of Selsey, and two hundred and fifty slaves. These slaves he sedulously instructed in the doctrines and duties of Christianity; and on the day of their baptism, surprised both them and the whole nation by admitting them to civil freedom, declaring that they ought to be no longer bondsmen, who were coheirs with himself of the kingdom of heaven.

All the circumstances connected with the emancipation of serfs throughout christendom, were minutely recorded in the ecclesiastical archives. Each parish could point out its deliverer. Thus we read, that Ranulphe de Homblonieres, bishop of Paris, enfranchised the serfs of Chantelou;* and that John, dean of St. Peter, at Troyes, with all the chapter moved by piety, made a merciful decree, in 1194, giving entire freedom to all the serfs, on the domains of their Church.† Manumission was frequent, even by the lay proprietors. Thus, in the time of king Edgar, a landholder directs, that thirteen out of his thirty slaves should be freed by lot; and that the emancipation was complete is certain, from the fact that they were ordered to be placed in the highway, to go withersoever they pleased. The charitable and pious often redeemed slaves from captivity. Thus, Edgyfu the Good redeemed Hig and Dunna with their offspring, for thirteen mancusæ. Manumission generally took place in the churches or by will, or by a written instrument. St. Bonitus, prefect of the province of Marseilles, in the time of king Sigebert, performed, we are told, the office rather of a priest than of a judge; for he never would order any one to be sold, as was the custom, or banished or detained captive; but on the contrary, if he found any persons sold, he used to redeem them.‡ In the second book, we had occasion to witness the prodigious charity of St. Eloy, when but a laic and a silversmith, in purchasing whole companies of slaves, in order to set them free. But it was above all to the Benedictine monks, and, in later time, to the Mendicant friars, that Europe was indebted for the alleviation, diminution, and final abolition of slavery in every form; and the records of their services, in this respect, though unknown to our modern statesmen and legislators, have extorted the admiration of learned historians in all ages and countries. Let us hear the words of the Rule, "non præponatur ingenuus ex servitio convertenti—quia sive servus, sive liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus: et sub uno Domino æqualem servitutis militiam bajulamus:

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, xiii. 185. † Hist. du Diocese de Troyes, p. 316.
‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. 228.

quia non est personarum acceptio apud Deum."* Dom Calmet, indeed, believes, that St. Benedict, in receiving slaves, required from them letters attesting the consent of their masters; as did St. Aurelian afterwards, not to give occasion to masters to complain, or to slaves to run away, under pretence of religion.† But from these few words of the rule, we can judge at once what a new era had opened upon the world, and how little impediment any such formalities could offer to the tide which began to set in the direction of universal deliverance. St. Bavon, a hermit, and patron of the city of Ghent, died in the middle of the seventh century. He had at first led a worldly life; and a contemporary relates, that one day he happened to see a man whom he had formerly sold, while he lived in the world. At this sight, he was seized with terrible remorse for having committed such a crime, and turning to the man, he threw himself on his knees, saying, "I am the man who once sold you, bound with cords. Remember not, I pray you, the evil that I did to you, and grant me now a boon. Strike my body with rods; shave my head, as if I were a robber, and cast me into prison, bound hand and foot, as I deserve. Perhaps if you do this, the Divine clemency will grant me pardon." The man replied, that he did not dare do such a thing to his master; but the man of God, who spoke eloquently, obliged him to promise that he would do as he had requested. Constrained, then, and in spite of himself, he bound the hands of the man of God, shaved his head, and, with his feet tied to a stick, conducted him to the public prison; and the man of God remained there many days, deploring, day and night, these acts of a worldly life, which he had always before the eyes of his soul as a heavy burden.‡ "What a charm," exclaims a modern historian, "must this simple recital have had for men of the seventh century, who had servitude constantly before their eyes, and who beheld all the atrocities and sufferings which attended slavery!"

Many of the ancient monasteries were monuments of the redemption of men from slavery. "In the year 685, St. Berchaire abandoned the world, and came into the forest of Der, near Esparnay, where, meeting some soldiers, who led captive eight boys and eight girls, he ransomed them with the money which great lords had presented to him. The girls became nuns in an abbey, which the noble lady Valtide enabled him to found for them at Pellemonstier; that is, Puellare monasterium, which was in a part of that forest which she gave him, and the niece of this illustrious woman was made the first abbess. Also with the eight boys, he founded the abbey of Monstier-en-Der, for which he obtained many privileges from King Childeric II., who even gave to him his royal hunting lodge of Puisié in the forest, on the site of which the saint built a Church, dedicated to God, under the title of the Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul."§ St. Fale, of whose mercy we have already heard instances, was of a noble family of

* Cap. 11. † Calmet, Comment. sur la Regle de S. Ben. i. 2.

‡ Acta Sanct. Ord. S. Bened. tom. ii. p. 400.

§ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocese de Troyes, 191.

Auvergne; but while a child, he was taken prisoner by some soldiers of King Thierry, and reduced to bondage. At this time, he was a little shaven clerk, and it was his delight to serve the holy ministers of the Church, so that it cost him many tears and sighs when he was torn away into a strange land by barbarous soldiers. Being led to Troyes, he was sold there as a slave, at the time when the holy abbot Aventin was forming a congregation with his monks. This holy man one day, by celestial guidance, went out of his monastery, and seeing some people conducting a chain of young captives, he stopped and accosted the owners. "Now, Sir," said the men, "if you wish to buy this boy for your Church, we will let you have him cheap to content you." The venerable abbot, moved with compassion, and admonished, as it is said, previously by a dream, pulled out twelve crowns of gold, and thus the miserable avarice of these robbers was satisfied, and the little captive was delivered up to him. The holy man received him as his spiritual son and a child of God, and gave him the habit of religion instead of his chains, and his own paternal sweetness instead of the rigor of these cruel masters. The child grew up, and, by the grace of God, advanced in such piety and obedience, that in process of time, on the death of the venerable Aventin, he succeeded him in the office of abbot, which he discharged till his death with the utmost humility and holiness.* On one occasion, a servant, through accident, committed a fault against his master; and knowing him to be of a choleric disposition, fled in terror to the abbey, and entreated St. Fale, the abbot, to protect him. In this instance, the minister of heaven's mercy was outraged in consequence; but the prayers and intercession of the saint were said to have eventually delivered the sufferer.‡ St. Filibert, abbot of Jumièges, in the seventh century, not content with laboring for the salvation of the people of Neustria, used to send his monks beyond sea, provided with money, to ransom captives; many of whom became monks in that house. One of them, named Sydonius, who was ransomed in Ireland, distinguished himself at Jumièges, by his zeal and science. St. Ouen, who often visited this monastery, became acquainted with his merit, and established him abbot in a monastery of his diocese, which had been built by King Thierry III., where this monk died in odor of sanctity, and the place bears the name of Saens from him to this day.† St. Richarius, besides his monastery near Abbeville, had also a house on the sea shore, partly that he might be lodged there when about to cross over to preach to the Britons, and partly to enable him to redeem captives, of whom he used to deliver vast numbers, and some of them he placed in his monastery.§

By the very act of embracing the monastic state, men felt bound to enfranchise all who had been subject to them personally. When the duke St. William, in the time of Charlemagne, became a monk at Gellon, besides distributing abundant

* Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocese de Troyes, p. 115. † Id.

‡ Deshayes, Hist. del'Abbaye de Jumièges, 10.

§ Chronic. Centulensis sive S. Richarii apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

alms to the poor, he gave liberty to his former serfs; and it was not till after these acts, that he left his country, to follow the cross of Christ in truth.* Calmet proves, however, that from the time of St. Benedict slaves used to be given to monasteries, to cultivate the lands at a distance, on which, consequently, the monks could not labor. These slaves formed part of the property given to religious houses, and could not be separated from it.†

Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury, remarks, that the Greek monks have no slaves, but that the Latins have. The councils of Adge, and of Epaone, prohibit abbots from enfranchising such slaves, on the ground that it would not be just if they should stand idle while the monks worked every day in the fields. Ecbert, archbishop of York, and St. Isidore, of Seville, regarded it as injustice in abbots, who have no personal property, and who conferred nothing on their monasteries, to diminish their possessions by enfranchising the slaves, who belonged not to them individually: but, notwithstanding these prohibitions, as Calmet observes, most monasteries gradually enfranchised their slaves; and the rule of St. Ferreole, in forbidding abbots to enfranchise a slave of their monasteries adds a proviso, which explains how they did so; for he says, that it must not be done without the consent of the monks, or unless the abbot procures a substitute de propria facultate.‡ This latitude was sufficient; and, accordingly, the work of emancipation proceeded rapidly. When large estates were given to the new monastery founded by St. Benedict, of Aniana, about four leagues west of Montpellier, he immediately enfranchised the serfs attached to them. In much later ages, we find the zeal of the monastic houses still employed in emancipating the serfs whom they found on the lands, which, from time to time, were bestowed upon them. In the reign of Philippe-le-Hardi, we find the abbey of St. Maur, and the chapter of Paris, granting letters of manumission to their serfs at Creteil; and in the year 1282, the same abbey enfranchising its serfs at Valenton.§ In 1244, Thomas de Mauleon, abbot of St. Germain, had enfranchised all the vassals of the parishes of St. Antony and of Verrieres.‖ In 1248, the inhabitants of Courbevoye were delivered from servitude by the abbot of St. Denis;¶ and in 1247, the inhabitants of Nanterre were enfranchised by Thibaud, abbot of St. Geneviève, on condition, that when required, they would come to the defence of the abbey.** In 1248, William, abbot of St. Denis, gave letters of manumission to all the serfs of Villeneuve-St. Denis.††

Similar details are found in the local records of all other countries, where each monastery was a centre, not only of light and piety, and spiritual emancipation, but also of temporal deliverance from the state of bondage. Notwithstanding,

* Mabbill. Act. S. Ord. S. Bened. Sæcul. iv. pars 1.
† Comment, sur la Regle de St. Ben. i. 11.
‡ Reg. S. Ferreol, c. 36.
§ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, tom. xii. p. 45.
‖ Id. tom. iX. 355.
¶ Id. tom. vii. p. 109.
** Id. vii. 122.
†† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, tom. xv. 3.

however, the zeal and efficacy of the monastic institute in general, it was found expedient, in subsequent times, to found new orders, for the express purpose of delivering captives from the hands of the Sarassins; for, as the Danes and Normans, in the earlier ages, used to carry off from the coasts of England and France, and enslave whole hosts of inhabitants, so, in later times, these new enemies of the Christian name used to descend upon the shores of the Mediterranean, for the purpose of procuring slaves; and scarcely, at present, can any one form an adequate estimate of the horrors and desolation which they produced in Sicily, in Campania, and Calabria, and generally along the coasts of Italy and Spain.* It was while saying his first mass, that St. John of Matha was inspired with the design which he afterwards effected, according to the advice of a holy hermit, named Felix de Valois, of redeeming the Christians who had fallen into the hands of the Mahometans; and with this view, he founded the order of the Trinitarians, and passed twice to Tunis. This was so early as in the twelfth century. It has been caculated, that in the interval of 437 years, this order of the Trinitarians ransomed from the Sarrassins 30,720 slaves.

The bare estimate of itself must excite our admiration; but what would be our feelings, if we could behold the instruments in actual operation here?—I mean, if we were eye-witnesses of the acts of sacrifice, and heroic charity, by which this great work was effected!

"I once knew, and you, my sisters, have seen," says St. Theresa, "a certain monk, of the order of the blessed Father Peter of Alcantara, who came to see me one day, bathed in tears through the violent desire which he entertained of delivering a captive by taking his place. We conferred about it together, and at last his general granted permission on his urgent prayers. But when he was about four leagues from Algiers, God took him to himself; and who can doubt of the recompense which he received?"* In fact, this action was but strictly according to the vow of the fathers of mercy. This latter order was instituted by St. Raymond of Pegnafort, St. Peter Nolasco, and King James I. of Arragon. It was first announced by St. Raymond, in the cathedral of Barcelona, on the feast St. Laurence; and the multitude received the intimation with enthusiastic acclamations.† The king, at Barcelona and other places, built convents, and richly endowed them, for the brethren of this order. A certain number was to be chosen every year, who should go to the Sarassins to redeem the poorest; and each took a vow, in addition to the three of continence, poverty, and obedience, that if in the redemption of captives money should fail, when despair might induce any one to deny the faith, the brother was to redeem that captive first, and remain in his place till money could be transmitted to ransom him also. This good king James had

* Gabriel. Barrii de Antiq. et situ Calabriæ, Lib. i. in Thes. Antiq. Italiæ, ix. Placidi Regna, Notitia Hist. Messanæ in Id. tom. x. Leandri Alberti Descript. Italiæ, pp. 21. 208. 356.

† St. Theresa's Thoughts on the Love of God, chap. iii.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i.

himself experienced imprisonment for more than forty months, while in the age of tender youth, from Simon Montfort, at great peril of his life, at Carcasson, and also from the master of the Templars, in the citadel of Montion, that he might escape the snares of Sanctius and others; and during his captivity he had vowed to God, commending himself to the blessed Virgin, that he would found this brotherhood on his deliverance.*

When St. Dominick was a youth, studying at Palentia, his charity being such that he sold all the books in his study to relieve the necessities of the poor during a great dearth, that he might see himself poor with the poor, there came a woman to him weeping bitterly, and beseeching his assistance for the redemption of her brother, then captive by the Moors; and the charity of this holy young man was so great, that he earnestly besought the afflicted woman to sell him for a slave, and to exchange him for her brother: such was the force of charity in that pure and holy soul!

The blessed Matthew Carrieri, a friar of his order, after preaching with wondrous fruit in the states of Milan, Venice, and Tuscany, was entreated by the Genoese to visit their city for the same purpose: in compliance with which petition, he embarked from the Tuscan coast, with the intention of landing at Savona; but God permitted that the ship which was conveying him thither should fall in with a corsair's roving crew, which pursued and attacked her. What first follows, need not be described—the shriek of terror, and the mingling yell;—

"For swords began to clash, and shouts to swell—
Flung o'er that spot of sea the air of hell!"

In brief, the spoil is won;—Carrieri and his two companions, and all the passengers, are thus apparently doomed to perpetual slavery; but the holy friar—

"Submissive, yet with self-possession mann'd"—

speaks before the chief with so much grace and dignity, that without asking for his liberty, it is granted to him, as also to the two friars who are with him. These three are on the point of retiring, after having in vain solicited the deliverance of the other passengers, when lo! a woman's gentler anxious tone is heard,—"O friend of God, for blessed charity save my mother!" "Nay, but my daughter!" cries another voice—and, at the same moment, a lady and a most beautiful maiden threw themselves at his feet, and conjured him to have pity on them. The monk is never insensible. At the risk of irritating, by his importunity, the barbarian, who might be easily excited to retain himself, the friar returns to him, calmly meets the curious eyes that question of his coming seek, and repeats his entreaty, begging him to release at least two persons; but his prayer producing no effect on the corsair, the man of God offers himself instead of these two captives, and en-

* Bernardini Gomesii de Vita Jacobi I. Arragon. Lib. ii.

treats permission to remain in their place. To feel the force of such an act, we should observe that the poet who describes of late the corsair has rather diminished than exaggerated the fearful character of the man; for he omits all mention of his avarice, which is the most appalling trait of all. Yet saith he,—

"There breathe but few whose aspect might defy
The full encounter of his searching eye;
There was a laughing devil in his sneer,
That rais'd emotions both of rage and fear;
And where his frown of hatred darkly fell,
Hope withering fled, and mercy sigh'd farewell!"

Nevertheless, that pirate chief—man of loneliness and mystery—scarce seen to smile, and seldom heard to sigh—the slave of gold, the slave of lust—whose name appals the fiercest of his followers, and tints with sallower hue each swarthy cheek—beholds, with looks none ever marked in him before, that friar, whose countenance is pale with penance, not from fear, whose noble form is not wholly concealed by the coarse dark habit that wraps a breast bestowed on heaven alone. The heart of this terrible chief is softened, avarice yields to generosity, and he consents to set free, not alone the women, but all the prisoners, without exception;—

"What was the spell that thus his soul could bind?
The power of thought, the magic of the mind."

The history goes on to relate how the friars proceed by land to Genoa, where the fame of this action had already spread; and how the first sermon of the preacher recalls innumerable souls to the cross of Jesus, to the ways of charity and faith.*

Don Faustus de Pagola, on his voyage to the Canary Islands, was taken by corsairs, and conducted in slavery to Algiers. His wife's brother, Thomas Carbonel, was a holy friar, who on the first intelligence of the event, was going to imitate the founder of his order, and offer himself instead of the captive; but his advanced age was an insuperable obstacle. The barbarians demanded 8000 crowns for his ransom, and the family could not furnish such a sum. The exertions of the friar, however, succeeded in obtaining it from many bishops and grandees of Spain; and the gentleman, after five months, was enabled to return to his family.†

Sometimes, however, the good offices and devotion of the merciful only turned to the profit of the infidels. Of this we have an instance in early times. Rodland, archbishop of Arles, taken prisoner by the Sarassins in 869, was kept in chains on board their ship, the infidels requiring for his ransom 150 pounds of

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 22.
† Id. tom. v. liv. xxxix.

silver, 150 cloaks, 150 swords, and 150 serfs. After some time, he died in their hands; but the Sarassins concealed his death, and only threatened to pursue their voyage immediately, unless the ransom were paid. Having at length received it, they sent the bishop to shore, sitting on his chair, and clothed in the sacerdotal vestments in which he was taken. Those who had sent the ransom hastened to congratulate him, but found only the dead body, which they then buried, with great lamentations, in the sepulchre which he had prepared for himself.*

Angelo Calessius, bishop of Santerini, in the Archipelago, was a Dominican friar, inhabiting his native city of Nicosia, the capital of the Isle of Cyprus, when, in 1570, it was besieged and taken by the Turks. After beholding his dear mother, Lucretia Calessia, and all his relations massacred, while he offered himself to the swords of the infidels, he was seized, stripped, loaded with chains, and placed among the other captives. He passed, at first, through many hands; but in fine, Osma, captain of a Turkish galley, purchased him, and led him as his slave to Constantinople. In a short time he proved so agreeable, that his master began to treat him no longer as his slave; he made him even sit at table with him, and allowed him to go out as often as he wished; but Angelo, full of faith and charity, only availed himself of this permission to visit every day the other captives, consoling them to the utmost of his power, and teaching them to render their sufferings meritorious by patience and submission to the order of Providence. Nevertheless, the general of the Dominicans, Seraphin Cavalli, and Pope Pius V., had not forgotten the holy friar, whose name had been long known in Rome. They sent four hundred gold crowns for his ransom, and on the 8th of January, 1571, Osma set him free. Calessius might then have either returned to Cyprus, or enjoyed a better lot in some city of Italy; but the charity of Jesus Christ made him resolve on a different course. He feared that the sufferings of the captives, consigned to adopting fetters and the damp vault's dayless gloom, might induce some of the weak to deny the faith; and he determined to remain at Constantinople, and expose his repose, his liberty, and his life, for the salvation of his brethren. During an entire year he remained there, always occupied in works of mercy, soliciting the charity of ambassadors and rich merchants, and then carrying their alms down to the deep dungeons of the poor captives, some of whom he restored to liberty; and many young men who had become apostate he recalled to faith. After the battle of Lepanto, the Turks, however, became more rigorous and suspicious; they forbade him thenceforth to visit any of their slaves; and at length they accused him formally of being an enemy of the Prophet, and a papal spy. Either charge was sufficient to cost him his life; so, on the 3rd of February, 1572, he was again loaded with chains, and thrown into an obscure dungeon. However, he had many friends; and as soon as his detention was known, they spared no effort to save him. Some noble citizens of Ragusa, who were then at Constantinople,

* Gallia Christiana, Id. i. 44.

gave a great sum for his ransom; and Abamachi, now king of the Algerians, joined his credit to the solicitations of the French ambassador; and the judge consented at last, to deliver the prisoner, but on condition that he was instantly to quit the Turkish dominions.

Unable, therefore, any longer to visit the captives in prison, he adhered to his resolution of serving them still; and for this purpose went to Italy, where he first repaired to Pius V., and then visited Naples, Bologna, Florence, Milan, and Venice, in order to inform the rich citizens of Cyprus, who were then living in those cities, of the situation of the captives; and his efforts were crowned with such success, that every one gave in just proportion to his means; so that he was able to send over great sums to ransom them. Stephan de Lusignan, whom he met in Italy, co-operated with him in this work of mercy. This was a holy and learned Dominican, of the royal house of Lusignan, whose ancestors had reigned in Cyprus. Born in Nicosia, where he had been received at an early age into the order, he had followed his ancient master, the bishop of Megara, into Italy, before the capture of the island. Two of his brothers, Hercules and John Philip, were slain fighting in its defence; and many of his nephews had been carried off slaves to Constantinople. These two friars exerted themselves during many years, and from time to time had the gratification of receiving many whose chains they had loosed at Constantinople. In order to obtain relief from Christian princes, they also employed their pens; and Calessius wrote two narratives, in Greek, at the end of the Universal History, published by Stephan de Lusignan, containing an affecting picture of the storming of Nicosia and Famogouste, to the former of which the author was an eye-witness. These narratives Stephan de Lusignan translated into Italian and French, and they brought to the friar abundant alms, which were employed in delivering or consoling the slaves, many of whom, forming whole families, were enabled in consequence to return to their country.*

These are delightful histories, and we might multiply them without end from the annals of any one religious order. Peter Pascal, the holy bishop of Jaen, having dispensed all his revenue in charity, and wishing still to be useful to his brethren, repaired to the Turks. He is loaded with chains; but the clergy and people of his Church send a sum of money for his ransom. "The saint," says Heliot, "received it with gratitude; but instead of employing it to procure his own liberty, he redeemed with it a number of women and children; fearing lest, through weakness, they might abandon the Christian belief; while he remained in chains till the barbarians gave him the martyr's crown."

In fact, as the religious principle was the actuating power, so the eternal salvation of human souls was the object of these men of mercy. This order of the brethren of Our Lady of Mercy, instituted by King James the First of Arragon,

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. liv. xxxii.

to redeem Christian captives from the Moorish pirates, or from the Sarassins of Valencia, who made frequent descents upon Catalonia and Arragon, had for its chief motive, "ne tormentis seu diuturna servitute oppressi, Christianam religionem et fidem abnegarent."* Frequently, too, the charity of private individuals unconnected with any religious fraternity, took this direction in consequence of some domestic deliverance. Gilbert des Essarts, a noble knight of the diocese of Evreux, was taken prisoner by the Turks, in the first voyage of St. Louis to the Holy Land, and after a long captivity, was miraculously brought back to his estate of Pontiere, on the evening of the day on which his wife had contracted a second marriage. He presented himself before her, weakened and reduced, with a sunk visage, and having a long beard, leaning on a pilgrim's staff six feet high, and loaded with chains on his hands and feet. That noble dame could not have recognized him, if it had not been for his presenting her with the half of a gold ring, of which he had left the other in her hands on setting out on his voyage, and which she had carefully preserved. Through gratitude for this happy reunion, they founded on their estate a house and chapel for the redemption of captives, which existed till the Revolution.†

The Holy See, from time to time, reminded kings and people of their duties in respect to captives. Pope Innocent III. writes in these terms to the patriarch of Jerusalem, who had besought his aid in behalf of the Christian captives:— "Whosoever delivers any of the faithful from prison, will be delivered by Christ from hell. Since, therefore, this consolation of humanity is due to captives from the office of charity, and from the Lord's precept, those seem transgressors who are unwilling, when they have the power, to redeem captives; for which, according to the canonical constitutions, ecclesiastical goods ought to be resigned, which in other cases cannot lawfully be alienated. For there would be reason to fear that they were not subject to divine justice, if in any way they should pass a judgment contrary to this, making void the law of God on account of traditions of men, wishing to consult for things rather than for persons, and loving riches more than souls, as would appear evident to demonstration if they should be unwilling to deliver, for the sake of redeeming their brethren, what they resign willingly for the sake of acquiring money." Therefore, desiring to provide for the salvation of both the captives and the free, he charges him to admonish and exhort kings and princes, and all the Christian people, in the name of the Lord, to take such measures as are necessary for the deliverance of the captives, and to come forward generously to their assistance.‡

As if to complete this picture, we find instances of the most exalted mercy exercised by the heroic princes of Europe towards the very men who were capturing Christians in order to enslave them. Of this a memorable example was furnished

* Bernardini Gomesii de Vita Jacobi I. Arragon. Lib. ii.

† Hist. d' Evreux, 209.

‡ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xiv. 147.

by Andrew Doria, when Draguthes the corsair fell into his hands. "Knowing, says Sigonius, "his ferocious manners and innate barbarity, he feared to let him loose at once, lest he should return to his piracy: and on the other hand, he could not think of putting him to death, or of keeping him in prison for ever. From the former plan his clemency revolted, for if he adopted that, he thought he should be as cruel as Draguthes himself; and from the latter he was dissuaded by the idea that Hariadenus and all other pirates would then boast that they only followed the example of the Christians in keeping prisoners chained in their dungeons. Moreover, he hoped that it might be possible to change the nature of Draguthes. So he ordered that he should be brought before him, and then, with a most gentle and benign voice, he calmly remonstrated with him on the cruelty of his former ways; telling him that nature had made all men free, and that, therefore, it was an iniquitous custom to reduce any man to slavery, and to extort money for ransoms. He implored him to renounce such measures in future, and to remember that he and other men were created equal by God: so that, though they might have hired servants for their just wants, they could have no slaves consistent with any justice. Draguthes replied that he would follow his counsels, and would be ready to endure all torments if ever again taken by him, after having violated his promise. So he set him free." In the mercy of Andrew Doria, whatever may have been his faults in other respects, it is easy to recognize the man who daily assisted at mass, recited the seven penitential psalms, and the solemn hymns to the blessed Virgin.*

But amidst these afflicting examples, we must not forget to mention the religious orders of knighthood which were similarly employed throughout the north of Europe, not only redeeming captives, but abolishing servitude. Charges having been made before the Pope against the Teutonic order in Prussia, the reply of the knights was in these terms:—"As to what is said that the brethren oppress their neophites under the yoke of slavery, we reject it as wholly incredible; since the liberty with which Christ has delivered us we grant to them, even unwilling to receive it, and ready to resist if they had occasion, and since we provide for them mercifully and paternally in all spiritual and temporal things."†

We come, at length, to consider the action of the civil power, which alone could complete the work of the blessed merciful in regard to slavery. One result from that influence of the clergy in the state, which we remarked in the last book, was the adoption by rulers of a resolution to perfect and extend the measures of emancipation which has emanated from the Church; and we never forget that, in every instance, the motive assigned for such acts of spontaneous liberality was religion, and drawn from those principles of faith which the clergy had been occupied in instilling. Witness the decree of Philippe Augustus, published at Paris in the year 1180:—"For the good of the soul of our father, King Louis, and of our

* Sigonii. de Reb. Gest. And. Doriæ. Lib. ii. † Voigt, Geschichte Preussens, iii. 146.

own soul, and of the souls of all our predecessors, we for ever absolve from all yoke of servitude all the serfs of Orleans, and of the villages near it. We wish them to be as free as if they had never been our serfs; and we pledge ourselves never to commit any violence upon the inhabitants of Orleans."*

In like manner, all the early acts of enfranchisement of slaves, as well as those of donations to Churches and to the poor, began with the words, "Pro remedio animæ nostræ: pro remissione peccatorum meorum." In fact, the adversaries of the Catholic Church in modern times have been forced to admit that it was by means of the very rites and discipline which they had renounced, that men were prevailed upon to abolish slavery. Sir Thomas Smith, secretary to Edward VI., says, that "the holy fathers, monks, and friars, had in their confessions, and especially in their extreme and deadly sickness, convinced the laity how dangerous a practice it was for one Christian man to hold another in bondage; so that temporal men, by little and little, by reason of that terror in their consciences, were glad to manumit all their villains." Will it be believed, that after this admission he could add, "But the said holy fathers, with the abbots and priors did not in like sort by theirs; but they also had a scruple in conscience to impoverish and despoil the Church, so much as to manumit such as were bound to their Churches and to the manors which the Church had gotten, and so kept their villains still."† Melancholy but important testimony! for it proves to what an extravagance the blind aversion of these supporters of the new system proceeded, and with what assurance they were accustomed to reckon upon the ignorance or the prejudice of their contemporaries.

The movement of these blessed wheels, which wrought deliverance to captives during the period to which we look back, has now been in some measure seen; but, reader, wouldst thou remain looking at them longer still, in order to observe how the Catholic religion continued to operate in this respect towards the conclusion of these grand ages? Open, then, the history of America, which shows the discovery of a new world. Christianity arrives there at the same time with Cortez and Pizarro; and while the ferocious conquerors charge the timid Indians with irons, religion, by the bulls of its sovereign pontiffs, by the voice of Las Casas, and of the holy friars of the two orders, accuses the conquerors and defends the victims.

Francis de Victoria, a learned Dominican and most celebrated professor in the university of Salamanca, whose brother Diego, of the same order, was preacher to the emperor Charles V., did but repeat the doctrine of the middle ages in his fifth lecture on theology, when he showed at great length that difference of religion is no just cause for war, which can only be legitimate, he says, when some very great injury is inflicted on the state, or on its allies; and he concludes by saying, that when conqueror the king must act the part of a just arbiter between himself

* Collect. du Louvre, tom. xi. 226. † Commonwealth, book iii. c. 10.

and the vanquished, and bear carefully in mind that generally all the fault is on the side of the prince, and that the poor people suffer from his ambition. In his fourth lecture he had treated on the right which the kings of Spain could have over the persons and property of the Indians; and though a Spaniard, he proves that neither barbarism nor infidelity, nor any other error of these nations, nor their refusing to receive the gospel, can give any right whatever to the Catholic kings to make war upon them, or to seize their lands.*

The Dominicans, in particular, who were deputed to evangelize the Indians, protested against the maxims of their greedy and barbarous countrymen. Braving all personal considerations, they proceed so far as to refuse absolution to those Spaniards who would hold the Indians in slavery; while King Ferdinand and his council, yielding to the views of a political interest, declare that they will take on their own conscience the risk of what might be unlawful in this slavery, and that, consequently, the Dominicans and the monks of the other orders ought to abstain, in future, from the invectives which "a charitable but little enlightened zeal had induced them to pour forth against this custom."

The allotted time would fail me, reader, if we should wait to see pass before us the train of these men of mercy. One glance at the chiefs of this procession would discover such men as Julien Garces, the Dominican, first bishop of Tsascala, in New Spain, who carried his complaints of the cruelty of his countrymen before the royal council of the Indies, and then before Pope Paul III., to whom he addressed his work in favor of the oppressed Americans; or Vincent Valverda, of the same order, first bishop of Cusco in Peru, who endeavored to save the unhappy savages from Pizarro; and when his efforts were unavailing, returned to Spain to solicit the King of Castile to interfere in their favor; and who, after being obliged to wait four years for his answer, at length, on succeeding, and being declared by a royal rescript protector of the Indians, hastened back to alleviate their sorrows; when, after devoting himself for some time to these works of mercy, he was martyred in the Isle of Puna, and devoured by cannibals, and so passed to the God whom he had served by mercy.

Would that I could set before you, if not the heroic labors of the first bishop of Chiassa, Bartholomew de Las Casas, which would require our fixed attention many days, at least the magnanimous deeds and immortal discourses of the friars and prelates who co-operated with him; such as Peter of Cordova, Garsias de Loaysa, confessor of Charles V., and the Archbishop of Seville, Don Diego Deza, and the friar Antonio de Montesino, who, in his second sermon before the admiral royal treasurer, and all the Spanish authorities, boldly challenged them to say by what right men who came from Spain, because they had no bread there, proceeded to fatten themselves on the substance of a people born as free as themselves. It is true, in general, the kings of Spain and the Spaniards who formed

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. xxv.

the majority, cannot be convicted of the guilt of having countenanced these horrors. Certainly not a little striking is the fact, that when a Spaniard and a canon of Salamanca was found capable of composing a book to maintain the justice of the war against the Indians, the government did not permit him to print it. At that time Las Casas, discouraged and overwhelmed with grief, had withdrawn from the spectacle of cruelties which he could not prevent, and was residing in his convent of Valladolid; but no sooner did he hear of this intended publication, than he came forward to oppose it, and in that resistance he was nobly seconded by the archbishop of Seville. On their remonstrance, the royal council referred the question to the universities of Alcala and Salamanca; and these two faculties, after examining the book, decided that its doctrine was pernicious. Sepulveda, for that was the author's name, made repeated efforts to obtain permission from Charles V.; but, when all were unavailing, he sent his manuscript to a friend in Rome, where it was secretly printed; but all copies were ordered to be suppressed, as soon as the fact was known. Some, however, were introduced into Spain, and then Las Casas took up his pen. Sepulvedo, however, still defending his doctrine, the two parties were permitted to dispute before the emperor, when all the eloquence of Sepulvedo, who was called the Spanish Cicero, could not prevent the council from deciding against him, and thus confirming, by their sentence, the decision which had been long before given by the great light of Salamanca, Francis de Victoria.* But our limits can only admit of this passing allusion to names for ever associated with the benediction of the merciful. It is a subject which might occupy volumes, and from which, at the end of all, one could not turn without regret.

It is not, however, alone in regard to prisoners and slaves, that the action of the blessed merciful is presented to the notice of an historian, as affecting the public conduct of rulers, and men in power, during the middle ages. The great work of protecting all the weak and poor from oppression, for which God sent the first of his angels that was seen on earth,† still remained, and frequently, it must be acknowledged, the labors of the clergy, in this respect, were admirably seconded by those later angels who appeared, from time to time, crowned for an instant, with a mortal crown, to show to the world how man could be transfigured by faith and love. One of the first acts of the Emperor Lewis the Pious, was sending officers to all parts of the empire, to make restitution to all who had been oppressed by corrupt agents during the last years of his father's reign;‡ and St. Louis, before embarking for the crusade, sent medicant friars throughout his whole kingdom, to make inquiry of the poor, whether any of them had suffered injury in the king's name, and if so, at his expense to repair it. Some poor peasants came once, all in tears, to complain to Hedwige, the young queen of Poland, that the king's

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. † Gen. xvi.
‡ Thegani de Gestis Ludovic. 3.

servants had seized their cattle. She ran to her husband, and obtained their immediate restitution. "Then," she said, "the cattle are restored to them, but who will give them back their tears?"

You perceive how immense was the pity of these hearts, inflamed with divine love. On a former occasion, when considering the prerogatives of nobility in feudal times, we observed, that it did not exclusively enjoy such benefits from the state: and, in fact, the poor, and all persons comprised in the category of the miserable, formed then a privileged class. By the common, imperial, and municipal laws, the protection of the weak was declared the duty of all princes;* and so many privileges were granted by the ancient Catholic legislations, in favor of persons who were objects of compassion, that their enumeration occupies a large volume, which was published by John Novaris, under the title of Treatise de Privilegiis Miserabilium Personarum, "by whom were understood," he says, "widows and orphans, sick persons and infirm, such as had suffered any reverse of fortune, the poor generally, captives, prisoners, foreigners, exposed children, penitents, old men and maidens, peasants, and that, too, although they had become miserable through their own fault." All persons included in this category were entitled to have their causes first brought on: a conclusion of the parliament or council of the university was null, if it turned to their prejudice: a general or special retraction could not include legacies made to them: in their favor, men could be obliged to sell their property: an extrajudicial confession was received in evidence for them: in the course of judicial proceedings, they enjoyed a great number of special privileges: an intention, orally expressed, was proof in their favor: they were exempted from penalty in the event of alleging false witnesses: from a sentence in their favor, there was no appeal: a cession made to them was not to be presumed pretended: a legacy to them, though uncertain, was to be sustained: it was to be presumed as made with a view to their misery: it was to be widely interpreted: any one could stipulate in their favor in their absence: doubtful donations were to be understood in their favor: doubtful points of law were to be determined in their favor: a woman could be their advocate in court: they could not be expelled from a hired house, if, at the expiration of the term, they chose to pay as much as others offered. Regularly, a lord, for his own use, in case of necessity might eject a tenant; but if the house were rented by one included in the category of the miserable, he had not the power to drive him out; for the poor, in that respect, had the privilege of scholars, who could not be ejected by the proprietors of their lodgings, the law being pleased to consider them as among the miserable. The Falcidia were not to be charged on legacies made to any of these persons: the fabric of St. Peter waved its right when the testament was in their favor: a bishop in their cause could appear before his vicar, and seek justice: their

* Ex. cap ab. Imperat. 23. Quæst, 3. cap. Regum, 23. q. 5. Carleval, in Tract. de Judiciis vii. 528.

causes could be heard, notwithstanding festivals: where sentences were equally divided, that which was in their favor was preferred: the onus of proof was on those against them; so that when prosecutors, though they should fail in evidence, it remained for the opposite party to prove their innocence: their houses were not to be demolished, although coining had been practised in them: a judge could proceed, ex officio, in their favor: they could appeal at once to superiors, without mediators: they had the benefit of whole restitution: things inalienable, could be alienated in their favor: their administrators could be compelled to give account during their power: legacies in their favor, though cancelled in the will, took effect, unless the real intention of the testator could be proved; commutations could be made in their favor; they were entitled to support during a process: equity in their favor, was to be preferred to the rigor of written law: in their causes, if laws differed from the canons, the latter were to prevail: bishops at their own cost, were to protect them, and clerks were bound to undertake their defence: bishops and clerks could be their guardians, and could negociate for them: monks could be compelled to plead their cause: they could claim their prerogatives after renouncing them: their causes could be heard in the ecclesiastical courts: they could not be ejected from their houses, though it might be necessary for the landlord to take possession of them: a mandate in their favor did not expire at the death of those who made it: magistrates were to have regard to what was useful to them: on the loss of an instrument, witnesses were not to be required respecting its tenor in their favor: the right of sepulture of an extinct family could revert to them: there could be no rejection of witnesses in their favor: a judge could interrogate in their interests after the cause was concluded: they were not subject to fine for contumacy: they could be heard alleging suspicions against public officers, without making a deposit: they enjoyed all the privileges of a pious cause, under similar circumstances: legacies and donations to them were not subject to the ordinances of the civil law: a contract in their favor was not dissolved on failure of the final cause: an error of calculation in their favor, in a judicial sentence, was confirmed: a surety was accepted for them that would not have been for others: advocates, vassals, could plead for them, against their own lords: the testament of an excommunicated person, in their favor, could not be set aside.*

Novario gives a multitude of authorities, in proof of each of these privileges, and cites facts to show their observance. Violence and injustice would, of course, frequently oppose it; but, in all such instances, and whenever the secular power was actuated by a different spirit, the exertions of the clergy, in favor of the miserable, can never be sufficiently admired. To this bishop, say ancient writers, all should fly who suffer injury. In his house there should not be, as in the house of Jove, according to the poet, whom Themistius reproves, two vessels, one containing good, the other adverse lots, but no acerbity should be found there, nor any

* Jo. Novarii Lucani Tract. de Privileg. Miserab. Person

source besides a fountain of mercy and benignity ; and therefore St. Bernard calls ecclesiastical superiors mothers.* "Truly," saith he, writing to Pope Innocent, "amongst the privileges of your singular primacy, what, above all, ennobles in our eyes your apostolic power is, when you rescue the poor from the hand of the strong. In my judgment, there is no more precious jewel in your crown, than that zeal with which you are accustomed to relieve the oppressed, and to deliver the just from the rod of sinners."†

What an admirable spectacle is furnished by Honorious II. endeavoring to instil into the breasts of kings his own gentleness and longanimity, exhorting the king of England ut subjectos suos studeret regere in spiritu lenitatis, and the king of Bohemia, sicut regem decet, mansuetum habere animum et clementem ! ‡ What a sublime spectacle to behold the successors of the fisherman giving up whole kingdoms, rather than fail in justice to one friendless woman, and, from age to age, rejecting the offers of powerful oppressors, with that hereditary voice of their seat, Pecunia tua tecum sit in perditionem.

"O voice of thunder !" cries St. Bernard, "O voice of magnificence and virtue ! at whose terror are turned back and confounded all who hate Sion." This conduct of the Roman pontiffs, alone in this respect, would be sufficient to entitle them to the eternal gratitude of mankind ; but as it would be wholly impossible to do justice to it without occupying an entire volume, I shall merely allude to what was done by holy men in lower office, who meekly followed in their steps. The letters of St. Bernard to Thibaud, count of Champagne, respecting his conduct to Humbert, will convey an idea of the nature of this action in general. To this prince he writes as follows :—"I have heard that you were anxious, on occasion of our sickness, and I am not a little grateful ; and in this I recognize your love for God ; for how otherwise should you have condescended so much as to know such a person as myself, unless on account of God ? Therefore, since it is certain that you love God, and me for his sake, I wonder that I should be repulsed by you in one little petition, which I think is neither unjust nor unreasonable. If I had sought gold or silver, or anything of that nature, truly I question not I should have received it. Sought, do I say ? Nay, without seeking, I have often experienced your bounty. But why have I not deserved to succeed in this one cause, which I have asked not for my sake, but for the sake of God, not so much for me as for you from yourself ? What ! do you count it unworthy in me to ask, or in you to grant, mercy to a Christian accused before you, and acquitted, though not in your court ? Do you not remember him who threatens, cum accepero tempus ego justitias judicabo ? And if we will judge justice, how much more injuries ? Or do you not fear what is written, "Quia in qua mensura mensi fueritis, remitietur vobis ? Are you not aware that, as easily as you can deprive Humbert of his inheritance, God can strip you of yours ? Yea, incomparably more easily. Truly, in cases where

* Cresolii Anth. Sacra. † Epist. cxcviii. ‡ Regest. Honor. III. ix. 16. 25.

the guilt is clear and inexcusable ; so that there is no room for mercy, without endangering justice, you ought to be a vindicator, trembling, and grieving, more compelled by the necessity of office, than by the desire of vindicating ; but where the alleged crime is either less certain, or more excusable, you should rejoice in finding an occasion where you can exercise piety, saving justice. Lo. I admonish you this second time, that as you wish God may have mercy on you, should you show mercy to Humbert, whether you be moved by that sweet promise, 'Beati misericordes, quoniam ispi misericordiam consequentur ;' or intimidated by that, denunciation, 'Judicium sine misericordia illi, qui non fecerit misericordiam.' Farewell."*

Again, he writes to him on the same subject, and says, "I fear to be troublesome to you by these repeated solicitations ; but what can I do ? If I fear to offend you by writing often, how much more should I fear to offend God by not interposing for the miserable ? I return you thanks for allowing me to find favor in your sight, and for permitting Humbert to refute the accusation against him, but I cannot sufficiently express my astonishment at your not having fulfilled your intention of restoring the inheritance to his wife and children, and at your pious word not having been accomplished. If we detect any light or false word in other princes, we count it a thing neither new nor strange ; but from Count Thibaud, whose simple affirmation is the same as an oath, and from whom the least lie would be a grievous perjury, we cannot patiently hear yes and no. Amongst many virtues which ennoble your dignity, and render your name illustrious and celebrated through the world, what is chiefly praised, is your constancy of truth. Who, therefore, hath tried by entreaty or advice to enervate the strength of your firm bosom ? Who, I say, hath attempted to annul, by fraud, so holy a resolution, so excellent, so worthy of all princes' imitation ? Deceitfully, not truly, did he love you ; traitorously, and not faithfully, did he advise you, endeavoring to cover, with clouds, your glorious renown for truth, and to render void the word which your mouth uttered,—word agreeable to God, worthy of you, piously just, and justly pious, by I know not what malice, seeking to injure the poor. I beseech you, by the mercy of God, to beware, lest the impious should grow proud, while the poor are prostrated ; and keep the promise which you made first to the Lord Norbert, and afterwards to us, that you would restore the inheritance of Humbert to his wife and children."† In a third letter, St. Bernard exhorts the count to be ready always with more clemency and indulgence, to hear the supplications of the poor people. "Lately, passing by Barrus, I met," he says, "a woman sufficiently wretched ; for her soul was in bitterness, and my bowels were moved at her sorrows, and she implored me to intercede for her. She is the wife of your man Bellinus ; to whom, according to the crimes that he committed, you have already rendered many and grievous things. Show her mercy, that God may have mercy

* St. Bernard, Epist. xxxvii.

† Epist. xxxviii.

on you: at all events, let not her and the innocent children suffer for the iniquity of the father. It is just, that whatever has been taken from them should be restored."* We find him afterwards writing to Gaufrid, bishop of Chartres, to entreat that he would intercede with Count Thibaud for Humbert, as all his own efforts to serve him had proved ineffectual.† Another letter, which he addresses to the bishop of Soissons, concludes with a beautiful exhortation to labor in the cause of mercy:—"I seek suppliantly, I seek earnestly, I seek in season, and out of season, not what would be unworthy of you to grant, or what I might repent having received; for if you will deliver a poor from a powerful man, you will confer on us a great benefit, and still a greater on yourself."‡ The monk of Monte Cassino says of Pope Leo, that he repaired to Amalphi, in order to persuade the Normans to refrain from cruelty, and to cease from molesting the poor; showing them how God is persecuted when the poor are persecuted, and how God is pleased, when good is done to the poor.§ The only question which Guy de Roye, archbishop of Sens, notices, as essential for confessors to address to such as hold the office of seigneurs, is this, "whether they extort money from poor persons?"‖ an evil which some governments, in the middle ages, had effectually obviated; for we find, that at Nola, in the sixteenth century, the poor did not pay the same tax for the same objects as the rich, but that each family paid according to its means.¶ Behold, now, an example in later times, of the action of these apostolic men, whose soul-subduing tongue was as a lance to quell the mailed crest of wrong. During the period when Charles Drosius exercised a most cruel tyranny over the inhabitants of Monte Reale, which was then in possession of the French, Friar John, Baptist of Florence, who was residing in the convent of Capuchins, on the mount, went boldly to remonstrate with him, and threatened him with the divine vengeance if he persisted to oppress the people; but as this governor, who feared neither God nor man, persevered in his atrocious course of cruelty, the holy preacher proceeded to denounce from the pulpit his merciless acts; and when the tyrant heard of what he had said, he sent to inform him, that unless he publicly recanted those words, he would order his beard to be torn from his chin; to whom the holy man sent answer, that when his duty was concerned, he valued his life no more than the hairs of his beard, but that if he would attend at his sermon on the morrow, he should have the satisfaction which he knew would be agreeable to God.

Accordingly, on the next day, Charles, surrounded by his armed soldiers, entered the church. That man of iron soul sat in constrained silence, prepared not so much to hear the word of God, as to command a horrible crime; while his guards stood ready to watch the sign, and execute it. But, lo! the preacher had no sooner lifted up the crucifix and uttered a short prayer, invoking the Saviour's

* Epist. xxxix. † Epist. lvi. ‡ Epist. ccxxvii. § L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. iii. c. 16
‖ Le Doctrinal de Sapience ¶ Amb. Leo de Nola, Lib. iii. 8. in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix

protection, and proclaiming his resolution never to cease, but with life, to raise his voice in behalf of the poor and oppressed, than terror seized the ruthless enemy; the image of Christ seemed to frown upon him ; he shuddered, and, though the friar then proceeded to declare, that the vengeance of heaven was hanging over his head, unless he made restitution to the poor, and ceased to oppress them, he had only sufficient strength to rise and wave to his satellites to follow him, leaving the multitude wrapt in admiration at the sudden and terrific spectacle of a tyrant's remorse.* From this striking example, reader, you can estimate the effects of that monastic action, which was never suspended during the middle ages. Nor can we omit to notice those remarkable fraternities which were instituted by noble men and laics, with a view to afford protection to the weak, and to redress the wrongs of the oppressed. Without entering upon the ground of old Romance, where these are seen to play so memorable a part, we meet with them repeatedly in the annals of history. Historians are not wanting to perpetuate the names of Catellanus Malavolta, Loderengus Andalous, Gruamons Caccianimicus, Hugolinus Lambertinus, of Bologna, Selanca Liazanus, of Reggio, and Rainerius Adelardus, of Modena, who, in the thirteenth century, founded the brotherhood of the knights of St. Mary, sanctioned by Pope Urban IV. ; of which the insignia showed a purple cross on a white field, beneath two stars ; and by the laws of which every member was bound to defend widows and orphans, to promote peace as far as was in his power.† This path presents new objects of beauty and grandeur at every step, but we must press forwards hastily.

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1540. † Sigonii de Episcop. Benov. Lib.

CHAPTER V.

THE humanity and mercy with which the wars of the middle ages were conducted, would undoubtedly form another class of historical illustrations, on which we might be expected to dwell, if there were not so many topics, still more intimately connected with our argument, remaining as yet unnoticed, the length of which admonishes us to turn our steps from ground that has been frequently explored; and there is no want of guides when we pass near battle fields, and enter within the confines of mere secular history. The facts here also are well known, and generally uncontroverted. A modern author indeed affirms, that it is a gross abuse of language to call a warrior merciful; but in the very work in which the sentence occurs, one may remark that he is obliged to record instances of the most tender compassion exercised in war; and though a hatred of war was undoubtedly characteristic of innumerable heroes, who were celebrated in the middle ages, the same men were able to demonstrate in their deeds, that mercy, in the most sovereign degree, may distinguish those who are constrained, by the circumstances of the times, to engage in it. The proposition, therefore, as general, cannot be admitted. with such facts before us as are attested by history.

Horrors and cruelty have at all times attended the collision of hostile armies; but certainly that reckless sacrifice of human life in furtherance of an important object, that cool calculation of consequences in consigning to destruction friends or enemies, of which so many instances can be produced from the annals of modern warfare, did not belong to the military character of the period in question. On the contrary, the ancient annals record numerous examples of commanders being willing to forego great advantages, rather than fail in mercy towards those opposed to them, of which one very memorable instance occurred, during the siege of Rheims by the English, when the Castle of Cormicy, defended by Henri de Noir, and a troop of archers from that city, was besieged by Bartholomew de Brunes, an English nobleman. A mine having been secretly made by the English pioneers, their commander, being sure of its effect, sent a summons to Henry to surrender. This brave knight, being ignorant of the danger, was amused at the proposition. "We are well provided," said he, "with all things, and you desire us to surrender; it shall never be so." The English commander, who could not endure to destroy these brave men, invited him to come out under a safe conduct, that he might judge of the peril with his own eyes. His resolution was changed when he beheld the tower undermined, and the walls only supported by beams

of timber, which had been placed to prop them up. He surrendered, and was no sooner come out with all his troops, than the fire was set to the props, and the tower shortly opened into two parts, and fell to the ground. This conduct of the English knight was the more noble, as the citizens of Rheims, during the war, had shown the greatest animosity against the English.

When Duke Robert, and Richard, Prince of Capua, besieged Salerno, which the ferocious Prince Gisolfe defended, the sufferings of the inhabitants, through hunger and misery, are described by the monk of Monte Cassino as resembling those experienced, during the siege of Jerusalem, by the Romans. The interests of humanity required that an end should be put to the horrible despotism of Gisolfe, by winning the town, so that these sufferings were unavoidable; but the Norman Prince nevertheless, found occasion to evince mercy to vast numbers while persevering in their laudable enterprise. Two young men on this occasion, followed by a dog, contrived to escape from the city, and came to where the duke was, and begged bread for God's sake, which was given to them, and the boys gave a third part of it to their dog; and the dog that evening ran back to the city, carrying the bread to their father's house, and placed it at his feet, and then returned to the lads. And the next day they had bread enough, and gave more to the dog, though they knew not what he had done with it before; and the next evening, again, the dog carried it to their father, and the third day likewise; and the father believing that some Christian sent him this bread for the love of God, tied a card round the dog's neck, on which he wrote, "I thank God for him who has sent me these alms, and I cease not to pray to God for him." With this the dog returned, and when the boys had read the card, they carried the dog, having it still hanging from his neck, to the Duchess; but she would not believe their report. However, she caused a little sack of bread to be fastened to the dog; and the dog seemed to be afraid of the people, as if he expected to be accused before the Prince; but, after sunset, as usual, he set off, and carried the bread to the city; and on his return another card was found, on which was written, "Greater thanks I render thee for these greater alms." At length the Prince heard of this circumstance: by his orders the dog was slain, and his master cast into prison, and put to a cruel death.* Towards the conclusion of the siege the Duke gave a memorable example of the mercy, which was spoken of above, which the historian, after describing the enfeebled state of the garrison, proceeds to relate in these terms:—"The duke saw that he could take the city by force; but fearing to cause the death of the inhabitants, and lest the poor people should lose their houses, he would not do so, though he desired above all things to put an end to the misery within the city, which was soon afterwards delivered to him by means of a citizen."†

Every one has heard of the bell which used to be sounded by the Florentines,

* L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv viii. c. 19. † Ibid. liv. viii.

in the middle ages, during a whole month before entering upon a campaign, in order to give warning to their enemies, that they might be prepared for what was coming. Machiavelli confesses, in his History of Florence, that such acts attest the prevalence of great generosity and virtue. The text of the Coutume de Beauvaisis, written towards the end of the thirteenth century, relative to the formalities which were to be observed before commencing private wars, furnishes another instance of the same spirit: "Qui autrui vient mettre en guerre par paroles, il ne les doit pas dire doubles ne couvertes, mais si clers et si apertes que chil a qui les paroles sont dites ou envoiées sache que il convient, que il se gart. Et qui autrement le feroit se seroit traison."*

Who has not heard also of the extraordinary scenes presented even on the field of battle, when both armies have spared their enemies, and that avowedly from a motive of compassion, and through a horror of shedding blood? In the celebrated battle of Brenneville, in the twelfth century, Orderic Vitalis says, that there were but three men killed.† Some scruple always remained after "destroying the creature of God, whom they could not resuscitate." A modern historian observes, that the type of a King of France was a saint,‡ that is, a man piteous and holy, who would say, with the Emperor Louis the Pious, "I do not wish that any one, on account of me, should lose life or member."§ The Monk of Monte Cassino, describing the victory of the Normans over the Longobards, who, trusting in their superior numbers, had threatened not to leave one of them alive, after relating that the rout and confusion of the enemy was complete, adds, "The Norman conquerors showed such mercy in this battle, that although the enemies' camp contained 2,500 foot soldiers, they would not touch one of them."‖ The historians of the middle age have been accused of inhumanity, and indifference to the fate of the common soldiers, because they seldom enter into any details respecting their fate; but surely a charge of this kind upon such grounds, is most unreasonable and ridiculous. How could these chronicles have discovered a different method of describing wars from what have been followed by all writers preceding them? In this instance it was necessity, and not inhumanity, which made them follow in the steps of Homer, who never speaks of the common crowd, but only brings the chiefs upon the scene. Then, again, what an admirable spirit of mercy distinguished conquerors! It entered into the definition of a great captain in the middle ages to notice his propensity to mercy; as when the old historian of Normandy says of Duke Richard, "La miséricorde de lo duc estoit moult grande."¶ And the author of the Chronicle of Robert Guiscart records of him, "Lo conte avoit en soi toute pitié et misericorde."**

St. Epiphanius relates, that the bishop of Paris was sent as ambassador from

* Beaumanior, Coutume Beauvaisis, c. 59. p. 30.

† Hist. Norm. Liv. xii.

‡ Michelet, Introduct. à l'Hist. Univ.

§ Thegani de Gesis Ludov. 42.

‖ L'Ystoire de li Normant. liv. i. c. 32.

¶ L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. v. c. 4.

** Chronique de Robert Viscart. liv. i.

Italy to Gundobad, King of Burgundy, for the purpose of redeeming prisoners, and that he spoke with such moving eloquence, that the conqueror restored them all to liberty without ransom.*

What a contrast was here to the heroes of the civilized nations of antiquity, with whom it was the custom to brand their prisoners of war with a hot iron. The Athenians marked their Samian prisoners with the figure of a ship, and the Samians marked their Athenian prisoners with that of an owl.†

The impious Emperor Frederick II. indeed, when he ravaged Italy in 1238, committed such slaughter, that, as he said himself, the provinces were not vast enough to furnish graves for those whom the fury of his soldiers sacrificed to his vengeance against Gregory IX., revived this custom of heathen warfare; for he made the sign of the cross with a hot iron on the foreheads of all his prisoners. But such an act was only in accordance with the character of an infidel, who led troops of Sarassins and heretics against the church. Prisoners of war in our chivalrous ages could never furnish themes for tragic song, as in times of heroic antiquity.

King Don Alonso of Portugal having been taken prisoner in a battle by Don Fernando, King of Leon, was treated with such humanity by him, besides being restored to liberty as soon as his wounds were healed, that on his return, through gratitude, he would gladly have resigned his kingdom into his hands; but Don Fernando contented himself with the restoration of some places which had been taken in Galicia: and the duke of Milan having taken prisoners the kings of Arragon and Navarre, gave them their liberty, without ransom or conditions, in order to gain their friendship.‡ The defeated are twice vanquished; for they are forced to yield the palm even of generosity: the Lady of Brescia, in whose house Bayart had been lodged on the capture of that city, on the departure of that knight from her house, wept with her daughters, as if they were to be put to death. Her last words to him were these: "Flower of chivalry, may the blessed Saviour and Redeemer Jesus Christ who suffered death and passion for all sinners, reward you in this world and in the next!" When he accepted her present of 500 ducats, lest he should disoblige her, it was only to distribute them immediately among the poor nuns of the convents, which had been injured in the sack of the city. The gentleness and mercy of Louis XII. towards the vanquished cities of Italy, has been ascribed to the influence of his confessor, the Dominican John Clerée; and it should be remarked, that there were few conquerors in those times who had not heard lessons of mercy and moderation from the lips of some holy friar. After the second revolt, when Genoa surrendered at discretion, Lewis XII. flushed with victory, entered the city in triumph, holding a drawn sword in his hand; but having embroidered on his coat of arms a king of the bees at the head

* Ap. Cresolii Anth. Sac. † Ælian Var. Hist. Lib. xi. c. 9.

‡ Savedra. Christ. Prince. ii. 424.

of his swarm, and for motto these noble words, "Our king has no sting."*

During the twenty-two years in which Garsias de Loaysa, the Dominican bishop of Osma, enjoyed the favor of the Emperor Charles V. whose confessor he became in 1524, he made it his constant effort to inspire him with sentiments of goodness for his subjects, moderation and mercy towards the enemies whom he vanquished. After the battle of Pavia, when Francis I. was conducted prisoner to Madrid, Charles assembled his council to determine how he ought to treat his royal captive. It was the bishop's part, as chief of the council of conscience, to speak first; and though he well knew the interested views of those who would speak after him, which appeared in fact when the Chancellor Gattinara, and the Duke of Alva urged that he should be imprisoned for life, and the ambitious projects of the young emperor, who aspired to universal monarchy, and who would be now told that the only way of resisting the Turks would be by reducing Christendom under one monarch, for such was in reality the motive these counsellors assigned for their advice, nevertheless he gave his opinion, and persisted in justifying it, notwithstanding the cold and unmoved countenance with which the emperor heard him, that the King of France should be instantly set at liberty without ransom, and even without being obliged to agree to any conditions.† Even the rights with which the feudal system invested the clergy turned all to the profit of the unfortunate, and both in time of peace and of war were exercised in the cause of mercy.

Charles of Anjou, after his victory over Conradin at Tagliacozzo, was obliged to give Henri of Castille his life, because the Abbot of Monte Cassino, who had procured his arrest, would not render him excepting on that condition.

But I cannot remain here to multiply examples, which besides must present themselves in abundance to the memory of every reader of Froissart, or of our other ancient chroniclers. There is, however, one fact connected with the history of wars in general, which cannot be passed over in silence; for it is impossible not to be struck at the evidence which is presented in proof, that the humanity and compassion which formed the chivalrous character in the middle ages, was the result of the principles of the Catholic religion, emanating from the church, and diffused through society by the institutions which it inspired. Without recurring to the history of warfare in Pagan times, we need only cast a glance at the two parties, which were opposed to each other at first in the east, and subsequently in the north, to feel the whole force of this observation. Saladin, we are told by modern writers, was of a noble and generous nature; but what mercy did he show towards the vanquished?

After the terrible battle near the lake of Tiberias, in which he defeated the crusaders, when Guy de Lusignan was made prisoner, the captive king was

* Touron, Hist. des. Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iii. liv. 24.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. liv. 26.

accommodated with a tent by order of Saladin. Having been given some wine that had been cooled in snow, the unfortunate Lusignan presented the cup to the Lord of Carac; but Saladin held back his hand, exclaiming that a traitor like him should not drink in his presence. The menaces with which these words were followed, enraged Renaud; and he manifested his contempt for them as if he had been still at liberty, and in his own good castle. Then Saladin struck his unarmed and defenceless prisoner with his sword, and suffered his guards to slay him before his face. The following day, a scene of greater horror took place. The conqueror, seated on a throne, and surrounded by Emirs, and the most learned men of his court, summoned before him the Hospitallers and Templars, and, as a particular honor, gave his counsellors the privilege of each killing a captive with his own hands.

If we turn to the north, after the departure of Catholicism, and consider the spirit with which hostilities were conducted between states professing Christianity, we shall find that the epoch of the change of religion in the sixteenth century, was distinguished also as forming the commencement of a new military era utterly unlike all that had preceded it. The religious wars against the Catholics in Germany, Holland, and France, were characterized by a ferocity to which no parallel can be found in the annals of the world. All the atrocities recorded of the heathen hostilities, and all the prodigious cruelties that can be ascribed by the imagination to the hordes of savages, were surpassed by our militant reformers. It was a new voice to these regions of the earth, when the men whom Luther styled the prophets of murder, raised the cry which found such fearful echoes in the breasts of an infuriated population, On, on, on! Be without pity, when Esau shall give you good words. Hear not the groans of the impious; they will supplicate you very tenderly; they will weep like children. Be not touched; slay, and let not the sword dyed in blood have time to cool.

Hence it was, that the horrors perpetrated in Rome, when sacked by the Lutheran and mercenary troops of the Emperor, exceeded all that had ever been suffered by that city on the eight different occasions when she fell into the hands of an enemy. Mercy indeed was not much to be expected from a leader such as George de Frundsberg, chief of the German troops, who had been heard to swear repeatedly that he would strangle the Pope with the gold chain which he wore round his neck, or from troops, some of whom, as the author of the Lutheran history relates, used to boast that they would soon eat a piece of his flesh. Even against each other the Reformers contended with unsparing rage. On the revolt of the peasants in Germany, Luther charged the Elector Frederick and Duke John, to show them no mercy. The peasants, he said, deserved no tolerance, but the indignation of God and men: "they are under the ban, and they may be treated as mad dogs." Those who combatted under the ancient standard needed no instruction to convince them that cruelty could not be combined with piety, and that the paternosters of the constable Anne de Montmorency was execrable.

The writers of the middle age were all well assured that David, in speaking of overthrowing enemies, meant the victory over sins; and that, as Paschal remarks, both Moses and Isaiah had used the term in the same sense; therefore, in no manual of warriors, in no chivalrous romance, in no book of any description of the middle ages, will you discover the slightest trace of the spirit of the reformed captains, who made such strange and fearful use of the ancient Testament. But even without referring to wars professedly religious, it is certain that, wherever the Catholic code had ceased to influence men in military authority, there was never ground for astonishment, on finding the fairest laurels stained by some opprobrious note, of having failed in mercy, if not through blind caprice, at least through an inflexible adherence to some false idea of justice, national honor, or general expediency.

But it is useless to incur odium by pulling down vain trophies, which must one day fall of themselves, if the minds which now cling to them should ever be taught to appreciate true glory. Here let us stop. The path is slippery, and can lead to nothing worthy: all blessed things visibly droop and wither, as we advance on it: it is enough to have marked the limits: let us sign our breasts and return.

CHAPTER VI.

INTOLERANCE, that so ill agrees with mercy, has been ascribed by the common voice of modern schools to the Catholic society of the middle ages. It will be necessary, therefore, to examine upon what grounds that accusation rests; and for this purpose there is nothing more urgent, in the first instance, than to form a clear idea of the sense in which the word is used by those who bring it forward; for if they understand it as implying that the men of those times believed one religion to be true, and but one,—believed that it was the duty of those who adhered to that faith to endeavor by all means consistent with free will, to convert men to it, and to incorporate all of human kind into the one body which professed it,—the charge is true.. But if they intended to signify that the believing men of yore deemed it reasonable and just to use force in purging the world from errors, so as to compel all waverers to believe, and hold fast the Catholic faith, and to punish them with the temporal sword if they did not believe and hold it fast, the accusation involves an absurdity, as well as an historical falsification, and can only convict those who support

it of having formed an erroneous and distorted view of the character of past times

On the first of these suppositions, therefore, the truth of the charge being admitted, if we proceed to inquire what inference it will justify, respecting the mercy of men in the ages of faith, setting passion and prejudice aside, we shall find that it will warrant no other conclusion, but that they were strictly and in genuine simplicity Christian times, and precisely in part because that charge is true. The Christian religion was not a system of eclectic philosophy; it was a deposit, once delivered authoritatively from heaven, and to be transmitted afterwards by divinely commissioned men, without addition, diminution, or change whatever, to the end of time. It rested wholly on the doctrine clearly and repeatedly announced by its Divine Founder, that all those men who did not believe and receive it would perish. It was the sole way of deliverance vouchsafed to the human race. How then could men who really had faith, arrive at the contrary conclusion, that it was a point to be determined by individual inquiry, a subject for progressive development, that all men had an equal claim to the title of its disciples, whether they persevered or not in the doctrine of its authorized teachers, and however widely they might be separated from them, that it was capable of being divided into many religions, all differing from each other, both in principles of belief and practice, in doctrine as well as discipline, and that the virtue of tolerance, equivalent with charity and mercy, required them to give countenance and support to those who acted in accordance with such views? Evidently this was what men who had faith could never do. They might renounce their faith, they might approach the Christian religion as the ancient philosophers approached the school of some famous teacher of wisdom, and say, we approve of such and such parts, and we must reject such other parts, by this very act of choice and selection, according to the concurrent voice of all the first ages, proclaiming themselves to be no longer implicit followers of the apostolic instruction, and consequently no longer persons belonging to the Church instituted by Christ the Saviour, but never, while persevering in the doctrine of the apostles, could they mistake such toleration, full of cruelty for the charity of the gospel, "Ista caritas," says St. Bernard, "destruit caritatem; hæc discretio discretionem confundit."*

It is an error to suppose that discretion of this kind is the result of any progress of philosophy in modern times. St. Augustin says, that the devil, on seeing the temples of the demons become deserted, moved the heretics, who, under the name of Christians, should resist the Christian doctrine, as if they could indifferently, without any correction, be contained in the city of God, in like manner, as the city of confusion had indifferently contained philosophers, entertaining amongst themselves different and adverse opinions; "therefore," adds St. Augustin, "if any persons in the Church of Christ should teach any thing morbid or

* Apolog. ad Guil. 8.

bad, and should contumaciously refuse to amend their dogmas, and should persist in defending them, they become heretics, and must be driven out into the ranks of the enemy."* Christian antiquity had but one voice to assent to this doctrine. Clearly, however, as Bossuet remarks, "what rendered the Church so odious to those who protested against the ancient faith was, more than any thing else, this holy and inflexible incompatibility with error; it was because it wished to be alone—because it believed itself the spouse, title which admits of no partition. This was, in fact, what rendered it so severe, so unsociable, and so odious to the separated sects, which at first asked for nothing else but that she would not strike them with her anathemas; but her holy severity and inflexibility, which caused her to be hated by schismatics, rendered her dear and venerable to the children of God."†

Moreover, another source of terror and jealousy to all excluded persons is the discovery that the Catholic religion must always seek to proselytize, and in this they only discern with accuracy what is its real character; for the spirit of the Church is essentially conquering to conquer. Like him, of whom it is said, every man's hand was against him, and his hand against every man; so it is not to make peace that it hath been established on earth, but rather that it should produce hostility, as its Divine Founder predicted;—a war, too, it must be confessed, in which all the advantages are against its adversaries; for there is a power invisible, sooner or later sent forth to strike down every lofty thing that rises against it, and to bring into its subjection even the thoughts and imaginations of the human heart —war—to the conflict of man with man, of master with his own household, of sons with their own father—war to the knife's point, as it were, according to the image of that Spanish theologian who entitles his great work in proof of religion, "The dagger of Faith"—war never-ending, constantly in action, as long as the human race exists upon the earth, and always on the same unequal terms; those who are ranged under the banner of Catholicism having at their exclusive disposal a prodigious power, an instrument of inconceivable, divine perfection, the secret of which no genius or indefatigable malice of their adversaries can ever discover. Do you ask what this may be? It is taken from the altar; it is a consecrated weapon; its form is now antiquated, and will only cause a smile to those who have not felt its power; for the Church vanquishes by repeating the combat of her protomartyr Stephen, who had charity for arms, and by that, conquered all things.

Already here is more than sufficient to explain the cry of intolerance which assails us on all sides whenever the Catholic religion is named; and yet, so clear and irresistible was the truth on which these views were founded, that all these societies, which separated themselves into distinct communions, agreed in admitting it; for they only differed from the Catholic church in affirming that they

* De Civitate Dei. liv. xviii. 51

† Hist. de Variat. VI. avert.

were the members who truly constituted that one mystical body; but never did any of them practically adopt the conclusion that all formed integral parts of it, and that it was therefore immaterial, or a matter not of essential concern to what side men joined themselves; of which fact the proof may be seen at any time in their confessions of faith and symbolical books, all of which maintain what is termed the doctrine of exclusive salvation; though modern orators and authors, with incredible levity and inconsideration, persist in ascribing it as a distinctive feature to the faith of the Catholic Church. Such being, then, the conviction of Catholics, it was clearly the very dictate of mercy, in its most purified and exalted sense, which led them to the conclusion that it was their imperative duty, both as members of this divine society and as men, to endeavor to recall back to it all persons who had been induced to forsake it, as well as to impart its advantages to all who were afar off, even to the universal race of men. Had they been wanting in respect to this sentiment, they would be the proper objects for the abhorrence of all subsequent generations who admitted the truth of the Christian religion. They would have left an eternal fame, to prove how far it was possible for the human intelligence to fall from the grace of mercy, and to lose every benign feature of its Maker's image. But in this respect the men of the middle ages were not wanting; and the proofs of the fact, which can be derived from ancient sources, ought to form a philosophic mind, that loveth love and mercy, one of the most delightful fruits of historic investigation.

St. Clemens Alexandrinus relates a tradition of the apostle Mathias, that he used to remind every one that if the neighbor of one of the elect had sinned, that elect person had sinned; for if he had acted as he ought, he would have preserved his neighbor from sinning.* Immeasurable, certainly, is the distance between such a doctrine and the sentiment of many schools at present; but the mercy and charity of the middle ages, as witnessed in a St. Benedict or a St. Francis, would have acquiesced in it at once; for it would never have allowed men to feel content with being instructed and holy in their own manners, without endeavoring, though at the risk of incurring personal danger, to admonish, instruct, and reform others over whom they might have authority. "Let no one, brethren," said St. Bernard, "dissemble and flatter sins; let no one say, Am I my brother's guardian? Let no one be indifferent when he sees decay of discipline; for to be silent when you can admonish, is to consent to sin; and we know that they who commit sin, and they who consent to it, will be punished alike."†

But, in remarking that the men of faith knew it to be their duty to use all means for this purpose, I added, "consistent with the free-will of the persons whom they wished to convert;" and this leads us to the second stage of the inquiry which is here instituted.

In making the will of man free, it pleased his Creator to endue him with the

* Stromat. liv. vii. 13.

† Serm. in Nat. S. Joan. Bapt.

power of rejecting or of accepting the favors, whether of a temporal or of a spiritual order, which would be placed before him; and therefore, so far, unquestionably man possesses from nature the right, if it can be so termed, of forfeiting salvation and of denying the truth, which was revealed for his deliverance. Beyond this sad privilege, the word liberty of conscience, as a maxim of genuine Christianity, independent of the power of men to punish, can mean nothing. Has man liberty of conscience from God to hear or to reject the Church? Unquestionably, in submission to the unsearchable mysteries of divine grace, he has that liberty. Has he liberty of conscience from God to hear or to reject the Church, and, in the latter event, to continue still a true member of the Church, and retain all his title to its privileges? With equal certainty we must reply in the negative to this proposition. Has he, then, liberty of conscience from the Church—that is, may he refuse to hear and obey her decisions, and continue to be a member of her communion? A negative must again be returned, and with the same assurance of truth and justice. What, then, is the Church to do to prevent him from exercising this privilege, to which he lays claims? Is she to force him to hear her—to compel him to believe? How could such an idea be ever entertained, since the Church has no authority to take away what God has granted? and we have seen that he has granted to man the free power of receiving or rejecting his offers of grace. "Those who are compelled to enter," says Hugo of St. Victor, "are those who, broken by adversities, are corrected from sins and led back to the love of God."* Such was the interpretation put upon those words in the middle ages. But upon what shadow of ground can any one question the right of the Church to put into execution the divine decree, and in conformity with the express and absolute commission which she has so solemnly received, to separate from her fold those impure and lifeless members which might spread contagion and death through the ranks of others who continued faithful? As opposed to the general conviction of the existence of this right, we may, with Pelisson, style "liberty of conscience a fatal word, unknown to all Christian antiquity, which nothing but the fury of civil wars, bloody battles, and the overthrow of legitimate authority, have introduced in later times. In astronomy or physics," continues this philosopher, "it was lawful to follow one's own opinion; but when was it ever permitted either to do in the republic or to believe in the Church whatever one chose? Such boundless liberty is a chimera or a servitude."†

The human soul, easily ensnared by the flavor of some slight good, with fondness would pursue destruction, if no guide recall, no rein direct, her wandering course. Hence the wise poet of ages skilled in wisdom, reminds men that it behoves the law should be a curb, the government a mark, whose borrowed light might show at least the fortress and main tower of the true city.

If we proceed now to inquire what were the consequences, during the middle

* Hugo St. Vict. Allegor. in Lucam, Lib. iv. c. 20.

† Reflexions sur les Differends de la Religion. Reponse aux Objections, xiv.

ages, of men exercising this liberty of forsaking the communion of the faithful, the question acquires a more complex character, inasmuch as there were two distinct powers concerned.

In relation to interests of a spiritual order, the measures adopted emanated solely from the religious authority; but the state which at one time sought impunity for its own crimes, and with that view, as in the acts of Henry II. of England, desired to deprive the Church of the liberty of excommunication, which no human power can ever take from it, and which at another deemed the protection of the people from error in matters of faith an object intimately connected with its own interests, was not slow to interfere, on these occasions, and with whatever motive, in a manner equally opposed in some instances to what was recommended and required by the Church. This explains such facts as that presented in the eleventh year of Henry III., when a writ was sent to the Lord Justice of Ireland, commanding him to aid the episcopal excommunications with the secular arm, as in England was used. In human affairs, indeed, the most salutary regulations are often evaded or defied; and as a recent historian of the middle ages remarks, in excusing the practice which then prevailed, power will often decide where these obligations have nothing beyond conscience to enforce them. Hence the fathers of councils were frequently compelled to invoke the secular arm for the execution of their decrees; but by degrees the civil power usurped the spiritual. The witena-gemot, being solicited to chastise such as despised the observance of Lent, or such as neglected to baptize their children, soon considered ecclesiastical penalties as much its province as those incurred by a violation of civil law. Thus, by the laws of the Saxon states, if a man neglected to baptize within the first month, he paid a fine of thirty shillings. If the child died after that period, without the regenerating rite, his whole property was forfeited, to be employed for the relief of the poor and other holy works. In fine, there was scarcely a commandment in the decalogue, the violation of which did not fall within the cognizance of the civil tribunals, so blended were they with the ecclesiastical. The civil rulers, it is true, might have appealed to the judgment of the ancient wise, and said in justification of themselves, "He who does not forbid sin when he has the power, enjoins it;" but the legislation in later times, in respect to such offences, enforced by the civil tribunals of France and England, was so far from being in harmony with the spiritual authority, that there are repeated instances of its being denounced by the clergy as opposed to the Christian mildness; and the authorized guides of men could never with impunity take part in the judgment of the secular courts.

Dominique de Florence, archbishop of Toulouse, was appointed, in 1419, president of the parliament of Toulouse, on the accession of Charles VII. In that same year, on the 30th of July, the parliament (the archbishop presiding with five clerical and six laical counsellors) sentenced a man to be decapitated for blasphemy. The severity of the Gallican tribunals was well known; but the

public was filled with astonishment, that the archbishop and the five clerks should have despised the laws of the Church, by rendering such a sentence. The clergy of Toulouse, both secular and regular, immediately separated themselves from his communion, and declared that, by becoming irregular, he had lost his spiritual jurisdiction. In vain did he attempt to justify himself from the pulpit of his metropolitan church, clad in his pontificals, citing the examples of Moses and of Phineas, and threatening the disobedient with excommunication. The cause was laid before the Pope, who deputed Guillaume de Chalançon, bishop of Pui, to take informations on the spot, and send the result to Rome. The Pope reserved the decision to himself, but granted to an apostolic commissioner the power of absolving the archbishop and the five clerks, *ad cautelam* and in secret, which he exercised, it is said, in November, 1422; when it is supposed the archbishop and clergy were reconciled, the former resigning the office of president into the hands of the Dauphin.* The penalties which the Church inflicted were, undoubtedly, severe and fearful to persons who had faith, but men who had no regard to the words of Jesus Christ could not consistently complain; for according to their principles they must have appeared null and powerless. They consisted either in excommunication, which was a formal exclusion of the individual from the spiritual advantages of the Christian Church, to which he was not restored until after having complied or pledged himself to comply with the conditions required by the canons, or else in simple admonitions and exhortations.

The ancient discipline recognizes a twofold excommunication, mortal and medicinal; to the former of which belong the horror of solemnities publicly revealing it.† In the interests of peace, the Church was often obliged to have recourse to both. In the year 992, to restrain military rapine, Alduin, bishop of Limoges, ordained, that divine worship should cease in parish churches and monasteries; which decree he deemed equivalent to an excommunication.‡ A few years later, several men of arms were excommunicated by name: a solemn curse was pronounced against themselves, their abettors, their arms, their horses; and torches were dashed upon the ground, and extinguished, while the clergy prayed that, in like manner, might their joy perish in the sight of angels, unless they made restitution, and ceased to oppress the poor.

The deprivation of funeral rights, the administration of which by rebellious hands is justly deemed by the faithful, a barbarous infliction on the surviving friends, as well as an insult to the dead, when ordained by Catholic authority, was deemed part of the penalty of such one as, in contumacy, died against the holy Church. We find it decreed, at the Synod of Ries, in 1284, that no bier should even be borne before the house of persons excommunicated.§ In such a refusal, however, there was no ground for an accusation, unless it be intolerance, to refrain from

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 18.

† Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. ix, tit. 18. ‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. 513.

§ Id. tom. i. 81.

observing a mere senseless formality, such as would be the funeral rites of the Catholic Church, if celebrated over the bodies of persons, who, while alive, had set no value on the privilege of belonging to her communion, or who, perhaps, had died in the commission of the very acts which they knew were equivalent with a wilful rejection of her authority. An example of general interdict occurs in the twenty-ninth canon, styled "of the Apostles."* It never excluded what was necessary for the condition of the sick and infants. During an interdict, the Franciscans could celebrate solemnly on the festivals of St. Francis, St. Bonaventura, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Louis, St. Bernardine of Sienna, St. Clare, St. Elizabeth, and the martyrs of the order.† In many convents and hospitals, as in that of St. Thomas, at Caen, and St. John, at Angiers, it was permitted, during an interdict to celebrate the divine office with closed doors, and without bells in an under-tone, all interdicted persons being excluded.‡ Many prelates, as those who held the sees of Canterbury, London, Ely, and Worcester, obtained permission to celebrate mass once every week in their cathedrals.§ An instance recorded in an ancient chronicle, will serve to illustrate the order of proceeding in particular cases, when excommunication was inflicted; and the result may lead the most prejudiced to suspect, that it was not the clergy on such occasions who were necessarily the persecutors. "In the diocese of Argentine, in Alsace, there was a town called Barra, inhabited by good men; and there was," continues the ancient chronicler, "a young priest, who served that parish. But there was in the town a man who served his passions, rather than his duty; for it was usual with him, when Advent or Lent, or any days of fast came in the course of the year, to have no wish to fast, but he would take with him two or three others, and enter a tavern, and there, openly before all the people, eat and drink to intoxication. The priest, observing that he caused others to sin, and that many were scandalized through him, took him aside privately, and remonstrated with him; but he said that he would not fast, because God had made bread and wine, and other victuals, that men might use them as they liked. The priest, after repeated admonitions in private, resolved to summon him in the face of the Church, that he might be judged by the parishioners: he came, accordingly, and in face of the Church, repeated the same defence, that God wished men to use his gifts when, and how, and where they might choose. The soldiers, and other prudent men with whom the Church was then filled to an overflow, argued with him as to his daring to utter such vain words in face of the Church. The priest reminded him, that he ought to stand by the decision of the Church; but when he had in vain admonished him thrice, he proceeded to excommunicate him, and obliged him to leave the Church. It happened soon after, that on the vigil of the holy apostles, Simon and Jude, the priest, going to the Church to perform the divine office, was seen by

* Coteler. tom. i. p. 447.
† Joan. Devoti. Instit. Canonic. Lib. iv. tit. xix.
‡ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xi. 61; xiii. 51.
§ Epist. Lib. xi. 214. 217.

the excommunicated man and his accomplices, who were sitting carousing at the entrance of the tavern cellar. The priest had just entered the cemetery, when they rose up and came upon him; and he that was excommunicated ran him through with a weapon, which one of his comrades gave him for the purpose. The priest lived to receive the body and blood of our Lord, and then rendered his soul to heaven as a true martyr."* In the event of mortal excommunication being inflicted, the social position of the sufferer undoubtedly underwent a fearful change; but it should be observed, that the consequence was inevitable, and could not be prevented either by the Church or the state, without doing violence to the express injunction of the holy Scripture, issued not to meet a particular emergency, but to be a general rule for the observance of all Christians to the end of time. The solemn charge of St. Paul, "Hæreticum hominem, post unam et secundam correptionem devita;"† and that precept of blessed John, the apostle of love, "Si quis venit ad vos, et hanc doctrinam non affert, nolite recipere eum in domum, nec ave ei dixeritis,"‡ could never yield, during ages of faith, to the contrary prescription of any human notions of liberality, however plausible. True, when there was a disposition to disobey them, they were enforced by apostolic mandate, as may be witnessed in the letters of Pope Innocent III. to the bishops of London, Ely, and Worcester, and to the archbishop of Thebes;§ but what else could the Church do? Who denies that, in many instances, the sufferers might have deep claims on the esteem and commiseration of the generous and good? But does not the very fact of the nobleness of their nature render more visible the obligation of the Church to exercise real mercy towards them? Does it not prove that they were, therefore, the men whom she was, in a more particular manner, bound to correct; for how otherwise could they be restored to the peace and love of God?

The Church would do violence to no one, nor compel any one to embrace her doctrine; but she always wished, that her children should be separated from those who propagated errors against faith, lest, as St. Jerome says, "one infected animal should spread infection through the entire fold."‖ Her pale was wide, indeed, so that St. Bernard says, We must go out of the world, if we wish to fly from all the evil whom the Church tolerates."¶ There was no danger in receiving any one whom the Church received; but in order that the minds of Catholics might not be perverted, she ordained that men who formally opposed her should be excluded from their society, and not allowed to instil their opinions into unguarded breasts.** In the first place, as Pope Victor III. said of the schismatics of his time, "to believe even that such men could be priests, was altogether to err. Penance and communion should be received from no one but from a Catholic; but if there should be no Catholic priest, it was more

* Chronicon Senon. Lib. v. cap. 2. apud. Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iii.
† Ad. Philem.
‡ Epist. B. Joan. ii. 1.
§ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xi. 214. xv. 28.
‖ Comment. in Epist. ad Galat. cap. 5. 9.
¶ Epist. cccliii.
** Joan. Devoti Institu. Canonic. Lib. iv. tit. 6.

fitting to remain without a visible communion, and to communicate invisibly from the Lord's hand, rather than to receive communion from a heretic, and be separated from God; for although, in consequence of surrounded heretics," says Victor, "the Catholic cannot have the sacred communion of Christ visibly and corporally, yet, whilst united in mind and body with Christ, they have the sacred communion of Christ invisibly."* In a word, the maxim of ages of faith, in all cases was that of St. Augustin, "Non habemus partem cum iis qui faciunt partem."†

But this was not all: for the separation was not confined to the strict limits of religious worship. Clemens, the disciple of Peter, expressly says, "remove impenitent eclectics from the society of the faithful; for these pretenders to wisdom, who affect to be pious, corrupt the flock, and follow a way which, though it may seem right to some, leads in the end to death."‡ By the canons of the council of Epaone, in 517, priests are forbidden to assist at the repasts of obstinate heretics, and the prohibition extended to the laity, who were to keep aloof from the society of all persons who had personally been separated from the Church by a formal sentence. St. Gregory, of Tours, relates an anecdote, which will show the prevailing sentiments of his age in this respect. "Heresy," saith he, "is always hostile to Catholics, and never loses an occasion of laying snares for them. There was a certain woman, a Catholic, who had a husband that was a heretic, to whom, when a Catholic priest used to come, she being very Catholic, used to say to her husband, 'I pray your benevolence, that for the sake of this priest, who is come to visit me, there may be a joyful reception for him in our house, that we may give him a good supper;' when her husband used to consent. Now, on one of these occasions, there happened to arrive a heretic priest, upon which the husband said to his wife, 'Our joy is now double, because priests of both religions are in our house.' So they sat down to meat, and the husband placed his priest on his right hand, and the Catholic priest on his left; and he said to the heretic priest, 'If you consent to what I propose, we shall play a merry trick on this priest of the Roman, [exercemus hodie cachinnum de hoc Romanorum Presbytero,] and this will consist in your being quick to sign all the dishes as soon as they are placed before us; for by so doing, we shall feast joyously, and he will sit in sadness;' and he answered, 'I will do what you propose.' So, when the first dish was brought, he signed it immediately; and the woman perceiving it, said, 'Do not so, for by this I shall commit an ungrateful injury against my priest;' but the second and third dish arriving in succession, the heretic priest did the same as before, and in like manner with the fourth."§

The zeal, the delicate honor, the deep sense of fidelity, which actuated so many men during ages of faith, demanded even more than what the Church required; so that

* Chronic. S. Monast. Casinens, Lib. iii. c. 72. † C. Schisma. 27.
‡ Apost. Const. vi. 18. § S. Greg. Turonens. Miracul. Lib. i. c. 80.

when heresy was permitted to infect a whole country, multitudes of its Catholic inhabitants went into voluntary exile. St. Peter Nolasco, while a youth, having lost his parents, felt such horror for the heresy of the Albigenses, which then desolated part of France, that he left his country, after dividing his inheritance, and passed into Spain to Montserrat. In like manner, as we observed in a former book, many Catholic nobles and others abandoned these islands on the change of religion, and ended their days in France, Belgium, or Italy. Robert Malusvicinus being about to inhabit an estate in the south of France, which had been infected by the Manichæan heresy, besought Pope Innocent III. that he would order his legate, the abbot of Citeaux, to depute some monk or secular priest, to accompany him, by whose counsel and ministry, in hearing confessions, he and his wife might be directed in the way of salvation, as long as they remained in that country; and we have the reply of the pontiff granting his humble petition.* The faithful regarded the heretics as traitors against the highest King: they deemed no act extravagant which could mark their detestation of such ingratitude; and it is curious to trace, in many ecclesiastical decrees, a disposition to meet this high sentiment even on its own ground of chivalrous sensibility; as when Pope Innocent III. commanded, that the houses in which any Paterans had been received should be demolished to their foundations, and never rebuilt, since they had been the haunts of the perfidious :† and as in the decree which prohibited the clergy from accepting their alms or oblations, on pain of suspension, which was to be for ever, unless revoked with the special consent of the apostolic see. Historically considered, the practice of Catholics in the middle ages, in respect to persons excommunicated, was only a strict conformity with the traditionary manners which had come down from the primitive Christians, as may be witnessed in the work of Fleury, who shows how they refrained from eating with them, stopped their ears to the discourse of heretics, fled from their company, or performed penance, in order to be reconciled when they had been joined to it.‡ St. Athanasius says of St. Anthony, that he never had any commerce with the Meletian schismatics, nor with the Manichæns, nor with any other heretics; for he believed and affirmed, that their friendship and familiarity involved the death of the soul." St. Irenæus, after relating how St. John, the evangelist, fled from Cerinthus, adds, "such fear had the apostles and their disciples to communicate, or even exchange a word with those who adulterated truth."§

Viewed with the eyes of faith, there was nothing in the spirit or letter of the ecclesiastical discipline opposed to mercy; for where was the intolerance or cruelty in withdrawing in humble silence, in the spirit of peace and self-renouncement, from the ranks of a gay and a scornful opposition to the society of the obedient, meek, and lowly of heart? To have been always conversant in domestic intercourse with

* Epist. tom. iii. Lib. xii. 131.

‡ Mœurs de Chrétiens.

† Gesta Innocentii III. Epist. Lib. x. c. 130

§ Cont. Hæres. Lib. iii. 3.

religious innovators, or men not yet with faith endued, would have been thought to argue in a Christian, not the tolerance of the blessed merciful, but the assent and duplicity of a selfish parasite: it would have been considered a flagrant violation of the express command of the Gospel,* founded upon the strictest justice, which interfered with the discharge of no social duty, but rather tended to preserve a sense of all social duties, and also upon the result of wise experience, and exact observation of life; "for what doth not custom invert;" as St. Bernard exclaims: "What doth not yield to use?" Hear the lamentations of the just man: "Quæ prius tangere nolebat anima mea, nunc præ angustia cibi mei sunt. First, it will seem insupportable: in process of time, you will judge it less grievous; soon after, you will feel it light; again, a little while and you will not even feel it in any degree: finally, it will delight you. So, by degrees, you contract hardness of heart, and then aversion."† The importance of selecting persons of congenial views, with whom men were to associate, was recognized by the Gentiles. As the youth Lysiteles says in the old play, "The good seek for themselves faith, honor, glory, grace; cum probis potius quam cum improbis vivere vanidicis."‡

The Catholic society of the ages of faith had indeed a more secure conscience, and a very different rule; but in yielding implicit obedience to the evangelic precept, which forbids a promiscuous association, without transgressing any counsel of mercy, it still acted upon the principle of self-defence, as its guides concur in admitting. "Believe me, my son," says the wise man, "do not remain, but fly; the least delay may be fatal to you."§—"Think not," continues St. Chrysostom, after quoting these words, "that I exhort you to fly because I fear the force of the arguments of the impious: no, I fear only your own weakness. As for us who are founded in the faith, all that they can say appears but so much vain sophistry, easier to destroy than the fragile work of the spider; but I repeat it, I fear your weakness."‖ Truly it was well to fear when such examples had been given to the Church, of the fatal effects of neglecting that counsel, after she had seen herself robbed of a Tertullian, a priest, a man of severe understanding, of great learning, illustrious for his victories over Jews and Gentiles, over Apelles, Marcion, Praxea, and Hermogene, by the conversation of two fanatical dreaming women, Priscilla and Maximilla.

With respect to the middle ages it is an historical fact, that it was by means of artful insinuations, made in the ordinary intercourse of life, that the Manichæans and other heretics of the South of France perverted so many Christians. We can form some idea of their policy by means of the light which has been thrown upon the proceedings of secret societies in latter times. "Simplicioribus singula non revelantur," says Reinerus of the Cathari. St. Bernard tells us, that the monster of his age wore the semblance of a just man, so kind and gracious was

* Matt. xviii. 17. 1. ad Corinth. v. 11. † De Consideratione, l. 2.
‡ Plaut. Trinum. i. 1. § Prov. i. 15. ‖ Hom. 11.

its outward cheer; the rest was serpent all. The heretics were truly in sheep's clothing; no men appeared more devout or more moral; nothing could sound better than their words at the commencement; for they imitated the policy of those spoken of in the Gospel, who at first produced good wine; but when men have drunk much, then that which is worse.

Pope Innocent III. says, that the Cathari promise with a context of heavenly words, and with the pictured adornment of eloquence, to prepare for their hearers a sound and wholesome couch, on which they may rest with a free heart from the tumult of vices; but that they rather construct a place of perdition, with the cords of sinners.* The danger of debate with such persons may be collected from the disputation published by Martene.† But even where there was no disguise from the beginning, or where the errors were merely such as later times have developed, the danger of associating with men leagued in such a confederacy, was not such as any wise man could despise. Where no disguise was offered, the common troops that waited on all who unfurled their banner against Rome, were only men profane, in whom nature was so transformed, that it seemed as if they had shared of Circe's feeding. Amidst brute swine they shaped first their obscure way; then like those we read of with the poet, sloping onward, they found curs, snarlers, more in spite than power: still journeying down, they found dogs turning into wolves. Descending further through the curst and luckless foss, they met a race of foxes, so replete with craft, that they believed no skill could master it. These introduced them to the erring spirits of a later date; and against such as these, faithful reader, the Church did well to warn thee; nor should she cease, because her words are heard by other ears than thine. At all times men who from deliberate choice oppose Catholicism, are in one respect like the combatants described by Homer, *δεινῆς ἀκόρητοι ἀυτῆς;* and of each a Catholic would naturally say, "He is too disputable for my company; this babble shall not henceforth trouble me." In colloquial intercourse with them, the end would always be idle recrimination, and the Catholic would have only to defend himself on Jason's ground:

Ἀμιλλαν γὰρ σὺ προὔθηκας λόγων.‡

The Protestors, who are willing to accept that title, like the Greeks, subtle disputants, and Bonald remarks, that "in that they resemble all men of weak minds," would have no difficulty in raising a cloud, through which the keenest eye might for a moment be unable to follow the movements of truth. Every Catholic has not so much Homeric wisdom as to remain unmoved when assailed by such adversaries, contented to reply to them, "I know you may contradict this, and speak plausibly against it."

Στρεπτὴ δὲ γλῶσσ' ἐστὶ βροτῶν, πολέες δ' ἔνι μῦθοι
Παντοῖοι· ἐπέων δὲ πολὺς νομὸς ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.§

* Innocent. Epist. X. 149.
† Disputat. inter Catholic. &c. Thesaur. tom. V.
‡ Medea, Eurip. 546.
§ II. xx. 248.

Prudence, a noble sense of courtesy, may enjoin silence; but, as Dante saith, "the power which wills, bears not supreme control: laughter and tears follow so closely on the passion which prompts them, that they wait not for the motions of the will in natures most sincere." The Catholic does but smile as one who winks; and thereupon assailants of this kind will rise tumultuous, and seek to cover him with sand, rushing on, like Scamander calling out to her sister Simois, and pressing forwards to overwhelm Achilles, saying, he thinks himself strong with the help of gods, and with his divine armor.

——————————καὰδ δέ μιν αὐτον
Εἰλύσω ψαμάθοισιν ἅλις, χέραδος περιχεύας
Μυρίον, οὐδέ οἱ ὀστέ' ἐπιστήσονται Ἀχαιοὶ
Ἀλλέξαι· τόσσην οἱ ἄσιν καθύπερθε καλύψω.
Αὐτοῦ οἱ καὶ σῆμα τετεύξεται, οὐδέ τί μιν χρεὼ
Ἔσται τυμβοχοῆς, ὅτε μιν θάπτωπιν Ἀχαιοί.*

What else but sand are all their affirmations censures, suspicions, jests, scoffs, calumnies, and misrepresentations?

It is not in the camp of the Protestors, reader, that you will find men resembling St. Thomas of Aquinum, of whom we read, "no one could be found who had ever heard an idle word escape from his lips."† Observe, the we are not left to arrive at this conclusion merely by inference. We have the letters of the chiefs to consult and there were not wanting to them friends more zealous than discreet, to transmit to us a knowledge of their table-talk. Without going back to the heretics of earlier times, we have only to consult the memoirs of Luther to be convinced that the ordinary conversation of that singular man was absolutely nothing but the most gross tissue of detraction and calumny. When he speaks, for instance, of the Archbishop of Mayence taking up a bible, not knowing what book it was, only remarking that it was against Catholics, or when he speaks of the monks in general, one can hardly explain how any company of persons, whatever might have been their zeal and excitement at the time, while not openly and audaciously libertine, could listen to such accounts without expressing their indignation. Had these men been persuaded by the Apostle to lay aside lying, and speak truth to their neighbor, their table-talk would have been less attractive, no doubt, to the curious, but also the great work, of which they were the instruments, would have been stopped at the commencement; for, as the universal doctor said, in the twelfth century, "It is the vice of lying which produces heresy, and makes schisms, which generates suspicions, propagates rumors, clothes what should be naked. and strips naked what should be veiled over."‡

The very principles of these men, if such they can be called, had no more consistency or solidity than their table-talk; they can only be used as so much sand. When in the company of Catholics who have studied religion, who are familiar

* II. xx. 315. † Bolland. ‡ Alani de Insulis sum. de arte Prædicat. cap. xxvii.

with the history of the Church, and with the writings of the great and illustrious philosophers who, in different ages, have explained and developed, and defended its doctrine and discipline, the professed followers of the modern systems of religion can seldom utter a sentence bordering upon the ground of religion, or of history in connection with it, without placing the former in a position where they could not do their duty, without seeming to them to offer discourteous rudeness: for, as St. Augustin says, "the dissent of the tongue is as necessary as that of the heart, in order to avoid incurring the evil of others. Duobus modis non te inquinat alienum malum, si non consentis, et si redarguis:" and where is there pardon for those who, though in truth's defence, change conversation into obstinate debate? These misguided men, looking through a distorted medium, cannot avoid every moment evincing ignorance or enmity; they speak unskilfully; or if their knowledge be more, it is much darkened in their malice. Many of the mere terms of their ordinary conversation are enough to unfold the prodigious distance which separated them from the Christian philosophy; and, as Eckbert says, it is disgraceful that those of the faithful who have learning should be mute and without tongues in their presence.* Not if their countenances were masked with an hundred visors, could a thought of theirs, how cautiously expressed soever, fail to wound the exquisite sense, which faith must ever guard. In the thirteenth century we read of persons who could detect them merely by their tone of voice, and their gestures.† In general they cannot even avoid contradicting innumerable sentences of the holy Scriptures, many also of their own principles laid down, and repeatedly republished in their formularies for daily and general use. With them a priest is generally a term of reproach, apostolic hearing of the Church a proof of slavery and superstition, meditation and retirement, and singing the praise of God in choirs, indolence. They retain some ancient forms, deprived of the spirit, which gave them life, and exclaim against them as the vestiges of Popery.

Notwithstanding vague and abstract professions, they have proceeded virtually to place the highest good in material prosperity, in the sciences, in the mechanical arts, which minister to temporal comfort and convenience. They never view the course of time and the affairs of empires from the height of heavenly meditation, which despises the world, to follow Christ: a crucifix so far from being an epitome of their creed, is its refutation. Their maxims are drawn from the wisdom, or even the conventional caprice of the world; the virtues which they praise are all such as the Gentiles praised. The practical results of Christ's sermon on the beatitudes are either never spoken of, or else dismissed with contempt as so many Popish observances, or even perhaps as vestiges of Paganism, old oriental errors, utterly at variance with all sound enlightened views. Hence they are more conversant with Cicero than St. Augustin, with Horace than with the sacred poets of the

* Eckbert, advers. Cath. † Alberic, ad an. 1236

Church. The author of the Imitation, if tried by their principles, has probably shown himself ignorant of every thing that a philosopher ought to know. By an involuntary impulse resulting from habit, they are every moment calling in question the very elements of the Christian faith, every moment supposing that their own mind, as well as that of the person with whom they converse, is a tabula rasa; as Evrard says of the Waldenses, "affirming nothing, but proposing every thing as a matter of doubt; saying, thus we think, thus we imagine; it seems so to us, perhaps it is so;"* or else they are dogmatizing, and laying down maxims contrary to faith, with an air of knowing more than they choose to express, as if being withheld from speaking more strongly only by courteous forbearance; as the Cathari are described by Pope Innocent III. "sub quadam humilitatis specie sui elationem animi palliantes;"† so that, as the Corinthians said of war, "ἥκιστα γὰρ πολεμος ἐπὶ ῥητοῖς χωρεῖ,"‡ in this combat of words, where men differ in faith, all conversation will be either a truce or a war, and no one can foresee how it will proceed; but events alone will determine it.

Now for Catholics to have placed themselves in such a position, would have been both useless in regard to any effect which they might have desired to produce on others, and also full of danger and injury to themselves. Useless, for in general to attempt converting, in the course of ordinary conversation, souls deceived by diabolic fraud, is like attacking the hydra; as fast as one objection is refuted, another is sure to rise up against you. Here is a coil with protestation! If you defend the clergy of Guatimala to-day, you will have to meet some other charge equally fugitive to-morrow, resting upon similar ground, namely, the report of some miserable apostate, or mercenary scribe, who has regard for justice so far as it can tend to fill his purse. And it is not few words at random uttered that can set these greedy listeners to every slander free from error's thraldom, persuade them to lay aside what the Church terms "heretical depravity," and return to the unity of truth. How many of these listeners are in the number of those who search for reasons not to believe in the truth of the Catholic religion? Yes, but perhaps you will reply, I am still a debtor to them, and bound to offer myself as such. Grant this; but, on the other hand, has the spirit of the blessed merciful descended upon you in more rich abundance than on St. Bernard, who wrote in these terms to Guido the Legate: It is related that Arnold of Brescia is with you at present. Probably you hope to convert him. Would that it might be so! Would that some one could from this stone raise up a child to Abraham! what a grateful present would mother Church receive from your hands! It is lawful to make the attempt; but a prudent man will be cautious not to trangress the number fixed by the Apostle, who says, 'Hæreticum hominem post unam et secundam correptionem devita.'"§ Of what use to expose the evil of schism, when perhaps, like that of Gerard of Angouleme, it arises not from ignorance, but

* Evrard, cont. Wald. c. 13. † Epist. IX. 185. ‡ Thucyd. Lib. i. c. 122. § Epist. cxcvi.

from secret ambition? To the calumnies of such men, St. Bernard deemed it a sufficient answer to allege the proverb, 'Occasio nunquam deerit ei qui vult recedere ab amico;' adding, 'This we say, not distrusting the justice of our cause, but being on our guard against his cunning; for though God hath produced his justice as the light, and his judgment as the noon-day, to those who will not open their eyes, his light is as the darkness."*

Only by a general change of their psychological condition, as philosophers would say, can any useful conviction be effected in such men; but it is not by agreeable conversation in the common intercourse of life, that such alterations take place; you must wait for sickness, adversity, the death of friends, a visit to a distant country: and full of danger and injury to the mind of Catholics would have been the rash exposing of themselves to such an atmosphere as encompassed men of this description, charged with every thing that can render truth difficult of apprehension, or difficult of being retained. To the influence of such men one may truly apply the strong poetic language of Æschylus, and say that "the venom of their thoughts falling to the ground, will cause a horrible pestilence."

———— Ἰὸς ἐκ φρονημάτων
Πέδῳ πεσὼν ἄφερτος αἱανὴς νόσος.†

You ask, how could the heroic constancy of Catholics in ages of faith have been endangered by the subtle wiles of sophists? Well, they were noble; yet their honorable metal might be wrought from that it is disposed; therefore, concludes the wise poet.

"'Tis meet that noble minds keep ever with their likes;
For who so firm that cannot be seduced?"

Lord Bacon remarks, that it is a property of the human intelligence to be more moved and excited by affirmatives than by negatives. Who can estimate the power that a resolute affirmation exercises over the mind of man? Now all persons wilfully separate from the household of faith are more or less distinguished by that disposition pervicacia asserendi, which Erasmus remarked in Luther. More than for any thing else they are remarkable for the faculty of affirming with an air of conviction, of affirming with a most intrepid indomitable contempt for what may be urged against them. In that lies their power, and they must have felt it even on themselves. Therefore, as a man is worth more for having been conversant with the wise and learned, so is he worth less for having heard the negations of men without faith. It may be very true that he is able to resist them at the moment, and disprove them; still, by the mere fact of having heard them, for all practical purposes of a Catholic life, it is highly probable that he has fallen in value; he has touched the pitch, and the laws of nature cannot be reversed to favor him. There remaineth a spot, and it will be owing to the grace of heaven if it should not de-

* Epist. cxxvi.

† Eumenid. 478.

scend to his very heart's core. A writer or speaker who opposes the supernatural life, steals from your intelligence by a process pretty nearly similar to that which an experienced thief adopts in extracting your money. He makes a bold push, and you imagine that you are only insulted, and have lost nothing; whereas, probably, the fact is, that he has succeeded, and perhaps even beyond his hopes; only in this case he has not, like the common thief, stolen trash, but that which is infinitely more valuable than even your fame—the treasure of your faith. You will not believe it possible, but he has, with a word, with a bold affirmation, robbed you of more than life; and, without enriching himself, has gone away, leaving you at some future time to make the discovery, and feel yourself poor indeed.

Rightly, therefore, did men of the middle ages teach, when they said, that joining in the conversation, or consulting often the books of sophists, and men wilfully at variance with the Catholic Church, though it be for the purpose of refuting them, is a perilous thing; in fact, in most instances, it is like conversing with the society of the profane, dissipated world, from which so few return without having lost some portion of charity and of hope. The venerable Bede says, "Soli ei conceditur hæreticorum libros legere quia a Deo solidatus est in fide Catholicâ, ut verborum dulcedine, vel astutiâ nequeat ab eâ segregari:"* and with double force may such an argument be used with respect to colloquial intercourse. St. Francis Xavier expresses the horror of his soul on meeting with Christians who did not believe in the truth of the adorable sacrament of the altar, from not frequenting it, or from the constant communication which they had with Gentiles, Mahometans, or heretics. Insensibly, almost necessarily, you imbibe the sentiments of those with whom you often converse.

Mark how you issue from the rueful wood! how changed is that spirit which hath listened to the syrens! You look back to peril with delight, and seem struck with sadness as soon as the sign of Catholics is made. Doth belief still linger in that bosom? then you forget, or disobey with voluntary weakness, the precept of the wise man, "Noli esse humilis in sapientiâ tuâ." Haughty, perhaps, and unbending in all the ceremonial of manners, you will be timid, yielding, and basely pusillanimous, in replying to the adversaries of truth. Those who have met you will need no one to tell them that they have seen the poet, the novelist, the senator, the universal speculator perhaps, but who shall convince them that they have seen the Catholic? Though you may not imitate the bard, who, long conformed to pagan rites, being a Christian secretly through fear, and who, for that lukewarmness, is said by Dante to have been doomed to pace four centuries and more round the fourth circle;—yet you have learned to breathe the atmosphere of scorn; the new instructors are of your train, and to them your reply is always, I concede.—"It might have been well; 'tis pity it hath been so: would that all were as you say: think not that I resemble such: I go not with them: I know

* Comment in Prophet. Lib. i.

not the man." And thus, at length, as Raimond says, in our heroic poesy, to those who seemed to shun the pagan's pride :—

> ————You let go your faith,
> And dare not once lift up your coward eyes
> 'Gainst him that you and Christ himself defies.

Ah, if ever a zeal for the house of God had eaten your souls, with what horror would you have contemplated the possibility of your lapsing into such a state as this! You affirm it was the desire of dispelling prejudice, and the hope of converting men to truth, which actuated you ; but say, has the result of such intercourse been, that mind, conscious to itself of sincere faith and charity not feigned, which is weak with the weak, and inflamed with those that are offended ; which, as St. Bernard says, fears nothing, neither after the example of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, to be led captive into Egypt and Chaldea with transgressors, nor with holy Job to become a brother of dragons, and a companion of the ostrich, nor with Moses, what is far worse, to be blotted out of the book of God ?* In the judgment of men, in ages of faith, though nothing but the disuse of ancient and holy Catholic practices, were to be the consequence of such promiscuous fellowship, there would have been sufficient reason for refraining from it. The two disciples recognized the Saviour of men in the breaking of bread. How so ? "Because this man of God," says St. Ambrose, " according to his custom, and by a ceremony which was peculiar to him, blessed the bread before he ate it." "Now," adds Bourdalone, "it is by this sign that he has always recognized and that he still recognizes his true disciples." But this holy custom would have been almost abolished in the world, as that great orator complains, or it would have been despised as a thing frivolous, and without sense, if the constant intermixture of Catholics, and of persons who inculcated the modern opinions, had been permitted.

The right of distinguishing between fundamental points, and what some might please to think matters of indifference, being once assumed by private men, they might, perhaps, in compliance with the customs of polite society, have continued to repair to the churches on Sundays, but there was a reflection of Peter the Venerable, which would alone have been sufficient to deter men of generous natures from entering them, if the preceding days had been past, from choice in the company of persons who make a jest of the most holy mysteries of faith, and who are its sworn and professed enemies. His reflection was this, and as long as there was any chivalry in the soul, it decided the question, "Quo vultu, qua conscientia ad altare Salvatoris accedere, qua fronte ad colloquia piæ Matris ipsius venire tentabo, cum blasphemis hostibus ejus blanditus fuero ?"†

Let no rash inference, however, be drawn from these statements respecting the zeal and prudence of men in ages of faith. Nothing was to be done through pride

* De Officis Episcop. c. 4

† Pet. Ven. de Miracul. Lib. ii. cap. 15.

or resentment, or the love of selfish ease. Nothing was intended against the practice of wide and generous charity; but men were only warned from seeking danger, and from mistaking in themselves ambition, the love of dissipation, and perhaps the secret encroachments of infidelity, for the love of their neighbor. Many are the examples related in ancient story, to preserve men from the sin of uncharitable severity towards persons separated from the Church. In the Speculum Morale, which passes under the name of Vincent of Beauvais, it is related, from the Lives of the Fathers, that a holy old man, living in the desert of Egypt, opened his door one night, and let in a certain priest of the Manichæns, who was going to visit one of his sect, when he was benighted, and forced to ask a lodging. The old man knew who he was, but received him no less with cheerfulness, and made a bed for him. All that night long the Manichæn could do nothing but reflect upon his great charity. Truly, said he, this must be a servant of God. The next morning he fell at his feet, gave himself up as his disciple, and remained with him ever afterwards.* In showing hospitality through compassion, men could never incur danger; and, without doubt, there were exceptions to all rules of discipline. The whole class of youth, for instance, was to be considered as placed without the category; and, in the ranks of the Protestors innumerable men appeared, who were never believed to be there from choice. Wherever there was generosity, candor, and innocence, Catholics might feel, in anticipation at least, at home.

The history of later times is not without illustrious examples to prove, that what seemed so great and admirable to the Roman philosopher, might be realized also, without injury to faith, in Catholics, and those who had been placed by birth in a situation apart, "quod quidem erat magnum, de summa re dissentientes, in eadem consuetudine amicitiæ permanere."†

Sir Humphrey Davy, in his Dialogues, maintains with strictness the consistency of his imaginary character, in making Ambrosio as a Catholic reply to the student of Edinburgh, in these terms:—"You have mistaken me, if you think that I am shocked by your opinions; I have seen too much of the wanderings of human reason ever to be surprised by them, and the views you have adopted are not uncommon amongst young men of very superior talents, who have only slightly examined the evidence of revealed religion." Such an answear is in perfect accordance with the faith and profession of this speaker; but the illustrious author is guilty of an error, in his situation most pardonable, when he deems it necessary to state, that Ambrosio, to whose conversations, while in Italy, he ascribes his being made religious, whose cool judgment, and sound and humble faith, had induced him also to change his opinions respecting the origin of society, was "a Catholic of the most liberal school."

If he had said, a Catholic bred in the school of the Vatican, the qualification

* Speculum Morale, vol. iii. p. 10. † Phil. ii.

would have heightened the merit of his picture, for it is men who are strictly and fervently Catholic, and not those who mix up the notions of modern sophists with religion, that entertain the views which excited his admiration. It is the merciful and compassionate man whom the Church, in her vesper office, every Sunday, commemorates with praise, who orders his words with judgment, because he shall not be moved for ever. And such is the humble ascetic of the middle ages, who beseeches God to impart to him a divine sweetness, "that it may be a light to his intelligence, not alone to secure his reason from the deceits of heretic fraud, and to enable it to vindicate the truth of faith from the cunning wiles of adversaries, but also to correct in him a too indiscreet vehemence of conversation, knowing that God, the Supreme Wisdom, must be loved not alone fervently, but also wisely; for that otherwise the spirit of error might easily delude his zeal, if he neglected knowledge, since the cunning enemy has no machination more effectual to withdraw love from the heart, than that of inducing men to walk incautiously, and without reason."*

Proceeding now to show that the spirit and object of the ecclesiastial measures, directed against persons who had become obnoxious to censures, agreed with mercy, we shall find a great concurrence of evidence in historical sources; for amongst them I will not reckon the works of those artists, in modern times, who are delighted to transfer the countenances of the heathen persecutors, in the old paintings, to their portraits of mouks and other ecclesiastics of the middle ages, whom they represent holding a crucifix, with eyes half pressed without their sockets, and hands wrathfully clenched, in presence of victims who are to be immolated to their bigotry, forgetting or wishing to conceal the fact that these men, who were holy, notwithstanding whatever they may say, knew not the signs of ire, envy, and fanaticism; for heavenly minds from such distempers foul are ever clear.

These are the men who used to say with Bernardine, general of the Capuchins, "If God should call me to account in judgment for being too severe and inflexible, I should have nothing to answer for myself in defence; but if He should accuse me of being too clement and merciful, I should find an excuse instantly; for I could reply, that I had learned mercy from Him who had also exceeded measure in showing pity."†

Abuses occasionally were unavoidable in affairs relative to the ecclesiastical government, and accordingly Melchior Canus says, "I do not approve of all laws or censures; for some may have wanted prudence. It is pernicious to think that one ought to defend every thing whatsoever, "Non eget Petrus mendacio nostro; nostra adulatione non eget." But what I have undertaken to show is, that mercy was the rule, and its neglect, the exception.

"Whoever thinks," says St. Augustin, "that he understands the Divine Script-

* Idiota, contemp. cap. xi.

† Annales Capucinorum, an 1537.

ures, or any part of them, but in such a sense as does not agree with the double charity of God and his neighbor, he doth not as yet understand them: but whoever comes to a conclusion favorable to this charity, though perhaps he does not speak the sense of the passage, he is not perniciously deceived. 'Si ea sententia fallitur, quæ ædificat charitatem, quæ finis præceptis est, ita fallitur, ac si quisquam errore diserens viam, eo tamen per agrum pergat quo etiam via illa perducit.' However, he is to be corrected, and to be shown the utility of not deserting the way, lest, by the custom of erring he should be led astray."*

The Church applies the same rule to the explanation of her own judicial sentences, and therefore we read, in the collection of Ives de Chartres, that "all ecclesiastical decrees are to be interpreted in the sense which is most agreeable to charity."† This was certainly leaving far behind the maxim of the ancient poet:

"Leniter qui sæviunt, sapiunt magis."‡

And it was as far from originating in the prudence which dictated that sentence, as the fruits of love must have exceeded the result of a policy, which only required a mitigation of rigor. What was the spirit in regard to censures of the men whom holy Church hath canonized? You may learn it from St. Bernard. Take, for example, his letter to Alard, in which he says, "You are too bitter against this man: I fear that your zeal is not according to knowledge. Was it not the part of humility not to do to another what you would not that another would do to you? Nay, it was required by your rule of perfection to imitate the Apostle, saying, 'I am made weak to the weak, that I may gain the weak.' And again, 'Do you, who are spiritual, instruct him in a spirit of lenity, considering yourself, lest you should be also tempted.' But the Prior, you say, expelled him, not I: true, but you persuaded, you in every way compelled him; and now, when the Prior has compassion, and desires to recall him, you continue obdurate. I ask you, what is this security, that, when all others have pity, you alone remain implacable? But you tell me, that I know not how justly he was expelled. I neither ask nor care whether justly or injustly; but this alone is what I complain of, this alone is what surprises me, that after humbly satisfying and promising amendment, you will not suffer him to be received. If he were expelled justly, it is still pious to receive him back."§ Perhaps you will say that this was merely a case of domestic discipline in one community.

Hear, then, how an English abbot of the middle ages speaks in general of persons separated from the Church: "There remain those who are without," says blessed Aëlred of Rievaulx, "Gentiles and Jews, heretics and schismatics, for whose ignorance we should grieve, for whose infirmity we should feel compassion, for whose malice we should weep, and to whom we should grant the assistance of

* S August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. i. cap. 36.
† Ivonis Carnot, Decret. Prolog.
‡ Plautus, Bacch. iii. 3.
§ Epist. ccccxiv

our prayers with pious affection, that they also may be found with us in Christ Jesus our Lord."*

St. Theresa, and all the seraphic spirits of the Catholic Church, speak in the same strain: "God of my heart," she cries, "only true God, how great is the petition which I present to thee, when I pray thee to love those who do not love thee, to open to those who do not knock, to heal those who not only take a pleasure in being infirm, but who constantly labor to increase their infirmities? Thou sayest, O my God, that thou art come into the world to seek sinners: these, O Lord, are the true sinners. Regard not our blindness; regard only the rivers of blood which thy son hath shed for our salvation. Make thy clemency shine amidst the darkness of our malice. Regard us, O Lord, as the work of thy hands, and save us by thy goodness and thy mercy."†

Such was the dispositions with which the monks and nuns regarded, from their cloistered cells, the sinners who scorned and detested them. How well did they remember our Lord's reply to those that would have called down fire from heaven on the cities that refused to receive Him. "Filius hominis non venit animas perdere sed salvare."‡

Many thought, with Origen of old, that those whom Christ sent to preach his Gospel, when rejected by any city, were to understand their Master's words, commanding them to shake off the dust from their feet, as teaching that they should so do in most benignant mercy, lest perchance that dust should be reserved as an evidence against them in the day of judgment of their unbelief. § The merciful Father of men, though He approves of the fervor of a devout mind, desires not that zeal should ever spoil the beauty of holy mercy.‖ He will cause the gourd to wither, that his prophet, who is made to weep for the loss of a plant, may learn not to demand the destruction of a city.

If we proceed to examine the conduct of the Church during the middle ages, towards unfaithful and corrupt members, we shall find that it was in conformity with these sentiments of love and mercy, majestic, yet most mild; calm, yet compassionate. "The Church," says St. Augustin, "seeking the salvation of all with maternal charity, feels herself placed, as it were, between the frantic and the lethargic. The frantic are unwilling to be restrained, and the lethargic are unwilling to be excited; but she perseveres, with the diligence of charity, to chastise the frantic, to stimulate the lethargic, and to love both: phreneticum castigare, lethargicum stimulare, ambos amare."¶

Mabillon is filled with astonishment at the patience and forbearance of the sovereign Pontiffs, and the bishops of the whole Church, in suffering Berenger, during the space of thirty years, to continue publishing such errors, lapsing again after repeated recantations, and openly insulting them while violating the most sub-

* Aëlredi Rhievallens, Abb. Compendium Speculi Charitatis, cap. 12

† St. Theresa's Exclamations, viii. ‡ Luc. ix. 56.

§ Cresolii Auth. Sac. Origen. Hom. 4. in Gen. ‖ Cresolii Anth. Sac. 570. ¶ Epist. 159.

lime mysteries of faith.* Even the writers most opposed to the ecclesiastical authority are struck with this fact. Schoell acknowledges that Berenger, against whom the whole of the west had raised one cry, and whom four or five councils had condemned, escaped from all punishment, owing to the tolerance of Gregory VII. who reprobated his doctrine, without permitting his person to be persecuted.†

The king of Aragon petitioned the Council of Lavaur that Gaston de Bearn, Count of Foix, might be re-established in his rights; and what was the answer of the Prelates? "To mention," said they, "but a few of the innumerable charges against him; he is bound with the confederates leagued against the Church; he is the open and grievous persecutor of the churches and of the clergy; he takes arms to assist the Count of Toulouse; he had with him the murderer of the Legate, Peter de Castelnuovo, of holy memory; he maintains the roturiers; he led them last year into the cathedral church of Oloron, where he cut down the pyx, and, horrible to utter, scattered the Lord's body on the ground, while one of these men, in derision, clothed himself in pontifical habits, intending to represent a pontiff singing mass; contrary to his oath, he has laid violent hands on clerks: for these and many other acts, sentences of excommunication and anathema have been pronounced against him: nevertheless, if he will satisfy the Church as he ought, and gain the benefit of absolution. afterwards he shall be heard de jure suo."‡

Every society has the right of expelling from its pale such members as outrage its fundamental rules; but the measures of the Church, in the exercise of this unquestionable right, were conceived with intentions not alone of self-defence, but of mercy towards the very persons whom she ejected. "Lest we should neglect our pastoral office, by not driving away the wolves from the flock, we deem it right," says Innocent III. to the clergy and people of Viterbo, "to pass more severe decrees against the defenders, promoters, and followers of heretics, in order that they who cannot be recalled to the way of justice by themselves, may be confounded in their defenders, and when they see themselves shunned by all, may desire to be reconciled to unity."§

No personal or human indignation can be traced in the great judicial sentences by which Rome sought to protect the interests of men and nations from the power of tyrants. As Pope Innocent III. said to the king of Portugal, when the latter presumed to affirm that the Pontiff had lent a credulous ear to reports, and had spoken disrespectfully against him before all, "such conduct would be a reproach to our prudence, because the holy successors of St. Peter have been accustomed not to revile, but, after the example of Christ, with patience to endure being reviled."‖ The decree of the Council of Constance, commanding that the bones of Wickliffe should be dug up, and removed out of consecrated ground, in testi-

* Præfat. in VI. Sæcul. Bened. §. 3.

† Schoell, Cours d'Hist. des Etats Europ, liv. v. c. 12. ‡ Hist. Albig. cap. 66.

§ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. i. I. ‖ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xiv. 8.

mony of his being an excommunicated person, can never be understood as arguing a want of mercy in these fathers, when we consider what they owed to the living: and if we bear in mind the prodigious errors, and their pernicious effects, which that act was intended to denounce. Melancthon himself acknowledges that Wickliffe "was the cause of much tumult and trouble in England."*

Those to whom Lambeth is the Vatican, point at what they call the Lollard's tower, at the palace, with as much interest as if they guided us to the prison of the holy apostles in the Roman forum. Yet one of their most distinguished writers,† who is always hostile to the Catholic Church, and favorable to its opponents of every nation and period, admits that the Lollards were highly dangerous, that the greater number of them were eager for havoc, and held opinions incompatible with the peace of society, that the public safety required such opinions to be repressed, founded, as they were, in gross error, and tending to direct an enormous evil. This statement is repeated by another writer, on the same side, who even observes, "how little it is to the credit of Richard II. that he suffered the principles of these men to be propagated without interruption; and that had Wycliffe been stopped at the commencement of his misguided career, well would it have been for the security, no less than the honor, of the country."‡

"Certainly it was a thing worthy of great commendation to all posterity," says a wise and humane magistrate of France, alluding to this act of the Council of Constance, " that when the Popedom was infinitely afflicted by the schism, the universal church should have taken in hand the cause of the Pope, and sustained it virtuously against heresy and error."§ It was necessary, for the preservation of the people, that the Church, by a solemn act, should proclaim her horror of such doctrines, and execute a tardy justice in pronouncing their author an outcast from her communion. Men like John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Henry Percy, Marshal of England, who had borne Wickliffe company to St. Paul's, when he was summoned to appear there before the Bishop of London, on purpose to discountenance that prelate in the exercise of his undoubted authority, and to animate Wickliffe and his followers in their courses, were not the representatives of mercy, but mere reckless and selfish politicians, the forerunners of those refined hypocrites, who, in subsequent times, ranged themselves under the banners of freedom. The Church was not actuated by intolerance in requiring the fulfilment of conditions in proof of sincerity before she restored to her bosom men who had outraged faith. Milton's Satan knew the justice and wisdom of her measures on such occasions, and might give a useful lesson to those conceding counsellors, who would abolish discipline, in order to invite Protestors back.

> But say I could repent, and could obtain
> By act of grace my former state; how soon

* Comment. in Arist. Polit. † Southey.

‡ Europe in the Middle ages, vol. iv. 298. Lardner's Cyclop.

§ Pasquier, Recherches de la France, liv. iii. 26.

> Would height recall high thoughts, how soon unsay
> What feigned submission swore? *

But where a reasonable ground of confidence was seen, the knot was disengaged with eagerness; for they who held the keys from Peter were of him instructed, "that they should err rather in opening than in keeping fast; so but the suppliant at their feet implore."† Indeed, that the spirit of the Church ought to be all mercy and forbearance, was every year proclaimed, at the commencement of her great penitential season of Lent, when, in her address to the Almighty in the introit on Ash Wednesday, she says, "Misereris omnium, Domine, et nihil odisti eorum quæ fecisti." Let us, however, turn to the facts, and mark the conduct of her guides. Witness then, St. Ambrose selling the sacred vessels to ransom some Illyrian slaves, most of whom are Arians, St. Martin of Tours, using every effort to save the heretics, whom Maximus wished to sacrifice to sanguinary zeal, going to Treves to intercede with the emperor in favor of the Priscillianists, and considering as excommunicated Itacius and the other bishops who had excited him to rage against them, St. Augustin supplicating the proconsul of Africa in behalf of the Donatists, saying, "Non tibi vile sit neque contemptibile, fili honorabiliter dilectissime, quod vos rogamus ne occidantur, pro quibus Dominum rogamus ut corrigantur,"‡ and Lactantius writing in the same strain, "Defendenda enim est religio non occidendo, sed moriendo; non sævitia, sed patientia; non scelere, sed fide."§ Open the celebrated work of St. Gregory on the pastoral care, and you will find that mercy and moderation are enforced in almost every page. Observe, again, the qualities which St. Bernard requires in those whom he recommends Pope Eugene to select. "They must be men," he says, "who are not of a hardened front, but modest and timid; who fear nothing but God, and hope nothing but from God; who stand manfully for the afflicted, and judge in equity for the meek of the earth; who are discreet in commanding, sober in zeal, and not remiss in mercy; who do not despise, but who teach, the vulgar; who do not load with burthens, but who cherish, the poor; who do not fear, but who despise, the threats of princes."‖

Victorius the bishop writes to St. Avitus, to know whether the oratories or basilicas of the heretics might be taken possession of by the Catholics, and converted to the use of the true religion. St. Avitus regards it as a difficult question, because, if a Catholic king were to be prevailed on by Catholic bishops to transfer those basilicas of the heretics to the Catholics, the heretics would not unjustly complain that they were persecuted, et Catholicam mansuetudinem calumnias hereticorum atque gentilium plus deceat sustinere quam facere; for it would be hard if those who perish by an open perversity should be able to flatter themselves on their confession or their martyrdom. "You will say, perhaps," he continues, "that

* iv. 93. † Dante, Purg. IX. ‡ Epist. C. § Divin, Instit. Lib. v.
‖ De Consideratione, liv. iv. c. 4.

the heretics, if they had the power, would attack our altars. It is true, nor do I deny it. These invaders, who seize the churches of others, rage whenever they can with foul talons ; but to offer violence, to take forcible possession of places, to transfer altars, are acts that belong not to the dove. More especially, therefore, should be dreaded that which the heretic thinks himself permitted to do. I wish not that the places of worship of the heretics should be seized ; I desire rather that they may be abandoned, like the tents of herdsmen. Semper optandum est, non ut mutata transeant, sed infrequentata torpescant. What we should wish is, that an eternal desolation may be their fate, by means of the correction of the people, and that we may never receive what ought only to be rejected by themselves as a consequence of their conversion."* The thirty-third canon of the council of Epauna forbade the basilicas of heretics to be used for holy purposes ; but the first council of Orleans desires that after a conquest, the churches of the Goths should be received.

"Whoevere is truly animated with the spirit of the Church," says a recent author, "far from being fanatical, will always have the spirit of gentleness, will be the enemy of violence, the promoter of peace.† When Hincmar presented his four memorials to the council of Soissons respecting the grounds of his proceedings against Vulfade and other clerks who were ordained by Ebon, the last, which was written personally against Vulfade, indicating great passion, the fathers refused to listen to the reading of the whole piece.‡ When the same Hincmar deemed it necessary to act with severity against the person of Gottschalk, his conduct called forth the indignant murmurs of the most distinguished ecclesiastics of France. Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, Prudentius Tricassinus, the Church of Lyons, and the councils of Valence and of Langres, condemned such measures "against a poor monk."§ Yet I would not venture to pronounce the archbishop or his illustrious contemporary Raban Maur intolerant.

I confess the first almost disarms me by the humility of his death ; for even the epitaph which he wrote for himself, and which was on his tomb in the abbey of St. Remy, beginning with, "Nomine non merito Præsul Hincmarus," ought, I think, to induce one to set out in search of some other source of harshness, less impure than the guilt which that word implies ; and with respect to the latter, a recent historian, who says that his fifty-one treatises display equal ability and intolerance, has only proved by that sentence that he had made himself better acquainted with their number than their contents. Occasionally, indeed, this great man may have failed in respect to the grace of moderation ; but who so constant as never to be moved ?

St. Augustin was scandalized at the manner in which St. Jerome treated Rufinus, and he wrote to tell him so. "I have read the letter, which you have writ-

* S. Aviti Epist. de Basilicis Hæreticorum.
† Scotti Feorema di Polit. Crist. 144.
‡ Anquetil. Hist. de Rheims, liv. i. 122.
§ Gallia Christiana, 488.

ten against Rufinus; and I confess, my dear brother, it was with grief I read it, to see two persons, once so united, now so animated against each other. Although it is clear what pains you take not to render injury for injury, nevertheless I could not avoid, while reading it, feeling my heart penetrated with sorrow and fear. Woe, woe to the world, because of scandals! Who can be safe after seeing you, at your age, engaged in such divisions, and while following the Lord in that pleasant land where he said to his disciples, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you.' If I could find you together in one place, I would cast myself at your feet, in the transport of my grief, and I would conjure you both with tears, by what you owe to yourselves, by what you owe to one another, and by what you owe to all the faithful, and particularly to the weak, for whom Christ died, to whom you give on the theatre of this life a spectacle so terrible and so pernicious,—I would conjure you, I say, not to publish writings in which there appears so much emotion against one another—writings which you cannot recall, and which, therefore, may be a source of renewed hostility many years hence."* What charity and tolerance in the rule given by St. Gregory Nazianzen,† in which he condemns those who, in disputing against the heretics, load them with opprobrious words, as if their argument could be strengthened by such folly. "The minds of the adversaries," he says, "should be exasperated by no acrimonious language, but the greatest indulgence should be shown to them lest they should become more imprudent."

St. Dionysius of Alexandria found the advantage of the mildness recommended by St. Gregory Nazianzen, when he went to correct some priests, who had fallen into the heresy of the Millenarians. He convened them for the sake of a mutual conference and explanation, and for three whole days, from morning till evening, endeavored to show them their error. "Great," he says, "was their love of truth, and their care lest they might wish to adhere to preconceived opinions after they had been proved false. They argued fairly; and when refuted, they retracted with simplicity. Finally, their chief, in the name of all the others, declared that they would never again make mention of that question, nor interrupt the concord of the brethren. Thus the conference ended, to the joy of all men." Mabillon cites this example, in his treatise on monastic studies;‡ and all great Catholic writers, when occasion has offered, have inculcated the same lesson. "No one," says Pelisson, "has ever persuaded another by addressing him in insulting language. It is not the nature of the human mind to give up its arms immediatly to the human mind. It must think, meditate, and deliberate with itself, and be convinced in secret, before being convinced in public."§

All those great champions of orthodoxy who are the most accused of having pursued erring men with severity, were precisely the most liberal and benign in

* Epist. ad Hieron. 73. † Serm. 26 and 32. ‡ De Studiis Monast. pars ii. cap. xiv.
§ Pelisson. Repesion sur le Differends de la Religion, I.

their interpretation of what was suspected or guilty. St. Athanasius excused Origen his various errors, saying, that he had proposed his opinions only as hypothetical, and as matter for question.* "How important is it," exclaims a German philosopher, after remarking the conduct of Athanasius, "to hear this judgment of so great a bishop, so steadfast in the faith! How differently, at present, do men judge who have little or nothing in common with Athanasius!"†

Heliand, the celebrated monk, of whose chronicle many fragments have been preserved by Vincent de Beauvais, who remarks, that in his time, the leaves of the work had been despersed, and in part lost, has merely said of John Scot Erigena, that he composed a book De Divisione Naturæ, very useful, if he should be pardoned for some things, in which he deviated from the line of the Latins, while fixing his eyes steadfastly on the the Greeks.‡ Henry of Ghent, in his great work on theology, quotes many passages from his writings.§ It is not that pious and learned Catholics, in using or defending the works of men condemned by the Church, attempted to invalidate her sentence, but that they either showed that the reproved book should be ascribed to a different author, or that the text was maliciously corrupted, or that the author erred more in words than in mind; so that they stand upon a question of mere fact, on which the Church gives no judgment. Thus did St. Athanasius, St. Gregory Nazianzen, St. Basil, Picus of Mirandula, Merlinus, Sixtus of Sienna, Halloix, and Huet defend Origen. Thus did also Sirmondus and Petavius vindicate, from the charge of heresy, the writings of Theodoret and Iba; and thus, also, did Gregorius de Laura write an apology for the abbot Joachim, to whom were ascribed certain books that were condemned by the fourth Lateran council. It seems to be a propensity of many learned men, in modern times, to seek the honor of peculiar penetration and solidity, by detecting heretical expressions in the works of others. Their wits appear like Dogberry's, who, in noting down the prisoner's reply that they serve God, would command the clerk to write God first, lest God should come after the name of such villains. Nothing of this captious trifling can be detected in the polemical works of the middle age. The saying of St. Augustin was then a rule with theologians:—"Non enim quia durum aliquid, ideo rectum; aut quia stupidum est, ideo sanum."‖ Therefore, their works seem to many, at present, to be poetical and imprudent.

The spirit in which theological controversies were often then conducted, may be witnessed in the letters which passed between Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remi, and Nicolaus, a monk of St. Albans, in England, relative to the doctrine of the conception—"We both seek," says the former, who defended the pious belief of the Christians on that head, "devotion of heart, not verbosity of mouth, secret admiration, not public discussion. We both run to follow her, and I wish

* Epist. ad Scrap. IV. † Staudenmaier's Joan. Scot. Erigena. i. 267.
‡ Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Hist. Lib. xxix. c. 108.
§ Henricus. Gaudevens. Somm. vol. ii. art. lxxiv. q. ii. f. 283.
‖ De Civitat. Dei, Lib. xiv. cap. 9.

it may be towards her. One intention unites our souls, though our language may be different. Are we wiser, or more learned than Augustin or Jerome, who, though unanimous in faith, accordant in religion, fervent in charity, sublime in the science of the Scriptures, and similar in authority, yet are found greatly differing in some opinions? Behold the cedars of Libanus; those lofty palms bent hither and thither in these things, and yet never moved in the root of charity, each abounding in his sense, and both united in the articles of faith. Is it strange, then, that our light stubble should be borne thus by opposite winds? If I should communicate all my superfluous words, I should plant a grove near the altar. I am even more strict in my expressions of reverence than you who dispute this pious belief, precipitating words while I dispose mine with judgment. You praise the blessed Virgin, and I also; you proclaim her holy, and I also; you exalt her above the choir of angels, and I also; you say that she was free from all sin, and I also. In this offering of veneration I go with you, and think with you; but if you wish to fabricate any new form of language, contrary to that which is approved of by the see of Peter, whose office it is to approve or to condemn the order of the universal Church, then I stand firm, and pass not the forbidden bounds. As for this question, you did well to concede to me that many things are presumed of the blessed Virgin which are nowhere read; and that we are to stand to such presumptions until the contrary can be proved. If any words of my letter have wounded you, forgive me, and depend upon receiving the same indulgence from me. Pray for me, my dearest friend, and I wish that I may behold you face to face."* The prayer of St. Augustin was also that of St. Thomas, before taking up a pen to write against any adversary: "O Domine, mitte mitigationes in cor, ut pugnando charitate veritatis non amittam veritatem charitatis." Never did an angry word escape from his lips, say those who had assisted at his scholastic acts, always was he faithful to the warning of the Holy Ghost. "Fili in mansuetudine serva animam tuam."

As for continual oral disputations with persons who had separated themselves from the communion of the faithful, the Catholic Church had no such custom. She terminated her disputes with adversaries of this kind, by inviting them to practise that little lesson of love, in which consisted all her grace, and all her knowledge. If any man or party sought to be contentious or to challenge her to arguments, she repeated the sentence of the apostle: and whenever any of her ministers were induced to concede to the challenge of her disobedient children, and to meet them in the strife of words, the holy and the wise were not slow to raise the voice of complaint and regret. "In this danger of the republic," says a religious magistrate of France, writing, at the time, of the great troubles of religion, "it seems to me, that we should have recourse to God by humble prayers, processions, and public rogations, that He may be pleased to turn aside His anger

* Betri Cellens. Lib. ix. Epist. 10.

from us. I wish, as a good Christian, and a good citizen, that we had one faith, and one law; not that I would call a new council, for I see no good derived from councils in which a deliberative voice is given to those who are separated from the common and ancient faith.

"We have had sufficient proof, in our time, in the city of Poissy, when we conferred before King Charles IX. with the Calvinist ministers against the advice of the wise Cardinal de Tournon, who foresaw the inconveniences. Open the door to disputes, and there is no article of faith which a disingenuous spirit cannot call in question Look back to antiquity, and you will find that, in all times, the union of the universal Church depended upon the chair of St. Peter, and of his successors, in the city of Rome. The heretics sometimes have found more hardy combatants for themselves than the Catholics. Some ancients attest, that the books of the Arians were more learned and better constructed than ours. Nevertheless, their doctrine being false and full of lies, died of itself, without any artifice of men. The same thing happened to the Pelagians, Novatians, Donatists, and others of the like stamp; and I make no doubt that such will be the end of Calvinism, provided we bring some zeal and devotion on our part which will be affected, not by contentions and conferences with heretics, nor by murders and wars, which produce atheism, but by discipline, and virtue, and honor."* No narrow prejudices prevented Catholic philosophers from enjoying what was great and admirable in the works of the Gentiles, or of persons obnoxious, in other respects, to the censures of the Church. St. Jerome was delighted with the genius of Origen; and St. Augustin, in an eloquent passage of his work on the city of God, after enumerating the various branches of art and science, the cultivation of which displays the noble nature of the human mind, adds, "In ipsis, postremo erroribus et falsitatibus defendendis, quam magna claruerint ingenia philosophorum atque hæreticorum, quis æstimare sufficiat?"† It is certain, that the Church herself invariably judged of men as of books, "in globo." When the general tenor was good, she did not subtilize on detached parts.

How little do the moderns seem aware that in the monasteries of the middle age the liberal and truly tolerant spirit of the great men of Christian antiquity was always found. It was the monks, as Bede can testify, who had taught a British king that the religion of men must be voluntary, and that no compulsory measures were pleasing to God. It was the monks who evinced mercy and benignity to the Pagans of the north, whenever a zeal more warlike than holy began to dictate acts of cruelty against them. Remark the following expressions, in a monastic chronicle, concerning the Pagans of Prussia:—"Multa poterant dici de hoc populo laudabilia in moribus, si haberent solam fidem Christi."‡ So far were these men from imitating the sullen silence of the Roman historians who have al-

* Pasquier Lettres, liv. x. 6. † De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxii. c. 24.

‡ Helmold, Chron. Slavor. Lib. i. c. 1.

lowed nothing to come down to us respecting the virtue of the nations whom they conquered!

It was frequently owing to ecclesiastical influence that the works even of art belonging to Pagans and Sarassins were spared by the civil power, which would have doomed them to destruction; as when King James I. of Aragon, on the capture of Valencia, would have destroyed the great mosque, in order that a church might be built on the spot, if the bishop, finding it ample, and wondrously adorned with emblems and variegated work, had not persuaded him to spare it, that it might be purified and converted into a Christian temple.*

It is a fact important to remark, that rulers of the Church were frequently urged on by the public opinion to condemn offenders against faith, and that they expressed the greatest reluctance to put in force even the mild and wholly spiritual sentence of the ecclesiastical authority. Ives de Chartres writes to Roscelin, saying, that he hears that since the council of Soissons he still continues, by clandestine disputations, to defend his former opinion, which he had abjured. He implores him to beware how he rends the vest of God, armed with human reasoning and an unhappy eloquence. "Nevertheless," he continues, "not on account of myself, should I fear or dislike your presence, hoping better things of you, and things nearer to salvation; but some of our citizens, curious in investigating the lives of others, though indolent to correct their own, hold you to be hateful, and me to be suspected on account of you; and when they hear your name and former conversation, they suddenly, after their manner, run to gather up stones. Therefore, I advise you, assuming the patience of blessed Job, to say with him, 'Sustinebo iram Dei, quoniam merui, donec justificet causam meam;' for I testify that if you, being converted, should wish to fly from the vanity of your carnal sense, the breasts of divine consolation will not be wanting to you; and Mother Church, which showed paternal severity to the devious, will receive back the corrected with maternal piety. It remains, therefore, that you write a palinode, and that you repair publicly the vest of your Lord, which you have rent publicly—that you may be loved and restored by us, and embraced with benefits."†

In France, when the last heresies commenced in the sixteenth century, it was a general complaint that the bishops did not evince sufficient activity and energy in punishing those who were infected with it. Therefore recourse was had to commissions of extraordinary judges under authority of the Parliament.‡

It is curious to find the royal edict, in 1512, which restrained the power of the clergy of Rouen in the exercise of the privilege of St. Romain, stating that the said privilege shall not extend in future to the deliverance of criminals detained for crimes of heresy or high treason,§ the publication of which edict was considered as a triumph of the civil authorities over the clergy of Rouen. In 1540,

* Bernardini Gomesii de Vit. Jacobi I. Lib. xiv.

† Ivonis Carnot. Epist. VII.

‡ Fleury, Instit. au Droit Ecclesiast. tom. ii. c. 9.

§ Eloquet Hist. du Privilège de St. Rom. i. 213.

the attorney-general and the parliament declared that they would permit no prisoners accused of such crimes to be delivered, and threatened the clergy with a seizure of their possessions if they refused to accede to such modifications.

The epistle of Pope Innocent III. to the Archbishop of Narbonne and his suffragans expresses the spirit which animated the Church in all ages, with respect to the manner of correcting and receiving back those who had chosen a way unto themselves. "In order," says the pontiff, "to lead back souls deceived in many and various modes by diabolic fraud, to Him who is the way, and the truth, and the life, we must bear with many things for a time, imitating what the apostle Paul styles his craft—meaning the prudence which dissembleth many things, after the example of him who feigned an intention to go farther, when he showed himself as a traveller to the two disciples. If any one should not instantly and wholly abandon his ancient customs, but should retain to himself some of them, either to spare shame, or perhaps through a desire, as it were, to bury with honor his ancient law, such a person is not to be altogether opposed and confuted, provided he doth not err in the substance of truth; for diversity of customs, especially in external habit, doth not deform the holy Church. Nevertheless, we do not say this to approve of such emulation, but that we may follow the example of Him who was made weak to the weak, yea, all things to all men, that he might gain all men to Him who wisheth all men to be saved and to come to the knowledge of his truth. For, dearly beloved, is a physician to be blamed who sometimes indulgeth his patient in a thing less wholesome, through compliance with his great desire? Certainly not; since, although it be a little injurious in one respect, it may be very beneficial in another. Do you therefore, brethren, support such persons in a spirit of lenity, not repulsing, but attracting them; because the generality of men are more easily brought back by admonitions than by comminations; and some are more corrected by affability of grace than by asperity of discipline; for oil must first be poured in, and if it be required, wine also over it; and with converts of this kind, after the wine, oil again must be poured in." And then he adds this remarkable sentence: —"Nevertheless, while intending to recall the erring from heretical depravity, we wish that the faithful may be cherished in Catholic truth; since it is more tolerable that the perverse should perish in their perversity, than that the just should decline from his justice."*

Hurter remarks, that the epistles of this pontiff evince a deep knowledge of the human heart, and prove that he had caught the spirit of the gospel quite as well as the modern judges, who condemn him. Highly worthy of remark, in our times, are the letters which he addressed to the archbishops and their suffragans of the churches of Narbonne and Genoa, exhorting them earnestly, and commanding them by apostolic rescript, not to permit his beloved sons, Durandus the Old, and Guillelmus of St. Antonio, with their associates that have been reconciled to ec-

* Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xii. 67.

clesiastical unity, after renouncing the heresy of the Waldenses, to be molested in any manner by any one, under pretence of their former error, but to cherish them benignly, as if young plants; since the art of those to whom the government of souls is confided ought to be such, that not only they may recall, by pastoral solicitude, those who have been led astray from the Lord's flock, but also cherish in the spirit of gentleness those who have been brought back to it; that while such persons may rejoice in experiencing the expected sweetness, others may be induced by their example to desert the error of their blindness.* To the archbishop and his suffragans of the church of Tarragona he writes to the same effect, charging them to assist these men mercifully on account of God, and to suffer no formalities to cause an impediment in the way of others who seek to return, lest those who seem to be drawn by divine grace should be repelled by their hardness from the infinite mercy of God.† He writes also to the Bishop of Marseilles, charging him to receive those convertites with benignity, and not to suffer them, on account of the note which they had contracted from their former conversation, to be rashly molested by any one, but to preserve them safe from all infamy and scandal, and to assist them mercifully with testimonials, and in every other manner, for the sake of God.‡

"If the blind, and the lame, and the weak, are to be not only invited to the marriage feast, but compelled to assist at it, much more are they not to be repelled from it who hasten to it, of their own accord: therefore he charges the bishop of Cremona not to suffer any one henceforward to calumniate Bernard and his companions, who had incurred the infamy of heresy, but who had humbly and devoutly repaired to the holy Roman Church to be restored to its communion; and by apostolic rescript he commands him to receive them as faithful men and true Catholics, walking with consent in the house of the Lord."§

The instances of merciless persecution and of undues everity which are to be found in the ecclesiastical annals, can all be traced to men who were, either unintentionally or with a full sense of their own position, at variance with the desire of the Church. A modern French writer, so little distinguished for partiality to the side of religion, that he seems always anxious to represent in odious colors the rulers of the Church, is obliged to admit, in speaking of the war against the Albigenses, that Pope Innocent III. lamented and wept for the blood which was shed, and even issued bulls of anathema against the perpetrators of cruelty; but the fact is, he says, that the people of Provence detested the French, and wished to establish themselves as a distinct nation: the heresy was but an accident, and the mere pretence for a war of ambition, of which the first and unavoidable cause was the action of the north upon the south, of the central power of France upon the little sovereignty of Toulouse, that desired to be independent.‖ This is his

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xiii. 63; Lib. xv. 94. † Id. Epist. Lib. xiii. 78. ‡ Id. Lib. xv. 50.
§ Id. Lib. xv. 146. ‖ Villemain, Tableau de la Lit. au Moyen Age,

opinion; but Hurter, armed with far different erudition, though not a Catholic, has nobly vindicated Innocent from the calumnies of the moderns, as repeated by Sismondi.*

How admirable does this great pontiff appear, when he offers an asylum at the foot of his throne to the old Raymond of Toulouse, the ancient and inveterate enemy of Catholicism, and to his son—when he himself pleads their cause against the victorious crusaders, and, when after giving the most excellent advice to this young prince, and, in vain endeavoring to appease his conquerors, he assigns to him the combat and Provence, in order that the innocent son of the guilty might not be left without patrimony! The children of the enemies of the Church experienced the benefit of his intervention. James of Aragon, whose father had been slain in fighting for the heretics, being made prisoner by the Catholic army, was liberated by order of Innocent.

Schoell is a writer whom no one can suspect of being inclined to favor the side of the Church; and yet, when speaking of these wars, he says, "One cannot absolve the Manichæans of France nor the Cathari from the reproach of an abominable fanaticism: they professed errors grievous and dangerous, which no government could tolerate."† The latter explanation is more conformable to the fact. Their errors, as Pope Innocent said, were the more horrible, as not only attacking evangelic truth, but also the philosophic doctrine respecting the Creator of the universe.‡ We have the writings of Pierre de Vaux Sernai, a monk of Citeaux, and of William of Pui-Laurent, chaplain to Raymond VII. count of Toulouse, who, as ocular witnesses, describe the execrable impieties and manners of the Albigenses, who literally fulfilled St. Paul's prediction, of men holding the doctrines of demons, speaking falsehood in hypocrisy. They comprised all known heresies, and having no chief from whom they could be traced, St. Bernard calls them a headless body. Armenia was for some time their central country, whence they began, at the end of the ninth century, to pervert the Bulgarians, then but recently converted to the faith. In the eleventh century, they passed into France, and King Henry I. committed many of them to the flames at Orleans. The horrors which they introduced into domestic life (for one of their tenets was to forbid marriage) may be learned from the letter which Raymond V., Count of Toulouse, wrote in 1177 to the general chapter of Citeaux; and indeed, if other evidence were wanting to prove what was the nature of their opinions, the celebrated exclamation of St. Thomas, alluding to them, while dining at the table of St. Louis—"Conclusum est contra Manichæos"—would be enough to banish doubt from every mind that could justly appreciate the value of incidental testimony.

An anecdote related by an ancient author will serve to illustrate both the real

* Hurter, Geschichte Innocente III.

† Schoell, Cours d'Hist. des Etats Europ. liv. v. c. 12.

‡ Epist. Inn. liv. x. 54.

character of these pretended martyrs, and the disposition of the clergy to treat them with greater mildness than the public opinion at that time deemed just Guibert de Nogent relates that John, Count of Soissons, a man of horrible manners, and a close ally of Jews and heretics, used to utter nefarious words against the holy Saviour. "His blasphemies might be learned," continues the good abbot, "from the little book which I wrote against him at the entreaty of Bernard the dean; but as they were unutterable by a Christian mouth, and execrable to pious ears, we suppressed them. Yet at Christmas and during the Lord's passion, he showed himself so humble, that you would scarcely think him perfidious. On the paschal night, he came to vigils in the church, and suggested to a certain religious clerk that he should say something to him on the mystery of those days. When he had spoken how the Lord suffered and rose again, the count replied, whistling with scorn, 'All fables—all so much wind!' 'If,' said the clerk, 'you count them to be fables, why do you watch here?' 'Oh,' said he, 'I am only waiting to see certain persons that come here.' For though he had a most beautiful young wife, he abandoned himself to shameful courses, and not even nuns were safe from his violence. At length returning from the royal expedition, he was struck by the hand of death amidst the amours; and when he became alarmed, he inquired from a certain clerk what he thought of his disease; who proceeded to remind him of his licentious life, and bid him think of his soul; but he replied, 'You wish that I should give some money to the gluttonous priests?—Not an obol. I have learned from discreeter men than you that all women are common, and that this is a sin of no moment.' These were his last words; for, wishing to repel his wife, who stood at his side, with his foot, he overthrew with the blow a soldier who sat near; and so his hands were held down, till, wearied with struggling, he expired."

In fact, Clementius and Ebrard, at this time in the next town to Soissons, were leaders of this secret heresy, which held that the Christian dispensation was all a delusion; who annulled infant baptism, abhorred the sacrament of the altar, condemned marriage, recommended horrible vices, and practised the most atrocious profanations of the Eucharist. "So that," continues this holy abbot, "if you read St. Augustin, you will be convinced that what was formerly practised by more learned men has descended to the rustics, who, while they pretend to hold fast the apostolic life, embrace the system of the Manichæans.

Being summoned by the Bishop of Soissons, Lisiard, an illustrious man, and being asked why they wished to have another Church and become heretics, Clement answered, "Have you not read in the gospel, 'Beati eritis?" for, being illiterate, he understood it as hæreticos; and he thought that heretics were so called, as hereditarii, doubtless, of God. The bishop had them exorcised; and Clement, to the infinite joy of the Church, was absolved, though by a judgment only used in the secular courts.* The one who confessed his error and was impenitent, was

* Epist. Inn. iii. Lib. xiv. 138.

with another, thrown into chains. The bishop went to the council of Beauvais, to consult with the other bishops what ought to be done; but in the mean time, the people, fearing the clerical softness, clericalem verens mollitiem, ran to the prison, led them out of the city, and burnt them.*

But it was in the south of France that these errors had sunk the deepest. On the death of Raymond V., the good Count of Toulouse, his son and successor, Raymond VI., partly through policy and partly through congeniality of views and manners, favored the Manichæans, and from that time the persecutions against the Catholics began. It is to be observed, that the infection spread with more rapidity among the great, into whose houses the heretics had introduced themselves; so that at the head of this war against the authority and doctrine of the Church appeared the Counts of Foix and of Comminge, the Viscount of Bearn, the Seneschal of the King of England, who commanded in Aquitaine, and a number of gentlemen, under whose authority the teachers insulted all who remained constant. In general, the nobles of Guienne, Languedoc and Provence, protected them either secretly or openly, and received from them tithes which they refused to pay to the ministers of the altar. Such was the state of things when St. Dominick and Don Diego, bishop of Osma, arrived at Montpellier, where they found many Cistercian abbots who had been vainly laboring to recall these wanderers to the true fold. St. Dominick, the loving minion of the Christian faith, had already made a convert in the person of his host, who had received him to hospitality on his passage through Toulouse. Before commencing his missionary labors while in his retreat at Osma, where he began to have no other place of repose but the church, and no other bed but the steps of the altar, what he demanded of God with the greatest fervor was a perfect charity, by which he might be brought to the closest resemblance with the Saviour of the world. Then, having gained license to fight against the erring and degenerate world, with sage doctrine and good-will to help, as Dante says, forth on his great apostleship he fared, like torrent bursting from a lofty vein, and dashing against the stocks of heresy smote fiercest where resistance was most stout. His first measure was to lay down solemn rules to guide the missionary labors. He showed that persuasion and example were to be the only weapons employed, that they were to tread in the steps of the apostles, to preach and live like them, to go about on foot, without money, opposing to the depths of Satan and to the pride of heresy, only the humility and the patience of God; for that only, by so doing, they could hope to reform by degrees the manners of the clergy, confound the hypocrisy of the heretics, and guard the faithful against their seductions.

The legate approved of these proposals in the assembly of Montpellier, and declared that this rule was to be henceforth obligatory on all missionaries. Thus began, in 1206, the ten years which St. Dominick employed in combating the

* Guibert de Novigent. de Vita Propria. Lib. iii. 16.

Albigenses, until the fourth council of Lateran. With no other aid but what he expected from heaven, with no other sword but the word of God, he fearlessly devoted himself to preach through all these regions amidst a ferocious population and a corrupt nobility, interested in the success of the revolt. He had already made innumerable conversions among the poor, when Raymond VI., refusing to give security to his Catholic subjects, by withdrawing his protection from the enemies of faith, was excommunicated by Peter de Castelnau, legate of the holy see. The sentence was soon revoked; a conference was proposed and accepted; the legate and the count met at St. Gilles; but as Raymond was evidently only deceiving the ecclesiastical authority, and seeking to gain time for his manœuvres, the latter withdrew, though threatened, for so doing, in such a manner, that the consuls and citizens, fearing what might happen, sent officers to protect his person as far as the banks of the Rhone, where he passed the night in a hostel; but the next morning, after offering the holy mysteries, as he proposed to cross the river, a servant of the count, who had followed him and slept in the same hostel that night, approached and assassinated him, and then fled back to his master.

Our limits do not admit of my describing the sufferings of St. Dominick, and the heroic patience with which he labored to save this perishing people. The Catholic ecclesiastics were now driven from their Churches; landed proprietors were obliged to fly with their families, and to ask their bread from door to door; bands of armed men, to the number of from six to eight thousand, ravaged the plains, committing atrocities hardly conceivable. Philip Augustus defeated and slew ten thousand of them, in Berry; but while he drove them out of his states, they were received into those of Raymond VI.

Such was the origin of the crusade that was preached against them; but it is an error to suppose that the Inquisition commenced at this time; for the Albigenses were open enemies, defending their cause by force of arms. St. Dominick only labored in preaching, and disputing, and absolving sinners—in omni patientia et doctrina. The very guides, who were treacherously conducting him through false ways, were converted by the spectacle of his patience. His arms were a chaplet; for it was at this epoch that he formed the rosary into a regular devotion, in order to lead the people from vain disputations to meditation with prayer, on the mysteries of the Man-God. The contemporary writers, who describe all his actions in such minute detail, make no mention whatever of his having been present either at the slaughter on the storming of Beziers, or at the great victory at Muret, where Simon de Montfort defeated the combined army amounting to 100,000 men, of the King of Aragon, and of the Counts of Foix and Toulouse. The crucifix pierced with arrows, which is shown at Toulouse as having been carried by him on the latter occasion, cannot therefore be admitted as evidence. The ancient writers, on the contrary, attest that he remained during the whole of that time in the church, at prayer. His example was followed by many who had engaged in this warfare. Suera Gomez had left the court of Don Sancho I. king of Portugal,

in 1208, to join the army of the crusaders in Languedoc, proposing nothing else but to bear arms in defence of the Church; but being moved by the sermons or conversation of the apostolic man, he resolved ever afterwards to walk in his footsteps; and he deserved to be reckoned among the sixteen first who embraced the order of preachers. Moreover, Touron proves against the Bollandists, that St. Dominick never took part in the rigorous judgments pronounced against the heretics. It is not the question whether he had the right or not to deliver to the secular arm those who refused to abjure, but it is a matter of fact that he never did deliver any one to the secular arm; but, on the contrary, that he delivered some from it. An abbot of Citeaux, with three of his monks, had been seized at a quarter of a league from Carcassone, by Guillaume de Rochefort, an ardent persecutor of the Catholics. The abbot and one of the monks were slain, a third dangerously wounded, and the fourth escaped. The crusaders, in the first moments of exasperation, condemned some of the Manichæans to the flames if they refused to retract. As they were leading them to the stake, St. Dominick presented himself, and implored pardon for the youngest, Raymond de Grossi, who obtained it, though obstinate in his error. From these scenes of violence the man of peace and mercy withdrew into Italy, meditating more durable and efficacious means of correcting the evil, and more conformable to the religion of the Son of God. At Rome he obtained the approval of the new order which was to revive the sacerdotal spirit among the clergy, to send preachers through all lands, and to win back, by sanctity of life, by wisdom of discourse, by mercy and moderation of conduct, those who had been enticed from the ways of truth and holiness.*

Such was this spirit of the great apostle of the thirteenth century, the hallowed wrestler, gentle to his own, and to his enemies terrible!—that is, as the Mother of Christ is terrible, and not otherwise; for his zeal was that which comes from God, that which is the perfection of love, which makes blessed saints whom Christ appoints to be his helpmates—that of which the angelic doctor says "Quælibet parva quæ viderit corrigere satagit; si nequit, tolerat et gemit."† It was a zeal always regulated by the light of God, conducted by his Spirit, accompanied by wisdom, sweetness, and a compassionate charity for the men whose errors it combated, preaching by word and by example the renouncement of every thing calculated to incline the heart to cruelty or accustom it to view with indifference the danger or suffering of others. "Who doubts," says Louis of Grenada, "that this spirit of charity, this ardent desire of the glory of God and of the salvation of men, is the first and best master of the art of preaching?"‡

When the holy Dominick first came to Montpellier, pious abbots, holy prelates, apostolic legates, who had toiled for a long time in vain, were returning from that ungrateful vineyard, saying with an ancient prophet, "We sought to heal Babylon, and she would not be healed! Let us abandon her; let each one

* Touron, Vie de S. Dom. † S. Thom. I, 2, Q. 28, A 4. ‡ Rethor. de l'Eglise, i. 10.

return to his own country." Without blaming their resolution, who must not admire the persevering zeal of the Spanish missionary, hoping against hope, exhorting them in season and out of season, waiting with patience for God's time, and resolving never to cease but with life laboring for their salvation; enduring all things, as if to him alone these words had been addressed, "God has given his life for us, and we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren"?

It was not, however, alone in the penalties exercised against these desperate men, that examples of the encroachments of the secular court and of the popular power upon the ecclesiastical jurisdiction can be found. There are many instances which, at a different epoch, bear testimony to the same fact.

The year 1317 beheld a deed of horror, when Hugues Gerard, bishop of Cahors, for having sought by enchantments to shorten the life of Pope John XXII., and for many other crimes, was deposed, degraded, and condemned to do penance for the rest of his days in prison. This was the ecclesiastical sentence; but Bernard Guido, a contemporary author, relates that after his deposition and degradation the secular court seized upon him, and by its decree he was committed to the flames.* A more remarkable instance was the punishment of the knights Templars. Nicolous de Freaville, a learned Dominican, and one of the most sublime preachers of his time, was appointed, along with two other cardinals, by Pope Clement V., to terminate their cause; and Touron relates that all the credit of these three cardinals was exerted to save Jacques de Molay and his companions from the punishment to which the king condemned them, and which, in spite of the ecclesiastical remonstrance, he made them suffer on the same day.†

We have before had occasion to remark, in general, as an historical fact, that in proportion as men adopted principles and views that had a tendency to withdraw them from a close connection with the holy see, their notions of discipline became more rigid, and their administrative proceedings more severe. In France, wherever we find a disposition to recommend the exercise of a violent zeal, in the civil power, to repress offences against religion, and to approve of acts which had been deemed too rigorous by the Popes, we shall be sure to find, in the same person, the praise of Gallican liberties and of French, in opposition to Ultramontane theologians. The sentence against Savonarola at Florence, and his horrible doom, were levelled rather in defiance than in defence of religion. The infamy of his death is shared by some of the magistrates, and by Ludovicus Sforza. On being degraded, the sentence was read aloud; and when he heard the words that he was cut off "ab ecclesia"—"Militante" was his immediate reply, which was his last word.—"A proud answer, in my judgment," remarks Petrus Delphinus, who, in the judgment of others, perhaps, would have appeared wiser had he held his peace rather than divulged it.‡

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. 11.

† Id. tom. ii. liv. 9

‡ Annal Camaldul. Lib. lxviii

Such was the horror inspired by his death in the noble race of Est, so celebrated for its fidelity in all times to the holy see, that Hercules of that blood, Duke of Ferrara, sent to the gallows a poet who had insulted his memory in certain vile calumnious songs which he composed after his execution, and he loudly complained to the magistrates of Florence for granting impunity to those who repeated them.

The origin of capital punishment against heretics was not from ecclesiastical power, but from the temporal princes, as may be seen in the codes of Justinian and Theodosius, under the title "De Hæreticis." The third council of Lateran declared against it in the twenty-seventh canon, saying, "Ecclesiasticam disciplinam, sacerdotali contentam judicio, cruentas non efficere ultiones."

With respect to the jealousy and suspicion excited in so many breasts whenever the name of the Inquisition is pronounced, there are many reflections suggested by history, which should at least stop the mouths of passionate declaimers; as for instance, when it records the fact, that the Inquisition in France was established by Pope Alexander IV. at the prayer of St. Louis. In his constitution concerning heretics, he charges his barons, and all persons in authority, to bring heretics before the ecclesiastical tribunals, that in their presence such persons being condemned, all hatred, interest, bribery, fear, favor, and affection, being set aside, they may proceed to fulfil their duty respecting them.*

We find that the holy see has in all ages been constrained to consent and give sanction to measures at the prayer of local authorities, whether civil or ecclesiastical, in distant countries, which might be thought injurious to the interests of her own discipline; and how unjust is it to forget this when she is obliged similarly to consent to reprehensible measures proposed by the civil power, which may have an air of being designed to favor them? In Portugal the majority of the officers of the Inquisition are laymen, and the duty of ecclesiastics in regard to it is little more than to act as members of a court of inquiry into the nature of books intended for general circulation, and the tendency of opinions. The English writer who published Letters to Osorius remarks, that "it sprung from imperious necessity, and owes its origin to the great principle of self-defence; and that it has saved society in these countries from numberless evils: of which fact the good and peaceable are so well aware, that when a desperate faction, assuming the sacred name of liberty, had obtained its destruction, the great body of the people was clamorous for its re-establishment." Bourgoign is an author who can hardly be suspected of favoring whatever bears the appearance of an ecclesiastical sanction, and therefore, I shall cite his words with the more courage: "The fact is," saith he, "the tribunal of the Inquisition, as I said in 1789, and I repeat it, in spite of the critics, for the fourth time in 1805, is not near so fearful a thing as one imagines in foreign countries. I confess that its forms are calculated to

* Ap. Duchesne, Hist. Franc. Script. V.

alarm those who would reckon upon its equity, though these include the previous act of three private admonitions, to refrain from giving public scandal, attention to which would stop all further proceedings. Without undertaking the task, so replete with odium, of making its apology, I must confess also, in order to render homage to truth, that if one can pardon its forms and object, the Inquisition might be cited in our days as a model of justice ; and after all, the truth is, that, with a little circumspection as to religion, one can live as tranquilly in Spain as in any other country of Europe."*

Writers on the canon law have shown the falsehood of the opinion that thoughts were judged by the Inquisition as by men who have the power of confessors : for as the church by itself directly could not prohibit an act merely internal, so it could not inflict a censure upon a heresy which was not developed manifestly by the exterior act. Inquisition took cognizance only of Catholics, and of those who labored to pervert them. It passed over Jews and all persons born in heresy or schism, who were tolerated by the state.† There are, at all events, several modern readers who require to be reminded, if not apprised, that the clergy were as much the objects of the attention of the Inquisition, as the laity, of which there can be no more striking instance cited in proof than the arrest of Bartholomew de Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo and Primate of Spain in the year 1559, when he was imprisoned at Valladolid, whose subsequent history can of itself throw great light on the real nature of that institution. Neither the church of Toledo, nor the fathers of the council then assembled at Trent, nor even the Holy See, were able to prevent this national, and we may add, in a great measure, laical tribunal, from keeping a pious and learned prelate seven years in captivity ; and nothing short of the inflexible firmness and courage of Pope Pius V. at the representation of the apostolic commissioners who had been sent into Spain, was able to overcome its resolution not to have the cause transferred out of the dominions of the Catholic king. Even after the removal of the Primate to Rome, so many obstacles were thrown in the way of coming to a decision by the authorities in Spain, who persisted in affirming that the king's majesty was called in question by this appeal, that it was not till after some years he could be absolved, and but shortly before his holy death.‡

Let us relieve this dark subject by exhibiting mercy contrasted with the most severe forms of human severity. Let us enter the prison of Sixtus, of Sienna. This learned man, born of Jewish parents, had been induced in youth to embrace the Christian religion ; but having subsequently contracted various errors contrary to faith, which he successively renounced and repeated, was a second time arrested, tried, and condemned to death, as having relapsed to heresy, after a formal abjuration. At this time Michael Gislheri, who was afterwards Pope Pius

* Tableau de l' Espagne, vol. i. p. 392-5. † Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. iv. tit. viii.
‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv.

V. filled the office of commissioner general of the Inquisition, and being a man of mercy, it was one of his constant practices to visit prisoners, with the view of consoling them, and moving them to repentance. The situation of Sixtus excited his deepest compassion; and he desired ardently to save him, notwithstanding his apparent obstinacy, and the inflexible rigor of the law, to which he had become amenable. The holy friar redoubled his prayers and his visits, and at length, by long conversations, succeeded in working a complete change in that diseased mind. His next step was to repair to the Pope, Julius III., throw himself at his feet, and implore pardon for the prisoner, who not only obtained his liberty, but even permission to enter the order of St. Dominic.

The Dedicatory Epistle prefixed to his Bibliotheca Sancta, which he presented to Pius V. in 1566, contains an affecting allusion to this deliverance. "Under your auspices," he says, "most holy father, I have dared to place this book, since it was you who formerly drew me from the gates of hell, to render me to the light of truth, and to a more perfect state. When you deigned to receive me into your order, you clothed me with your own hands and with your own habits. You adopted me then as your spiritual son. Oh, with what goodness, with what sweetness, with what liberality, have you always treated me, ever loading me with new favors in this celebrated order. Certainly I should be very ungrateful if I did not glory in confessing publicly that your kindness to me exceeds what I can express, and that there is no man on earth to whom I am more indebted than to you."*

The only comment, perhaps, on this narrative, will be to cry, "But how can an inquisitor be styled a man of mercy?" It skills not citing historic facts where sounds can awaken deep-rooted aversion; but let an English Protestant be heard attesting what he saw. "Those who expect to see the grand Inquisitor of Portugal a doleful figure, with eyes of reproof and malediction, would be disappointed," says the author of Vathek; "a pleasanter or more honest countenance than that kind heaven has blessed him with, one has seldom the comfort of looking upon." At Madrid he sees the prelate who fills the same office in Spain, and he says, "that he has not only the look, but the character of beneficence." If after this he could have been prevailed on to look into the history of such men, he would have had the difficulty explained, without injury to the science of Lavater.

Touron the historian of the Dominican order, in recording the lives of Vincent of Lisbon, Gui Maramaldi of Naples, and of other friars who had to discharge the painful office of Inquisitors, takes care to remark, that it was not so much by the fear of punishment as by persuasion, learning, and charity, that they provided against the contagion of heresy. Preaching and sanctity of life were the only weapons used in converting the Moors, Turks, and heretics, by men whom religion authorized, and of whom the Church approved. You speak of intolerance;

* Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv.

I can only see the pious and indefatigable labors of men devoted to the study of oriental languages and to preaching. "The poniard of faith," used by Raymond des Martins, the Dominican of Barcelona, with which he converts the Jews and Sarassins, turning their own arms against themselves, is very different from the sword of the magistrate, or the bayonets of the military. It was with his Apology for the Christian Religion, written in Arabic, that Philip Guadagnolus, of Malleano, gained such triumphs over the Mahometans, to which Pompeius Sarnellius alludes in the verses which he prefixed to the Italian version:

I Liber felix, nova monstra questus,
Ut leves omni populos timore,
Nec sinas hostes fidei per orbem
Pergere inultos.

Non venenatis gravida sagittis
Indiges Mauri pharetra, nec arcu,
Est potis fortes calamus Philippi
Frangere turmas.

Quot tibi cedent, monitis nefandi
Qui fidem præstant Mahometis, omnes
Namque vincentur, secuturi ovantes
Dogmata Christi.*

Hear how William of Tripoli speaks in the conclusion of his great work against the Koran. "Thus, without the terror of material arms, by the sole virtue of the word of God, we have seen the Sarassins in great numbers present themselves to demand the baptism of Jesus Christ. He who attests this fact has already received into the fold of the good pastor more than a thousand docile sheep, by the grace of God, to whom alone belong praise and glory for evermore."†

What a contrast between the barbarous intolerance of men in modern times, who hold out force and political subjection as their best logic, and the wondrous union of charity and erudition which distinguished the propagators of the Catholic faith in Spain during the middle ages! Behold St. Thomas of Aquin writing his immortal work Contra Gentes at the prayer of St. Raymond de Pegnafort, for the purpose of enabling the missionaries to convert the Moors. Behold the Kings of Arragon and Castile founding two colleges for Dominicans, one at Tunis, and the other in Murcia, for the same purpose. What can be more noble than the respect for the dignity and liberty of the human mind, which such acts as these display? Accordingly we find the Moorish princes, and the king of Tunis in particular, desiring the friendship of St. Raymond, who replies with all benignity to their advances, and avails himself of their favor to preach Jesus Christ. Writing to Father Humbert, the fifth general of his order, he assures him, that

* Mutii Phœbonii Hist. Marsorum, Lib. iii. 6. in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.
† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. i. 3

already 10,000 Sarassins had implored the grace of baptism. When were mercy and mildness beheld, if they were not in his conduct to the Jews and Mahometans, who sought instruction, to whom he acted the part of a father, providing even for their corporal necessities with great alms? If James I. at length published an edict, which banished from his dominions all who adhered to the Koran and to the Talmud, it was believed that necessity required that measure, so frightful was the corruption which the contagion of their manners had caused among the people. For the same reason St. Raymond advised him to establish the Inquisition, to prevent the heresy of the Manichæans from contaminating the whole nation; and let it be remembered, that this was the man of mercy, who at an age exceeding eighty years, travelled from Spain to Rome, in order to persuade Alexander IV. to pardon Manfred, who had usurped Sicily.

By referring to the secular arm, the Church did not sanction the acts which sometimes followed. "Since the heretics cannot be restrained by milder courses, what remains," says Leo the Great, "to prevent them from destroying others, but to subject them to the more tenacious bonds of the secular laws, yet in such a manner as not to violate the ecclesiastical mildness."* Even in much later times a demand for that intervention did not imply a desire to have the penalties of the secular courts inflicted, as is evident from the terms of the brief addressed to St. Peter of Verona, and Vivian of Bergamo, by the Pope Innocent IV. after the death of Frederick II. charging them to repair to the bishop's diocesan synod at Cremona, and to labor to extirpate the Manichæan heresy; for the words in conclusion are these: "Against those who will not submit to the orders of the Church, you will proceed according to the canons, imploring, if it be necessary, the succor of the secular arms:" similar to that passage, in which St. Bernard calling upon Suger, as "a great prince in the kingdom," to oppose certain evils by force, adds, "vim autem appello, quod ad ecclesiasticam pertinet disciplinam."† In fact, at that time the office of Inquisitor was one of protection and defence, and not of aggression. In many places, as at Gaoche, a town near Bergamo, the influence of the Manichæans was such, that the inhabitants durst not make open profession of the Catholic faith; and whoever ventured to preach it to them, had every reason to expect the fate of St. Peter Martyr, whose assassination they procured with the sum of forty Milanese francs. The persons against whom the Inquisitors of the faith in Italy had to act, were in general formidable men, invested with authority under the protection of such princes as Frederick II. and the tyrant Eccelino; the latter of whom was the declared friend of the Manichæans: to send one who should cite him before the Pope, was like sending a man to death. Yet Innocent IV. found a person ready to execute this commission, through the sole motive of the glory of God. Roland of Cremona was the friar who was deputed, in 1244, to discharge this perilous office; and he performed it with un-

* Epist. xciii

† Epist. cccixxvi.

flinching courage. The office of defending the faith in the northern countries, required the same intrepidity, and was discharged in the same spirit of mercy and moderation. How great was the benignity of John Nyder, the Dominican and Papal Nuncio, who was deputed by the Council of Basle to treat with the Hussites! It was such that even the chiefs of that sect esteemed him, and admitted him to enter into communication with them. But when Divine Providence permitted that these men, who were drunk with the blood of the saints, should meet with a sanguinary punishment from the hands of Mainard de Neuhaux, a gentleman of Bohemia, Nyder and the ecclesiastical authority had neither advised such measures, nor could they have prevented their occurrence It is a great mistake to suppose, that in using the weapons of true Christian warfare, the zeal of theologians who defended the faith rendered them, in the estimation of their contemporaries, merciless men. In the fifteenth century it was the part of mercy to protect the people from the ruin which threatened the dearest interests of the human race, not excluding assuredly, the material condition of the poor.

Sanctes Pagninus, of Lucca, a learned Dominican friar, having died in the convent at Lyons, where he had been for some years residing, was followed to his grave by nearly the whole population of that city. More than 300 of the principal citizens walked, carrying flambeaux, and the grief appeared general. Roter happened to be at Lyons at that time, and having asked what was the reason why such extraordinary honors were paid to the deceased, he was told that the citizens ascribed the preservation of their faith, in a great measure, to his zeal; for, they said, if that learned friar had not raised his voice like a trumpet, to warn the people of the danger which threatened them, perhaps at that day the whole city would have professed itself Lutheran.†

The zeal of Pius V. in repressing public immoralities, had rendered him formidable to the profligate; many of whom came with the faithful to behold his body exposed after death in the church of St. Peter, and could not conceal their joy on being delivered from such an enemy; yet we are told the sight of his countenance, though the pale hand of death lay on it, produced such an effect upon many sinners, that from that hour they renounced the ways of vice.

With respect to the toleration of other religions in a Catholic state, the fact is, that whatever political evil might be apprehended, the measures taken against them were adopted by the will of the temporal magistrate, and not by the suggestions of the ecclesiastical authority. The words of the hymn for the vespers of all saints—auferte gentem perfidam credentium de finibus—were composed in reference to the invasion of the Normans, who then threatened the extirpation of the Christian religion. The continuator of Vincent of Beauvais' Mirror, who at all events was deeply instructed in the discipline and doctrine of the Church, even says expressly, that "the rites of infidels may be tolerated by human government;

* Touron, tom. iii. † Id. tom. iv. liv. xxv.

for as human government must imitate the divine government, and we see that the omnipotent God tolerates many evils which he might destroy, lest worse should follow; so also must the human government permit evils to exist, lest, by removing them, he should injure the good, or create worse evil."* The Church herself showed the example; in allusion to which Ives de Chartres says to Hugo, Archbishop of Lyons: "If you wish to collect examples from past and present time, we shall find that the princes of the Church have been accustomed to tolerate many things for the necessity of the times, and to dissemble many things for the utility of persons.† In this sense the profound words of Æschylus expressed a maxim, which has ever guided the rulers of the Catholic Church. "God hath given the chief strength to all mediums; but He regards other things, that is, things immoderate, with an eye without medium."

Παντὶ μέσῳ τὸ κράτος
Θεὸς ὤπασεν, ἀλλὰ
Ἄλλᾳ δ' ἄλλ' ἐφορεύει.‡

The heathens had a saying, "he who hates vice must hate men; qui vitia odit, homines odit." § But the Catholic philosophy knew of no such dilemma. "Let the ruler and magistrate remember," says Louis of Blois, "that he cannot please God if he hate any man; therefore he must pity sinners, while he does not favor sins: let him punish vices, not men; and let him not repeat the faults of men to others, where he cannot hope to make them, or those who hear him, better; let him love, with sincere affection of heart, the man whose imperfections and negligences he punishes; and let him show towards him a serene countenance, and a desire of comforting him in words and actions; but let him never dissemble the injury done to God, and religion, and the soul, on account of human friendship."‖ How pernicious were the errors of Abailard; and yet the abbot William, in the very letter in which he excites St. Bernard and the bishop of Chartres to protect the Church of God against their infections, speaks of their author in these terms: "Dilexi et ego eum, et diligere vellem, Deus testis est; sed in causa hac nemo umquam proximus mihi erit, vel amicus."¶

With respect to the Jews, who were an object of popular detestation, on account of their usurious iniquities, and oppression of the poor, the conduct of the church and of ministers was such as to extort the admiration even of her most bitter enemies. It is true, we find in early times several decrees to secure a separation between the Jews and Christians, and certain measures enjoined against them for this purpose. In the year 1337 a council of three provinces in the monastery of St. Ruffus, near Avignon, decreed that no Christian should keep any servant or maid of the Jewish sect. All Jews were to wear upon their

* Vincent. Bellovacensis, Speculum Morale, Lib. iii. pars iii. dis. 29.
† Ivonis Carnot, Epist. lv. ‡ Eumenid. 529. § Plin. Epist. viii. 22.
‖ Ludovic. Blos. Enchirid. Parvulorum, Lib. i. doc. x. Append. ¶ Epist. St. Bern. cccxxvi.

breast the figure of a wheel, and Christians were not to contract marriage with them.* At Bologna, in 1417, the Jews, whose usuries were restrained the following year, were ordered to wear a leaden mark upon their breasts, and to close their shops on festivals.† St. Vincent Ferrier obtained from Don John II. King of Castile, an edict to oblige the Jews and Moors to bear some particular mark to distinguish them from Christians, because he had observed the injurious moral effects of their intercourse with the Christians, especially with those that had been recently converted.‡

Without believing that the Jews were guilty of all the crimes of which they were accused in different countries, no doubt often merely in consequence of the alarmed imagination of the people, it is incontestable that, on some occasions, they were justly convicted of shedding Christians' blood, through hatred of Jesus Christ. The murder of the little Simon, for instance, in the city of Trent, by three Jewish Rabbins, on the night preceding Good Friday, in 1475, was judicially examined, and verified by the jurisconsult, John Sala, whom the money of the Jews could not corrupt. It was on this occasion that Leonard de Perugia, General of the Dominicans, wrote to many superiors of his order, in different countries, not to animate them against the Jews, but to desire that they should prevail on the rich, by giving liberal alms, to preserve poor Christians from the temptation of offering themselves as servants in Jewish families.§ Pope Innocent III. might well ordain, through the council, that on the day when all Christendom celebrated the passion of the Lord, the Jews should not openly show themselves, lest the minds of the people should be inflamed against them. Independent of all these considerations one cannot be surprised at the enmity which was evinced by the people towards the Jews, when we consider, that besides the nature of their position relative to the mysteries of faith, they were the ministers of oppressors, and professed usurers. The bishop of Auxerre informed Pope Innocent III. that no one durst appear as an accuser against the manifest usurers in his diocese, through fear of the princes and great men who protected them.‖ No Christian witness, however unexceptionable, could appear against them. Many secular princes appointed Jews to be their ministers of exaction upon the poor widows and orphans who were despoiled of their inheritance, while the Jews took possession of castles and villas. To correct these evils the Pontiff wrote to the Count of Nevers, saying, "Blasphemers of the Christian name ought not to be cherished by Christian princes for the oppression of the Lord's servants."¶ Nevertheless, he judged it necessary to mitigate the decree of the Lateran Council against usurers, on the ground that where there would be much correction required, there should be a relaxation of severity.** By his command,

* Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 81. † Sigonii de Ep. Bonon. liv. iv.
‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 17.
§ Touron, tom. iii. liv. xxii. ‖ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. x. 61. ¶ Epist. Lib. x. 190
** Inn. III. Epist. liv. xi. 62

however, those who undertook to fight for fraternal defence against the cruel enemies of the Church in the south of France were to be absolved by the Jews from their payment of usurious debts, and delivered from further exaction ;* and the same benefit was to be granted to the Crusaders who departed for the Holy Land.† The usurious gains of the Jews are described by Peter the Venerable.‡

Hear now Barabas speaks of himself in Marlowe's tragedy of the Jews of Malta.

> " Then after that was I an usurer,
> And with extorting, cozening, forfeiting,
> And tricks belonging unto brokery,
> I fill'd the jails with bankrupts in a year,
> And with young orphans planted hospitals ;
> And every moon made some or other mad ;
> And now and then one hung himself for grief,
> Pinning upon his breast a long, great scroll
> How I with interest tormented him.
> But mark how I am blest for plaguing them :
> I have as much coin as will buy the town.
> I have been zealous in the Jewish faith,
> Hardhearted to the poor, a covetous wretch,
> That would, for lucre's sake, have sold my soul.
> A hundred for a hundred I have ta'en ;
> And now for store of wealth may I compare
> With all the Jews in Malta "

If you will believe the ancient historians, this is not an exaggerated picture. " The first Jew that came to fix his residence in Nola," says Ambrose Leo, in his account of that city, " was Vilielmus, a surgeon and physician, who arrived there in 1440. Our old people say that he was then a poor man in tattered raiment, only rags stitched together ; and that when it was known a Jew had arrived, the whole city was moved, and the inhabitants went about looking for him, as if they expected to see one of those who had fixed our Lord Jesus on the cross. He had not been long there, when others of his tribe arrived, and, by degrees, as many as twenty houses were occupied by Jews. The usury they practised was so great, that the interest used to equal the principle in a short time : they acquired all sorts of precious objects of art in this manner, and became possessed of immense riches. Vilielmus, now an old man, purchased great houses in the Via Vincanciana, and a farm at the Tower Martiana. But they inhabited Nola only seventy years ; for in 1509, they were expelled from all Campania and Calabria. "§ The statute of St. Louis, concerning the Jews, declares that for the salvation of his soul, and for that of his father, King Lewis, he has decreed. with

* Id. 158, 159. † Id. liv. xi. 185. ‡ Epist. Lib. iv. 36. Bibliothec. Cluniac.
§ Ambros. Leonis de Nola, liv. iii. c. iv. in Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.

the common council of his barons, that they will in future contract no debts with the Jews, and that those already contracted shall be paid off at three specified periods.* Philippe de Valois banished the Jews from France, to get rid of his own debt, which, in a very short time, mounted from 400,000 francs to two millions. In the thirteenth century, they had obtained enormous riches, by the exercise of a most shameless traffic, impoverishing the Christians, and encouraging sacrilegious persons, as in times of less ancient date, only their measures were then conducted in secret, and not under the sanction of governments, by means of mercenary armies. Peter the Venerable relates, that they used to encourage persons to steal for them the precious and sacred vessels and ornaments of the churches. in order that they might apply them to the basest purposes.

Jews on their conversion, have confessed that they used to employ their Christian servants, whom they had perverted, to bring secretly from the Church the blessed Eucharist.† Relying on the protection of the secular princes, whose hearts they seduced by gifts, the Jews, in the thirteenth century, treated the Christian people with scorn and defiance. By command of the princes, the butchers used to deliver their animals to be killed by the Jews, according to their rite, giving them the first choice of the meat, and reserving the residue for the Christians. The milk which was sold for nourishing children, was similarly made to pass first through their hands. At the vintage, the Jew, according to his rite, pressed out the purest juice of the grape, which he retained for himself, leaving the rest, as if contaminated, for the faithful, and to serve for the sacrament of the blood of Christ.‡ In the time of Pius V., it was proved that the Jews furnished facility to thieves and robbers, by receiving the goods which they stole; that they used to introduce immorality into families, by tampering with the domestics; and propagate superstition among the people, by pretending to practise magic. By Pius V. they were ordered to leave the ecclesiastical states, with the exception of two cities, and this was deemed an act of necessity; the protection of the people requiring it.§ In Ancona, and in Rome itself, they were permitted to remain in a quarter appropriated to themselves. At Florence, as soon as four mounts of piety were established, with the alms collected after the sermons of Jerome Savonarola, the magistrates banished the Jewish usurers from the city.‖ In France there is a remarkable example of the same policy furnished by Humbert II. in the fourteenth century, the last of the dauphins, and one of the best and most merciful of men, who delivered his subjects from many ancient burdens, and had, at first, after the example of his predecessors, permitted the Jews to exercise their commerce in his states, on condition of their paying him certain subsidies; but experience having convinced him that these leeches would have drained the people by their usuries, he revoked the permission, and abolished

* Ap. Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. tom. v. † Inn. III. Epist, liv. xvi. c. lxxxiv.
‡ Id. Epist. Lib. x. c. cxc. § Hieron. Rubei Hist. Ravenn. liv. xi.
‖ Touron Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iii. 23.

their privileges, preferring to lose the revenue which he drew from them, than suffer the ruin of his subjects.*

The laws of the Visigoths against the Jews in Spain were certainly most severe;† and the act of Ferdinand and Isabella, which put an end to their interference in the affairs of that kingdom until within the last three years, was blamed by many contemporary writers; yet it should be remarked, that the communication with the professed Jews, and the pretended Christians, had been proved to be not only injurious to the weak in faith, but also, at that particular moment, highly dangerous to the state. It was in consequence of their maintaining secret intelligence with the Moors, and of their avowed detestation of the Christians, that Thomas de Torquemade advised Ferdinand and Isabella to order all the Jews who would not embrace the faith, to leave Castile and Arragon within four months, granting them permission to dispose of their property, and to carry away with them whatever they possessed; so that, at least, it was a disinterested policy, considering the prodigious quantity of gold and silver, jewels and precious merchandize which they carried with them out of Spain; and, methinks, the vengeance which they are likely to take in our days, is enough to make the most ardent champions of toleration relax a little in their outcry in regard to it.

Whatever may be thought of these acts of government, we ought to recollect, that they were only in conformity with the voice of the people; and that, in later times, where the Catholic religion had been renounced, they were called for still by the people, as measures necessary for their own protection. Among the demands of the Lutheran peasants of the Rhingaw, when they rose in revolt, one was, that lodging should be refused to the Jews, on account of their unworthy usuries.‡ Nevertheless, the conduct of the Church towards the Jews was at all times characterized by the same spirit of wisdom and mercy, furnishing an admirable contrast to that of the secular princes, who were alternately their slaves and their persecutors. As Hurter remarks, the relation of the Israelites with the Christians, amongst whom they lived, was not certainly influenced by that false philanthropy which represents, as synonymous, persecution and the determination to preserve the Christianity of a state; but neither was it deserving of censure, on the ground of intolerance. Pope Innocent III. declared, that Christian piety was bound to admit and sustain the presence of the Jews;§ and that it was well pleasing to God, that the dispersed Jewish people should find a habitation under Christian princes, who, through Judah and Israel, were to be blest.‖ In this spirit, was the constitution of the same pontiff, when the Jews applied to him for protection: in which he said, "Although they persist in their obduracy, since they ask for the assistance of our defence, we, according to the mildness of Christian piety, and following in the steps of our predecessors of happy memory, Calixtus, Eugene,

* Touron Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. xiii.

† Leg. Wisigothorum, Lib. ix. ‡ Gnodalius apud Schardt, Rerum Ger. Script. tom. ii. 142-3.

§ Epist. viii. 21. ‖ Ep. vii. 186.

Alexander, Clement, and Celestin, admit their petition, and grant them the shield of our protection. We decree that no Christian shall constrain them to apply for baptism, or injure either their person or goods, or change the customs of the region which they inhabit, to their prejudice. Let no one insult them in the celebration of their festivals; and to obviate the depravity and avarice of men, we decree, that no one must dare to mutilate or diminish their cemeteries, or ransack their tombs in search of money, under pain of excommunication,"* All persecution against the Jews was foreign to the Church. Innocent II. had shown a most benign disposition towards them, Alexander III. had restrained the passion of the people, and Gregory IX. raised his voice with energy against the violent and cruel deeds of the crusaders against them. All the bishops and doctors of the Church followed in these footsteps. The bishop of Beziers procured the abolition of a barbarous custom to despite the Jews, that had been annually observed; and long before his time, the prelates of Spain, with great applause from the contemporary pope, had come forward to protect the Jews against the violence of kings and people.† Alluding to one persecution directed against them, Trithemius the Benedictine, says, "I know that this displeased greatly the Roman pontiff, a man most Christian; for he knew that the charges against them, of poisoning the wells, were incredible, as supposing a thing impossible; and many thought, that the Christians who moved this persecution were actuated by avarice, and not by piety."‡

Albert of Aix says, that God punished tne first crusaders for the cruelties they exercised upon the Jews. "For God is just," he continues, "and does not wish that force should be used to constrain any one to come to Him." Hear how St. Bernard speaks, on this occasion, in his epistle to the clergy and people of the eastern parts of France:—"Brethren, I admonish you, with the apostle of God, to believe not every spirit. We hear and rejoice that the zeal of God is fervent within you; but it must be according to knowledge. The Jews are not to be persecuted, nor to be slain, nor even to be banished."§ He expresses himself still more strongly in his letter to Henry, archbishop of Mayence, when censuring Radulf for exciting the Christians against the Jews:—"O shameless man, to approve of homicide! Art thou greater than our father Abraham, who laid down the sword at the word of Him who had commanded it to be drawn? Art thou greater than the prince of the apostles, who sought from the Lord, Domine, si percutimus in gladio? But thou art instructed in all the wisdom of the Egyptians; that is, in the wisdom of this world, which is foolishness with God. Otherwise, thou wouldst obey the charge to Peter, Mitte gladium in locum suum. Doth not the Church triumph more abundantly over the Jews day by day, convincing and converting them, than if once for all she were to destroy them with the sword?

* Inn. III. Epist. Lib. II. c. cccii.

† Hurter, Innocenz III. vol. I. book iii. p. 314.

‡ Chronic Hirsaugiens an. 849.

§ Epist. cccIxiii.

Is it in vain that the universal prayer of the Church hath been constituted, which is offered for the perfidious Jews, from the rising to the setting sun—that the Lord God would take away the veil from their hearts, and that they might be turned from their darkness to the light of truth? For unless she hoped that they who were incredulous might be brought to believe, it would be superfluous and vain to pray for them. But she knew that all Israel was to be saved. Art thou the man, then, who is to prove liars all the prophets, and to make void all the treasures of the piety and mercy of Jesus Christ? Thy doctrine is not thine, but it is thy Father's who sent thee. But I believe thou art content to be like thy master, for he was a murderer from the beginning—a liar and the father of lies. O monstrous science! O infernal wisdom! contrary to the prophets, hateful to the apostles, subversive of piety and grace. O most foul heresy! O execrable sacrilege!"*

When the Christians of Clermont destroyed the synagogue of the Jews, in the year 576, on account of their having ill-treated a Jew who had embraced the faith of Christ, St. Avitus, the bishop of that see, interposed, and forbade that violence should be offered to the Jews; and sending legates to them, said, "I seek not to compel you to confess the Son of God, but I will preach and deliver the salt of wisdom to your breasts; for of you the true Shepherd who suffered for us said, that he had other sheep who were not of His fold, whom He must also bring." On the third day, a great number of the Jews sent to inform him that they were desirous of baptism. Great was the joy of the holy bishop and of all the people. On the night of Pentecost, after celebrating vigils, the prelate proceeded to the baptistery without the walls. The wax tapers burned on all sides, and the lustre of lamps shone around. The whole city put on white. The rejoicing was not less than when Jerusalem deserved to see the Holy Ghost descending upon the apostles. The number of the Jews baptized was five hundred.† Such toleration was nothing but the traditionary manners of the episcopacy. When St. Gallus I., who had preceded Avitus in the same see, died, the Jews themselves followed his bier, mourning and carrying lighted torches.‡

Rodulph, abbot of St. Tron, had pursued the same line of conduct towards the Jews; and an ancient writer says, that he frequently had a conference with them, not reproving them and condemning them, but softening the hardness of their hearts by gentleness and mild treatment. Therefore he was so much beloved by them, that even their women used to come to see him and speak with him.§

In like manner, St. Sulpitius, bishop of Bourges in the seventh century, by his gentleness is recorded to have converted all the Jews that were in his diocese. No example, however, is more admirable that that of St. Vincent Ferrier, the Dominican. Whole synagogues are said to have been converted by one of his ser-

* Epist. ccclxv. † Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. 242. ‡ Id. ii. 239.
§ Chronic. Abbatiæ S. Trudonis, Lib. xi. p. 498, apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. vii.

mons. On one occasion, preaching at Tortosa, he begged of the people to receive with kindness the strangers who were coming, and to yield up their best places to them. In a few minutes this company arrived, composed of all the Jews who formed the synagogue in that city; and most of them. before leaving the church, were converted to Christianity.

In the diocese of Valencia, all the Jews, without exception, embraced the Christian religion, in consequence of his sermons; and at Toledo, so few persisted in that belief, that their synagogue was converted into a church. Doubtless his zeal was extraordinary; but can any one convict it of intolerance? At Salamanca, all that he did was to enter their synagogue, holding a cross in his hand, while the Jews were assembled in it, and to entreat them to hear what he had to say. Their astonishment and anger changed to admiration; and the result of that sermon was the baptism of the whole assembly. The synagogue was then changed into a church, which ever after bore the name of the Holy Cross.*

Solicitude for the conversion of the Jews was a remarkable feature in the character of the middle ages. In many churches, as in that of the Magdalen at Paris, it was the custom to offer up public prayers for this object on other days besides Good Friday.†

In conclusion, it is but just to admit that even the civil power was sometimes moved by a sense of piety to protect these unfortunate men. The equity which King Charles V. of France evinced, in not suffering the Jews to be injured by any fraudulent dealing of persons who would give a false pledge, is recorded by Christine de Pisan, among the proofs of his goodness.‡ But it was not alone the Jews who experienced the protection of religion. In general, no class of men were excluded from the mild forbearance of the Church. It is expressly related of many holy prelates, like St. William, archbishop of Bourges, that with respect to penitents and great sinners, they would never have recourse to the punishments of the civil power which might then be inflicted on them. "The ecclesiastical judge," saith the universal doctor, "ought to punish no one with a corporal pain; but, on the contrary, he should intercede with the secular judge for those who are condemned."§ Continually did the Church interpose to stay the temporal sword, and to remind the civil government that some of its laws were inconsistent with the whole spirit of the Christian religion, repeating the words addressed by St. Augustin to a judge, "Noli usque ad mortem, ne cum persequaris peccatum perdas hominem. Noli usque ad mortem, ut sit quem pœniteat."‖

Joseph Ciantes, a Dominican, on being appointed to the see of Marsico, a city at the foot of the Apennines, in the kingdom of Naples, found that a scandalous division had existed during the pontificate of four of his predecessors, on the part

* Touron, Hist. des. Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. xvii.
† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, ii. l, chap. xi.
‡ Livre des Fais du Sage Roy, chap. xxiii.
§ Alant de Insulis contra Waldenses, c. 22. ‖ Serm. XIII.

of the people and clergy of Saponara, who refused to admit the jurisdiction of those prelates. Having cited the revolt before the tribunal of the Rota at Rome, he obtained a sentence against them; to the justice of which tribunal in general we have the testimony of a no less inveterate adversary that Luther, who says, "Nothing deserves praise at Rome but the consistory and the court of the Rota, where affairs are conducted and judged with great justice."* When urged, however, to execute this sentence, and told that the King of Spain would send troops to enforce it and compel the refractory to submit, the bishop refused absolutely, saying, "No, I am not the vicar of the charity of Jesus Christ, to make sinners perish, but to labor to render them good." His next step was to order public prayers; and then, on a day secretly fixed, with the lively faith of one who hopes all from Jesus Christ, he set out at the head of his clergy, and followed by a multitude of the faithful in fervent supplication. Upon arriving near Saponara, the inhabitants received information of his coming, and hastily closing their gates, armed themselves as if about to sustain a siege. All the inhabitants, men and women, laity and clergy, mounted on the walls. The most violent even threatened to fire upon the prelate if he should continue to advance. Every kind of insulting cry assailed his ears. Nevertheless, this was the moment ordained by Divine Providence for putting an end for ever to these long contestations. Clothed is his pontifical habits, and seated on the trunk of a tree opposite the gate, the apostolic man made a sign to beg that the people would only hear him speak; then, with the Holy Bible in his hand, he began with the words of Jesus Christ: "And if they receive you not, shake off the dust from your feet. Verily I say unto you, it will be more tolerable for Sodom and Gomorrah in the day of judgment, than for that city."

The discourse of the prelate, or rather the word of God on his tongue, struck the hearts of the multitude with astonishment; but when, in conclusion, he actually began to obey the precept, to shake off the dust from his feet, and to turn his back as if departing, in an instant the air resounded with sighs and groans, and supplications. There was, even at that moment, some danger lest the revolted ecclesiastics might be hurled headlong from the top of the walls. The hostile arms instantly disappear—the gates are thrown open, and the people in multitudes press forward to prostrate themselves at the bishop's feet. "We are your sheep," was then the voice heard on every side;—"you are our pastor—treat us as a father, have pity on us, pray the great God to forgive us, enter our city, and dispose of every thing as it seemeth good to you." The gracious words and the sweet seraphic looks of the holy prelate completed this wonderful transformation. He entered the city, took the necessary steps for effecting the required reforms, and on his departure pronounced the solemn benediction. The termination of this disorder was hardly credited at Rome for some time; and Fontana says, that those who were present could scarcely believe what they saw with their own eyes.†

* Michelet. Mem. de Luth. ii.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. v liv. 37.

Such, then, was the spirit and practice of the Church. But it was not so easy to lead the temporal government to the same conclusion, and to make it co-operate with "the Catholic mildness" of an Avitus and an Augustin. In the middle ages, the purity of the religious doctrine and respect for the ecclesiastical authority were generally known and felt by those who possessed wisdom of government, to be the elements of the happiness and grandeur of a nation, as also of the social order and public tranquillity. Hence the suppression of heresy was deemed a matter of importance, and, independent of every other consideration, an object to secure which all the energies of magistrates were to be employed. Accordingly, in 1551, when heresy assumed such a formidable political aspect in France, the civil power complained of the slowness of the ecclesiastical proceedings against it; and Henry II., fearing, as Daniel says, that he would not find in the ecclesiastical tribunals as much rigor and severity as he wished in an affair of this importance, gave cognizance of it to the parliament, and even to the presidents, whose judges, to the number of ten, decided upon all these causes without appeal. Now it is to the political and selfish policy of these rulers, that the adversaries of the Catholic religion are indebted for the acts and measures which supply them with such abundant matter for declamation, whenever they have occasion to excite the minds of the ignorant against it.

Catherine de Medicis, the prime mover of the massacre, on the day of St. Bartholomew, was personally disposed to favor and adopt the Protestant opinions; and it was only as members of a political party that she wished to destroy those who employed them in opposition to the government. It was she who provoked the conference at Poissy, against the remonstrance of the bishops, who represented the danger of public disputations against faith; and she wrote to the pope on this occasion, stating that it was necessary to favor the Calvinists, and desiring him not to cut off from the communion of the Church those "who held fundamental points, and only doubted of things indifferent:" such, she added, as the use of images, which she herself considered to be forbidden in Scripture; —certain ceremonies at baptism—the confining communion to one kind; and she conceived "that the giving both species was more conformable to Scripture" than what had been decided by the councils. She desired, also, that the fête of Corpus Christi and the processions might be suppressed, that the divine service should be in the vulgar tongue, and that all masses should be abolished at which the priest alone communicated. Could the Church be answerable for such a person?

It was the current error of the day, broached by the pseudo-reformers—it was a diabolic superstition combined with it—not Rome, and her holy and merciful influence, which formed the mind of Catherine; and as for those who worked in the massacre, L'Estoil says, "Not one of these bravos believed in a God."*

However, there is no need to exaggerate horrors. It appears that the story of

* Vide S. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. 74.

the king's couriers to the provinces, to extend the massacre, is a fabrication, as is consequently the reply of the Viscount d'Ortez, governor of Bayonne.* Rome heard of the massacre only in these words from the king; "that he had just succeeded in defeating a horrible conspiracy which had threatened his life, and that of all his family;" which was an intelligence that could have surprised no one, since Pius V. had written long before to warn him that a revolt was preparing, that troops were raising for the purpose in Germany, and that the Queen of England had promised to send both money and soldiers. No measures, however, had been taken to prepare against the danger; and, in consequence, the whole kingdom was filled with blood and desolation. When the king's messengers arrived, therefore, leaving the true event enveloped in mystery, it was but just that public rejoicings, as a measure of political courtesy in a friendly state—to say nothing of any natural and laudable sympathy—should be ordered in consequence. Nor did the evil terminate in this perversion of rulers and statesmen; for the policy of making religion a mere instrument of ambition, while heresy, as an opinion, was in reality favored, soon found partisans among the noble and great families of Europe, not even the Montmorencies forming an exception. Nevertheless, it would be great injustice not to remark a distinction between the maxims and conduct of civil government in the middle ages, before the rise of the Machiavellian principles and those of later times, subsequent to their general diffusion. The zeal of religious princes in ages of faith, and the love they bore their people, may have required refinement where spirits are made pure; yet were they free, at least, from all base mixture of personal or political interest. The Emperor Rupert, on being elected king of the Romans, visited the different cities of the empire, came to Spires, and a number of proscribed persons with him, according to the custom of Germany, which permitted banished men to enter the cities from which they had been expelled, as part of his train; on which occasion the emperor used to hear their different cases, and decide upon them. At this time a citizen of high condition was welcomed by the principal men and a crowd of relations, who greatly desired his return: but when the emperor heard that he had been banished for blaspheming God, he gave judgment that he, on the contrary, should remain in exile while all the others received full pardon.† This was certainly the spirit of heroic rulers in the middle ages, when the cords to punish sinners were drawn by Charity's correcting hand.

It is quite a modern discovery, due to the new principles of civilization, that a country may justly be invaded by other states, and its king forcibly dethroned by them, to vindicate some wretch who had been punished according to law for an infamous outrage, too atrocious to be described, for which he would have been, even in these other states perhaps, torn in pieces on the spot by the people, had he offended before them in a similar manner. Portugal has therefore, in our times,

* Vide S. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. 196. † Drexelius de Vitiis Linguæ, cap. vi.

experienced a fate unprecedented in the annals of the world, and which in no former age men could have conceived to be among the accidents of human things.

Plato decreed that for sacrilege men should be burnt on the forehead and hands, scourged, and banished from the state; and certainly the Christian Church could not have been furnished with a satisfactory reply to such rulers as wished to preserve the minds of their people from being corrupted, and the safety of human life undermined by an outrage against religion, and who should have been told by her that no open and prodigious violation of the reverence due to God ought to be visited with chastisement from those who were expressly styled in Scripture the ministers of God, bearing not the sword in vain.

Modern poets might have been spared much painful excitement, if some charitable instructor had informed them that they were totally in error as to the grounds on which such penalties were awarded. Alanus de Insulis remarks that for sacrilege men are punished temporally, not as having sinned against God but as having sinned against men, for the correction and warning of others.*

The old poet of the Gentiles said, "The evil, because they hate the good, are evil; and the good, because they hate the evil, are good: therefore those who always hated the evil must be good."† This was not exactly the conclusion that Christian philosophy would permit men to draw; nor were the premises expressed in conformity with the Catholic distinction already remarked; according to which as St. Augustin and St. Thomas say, men were to hate the sin and love the sinner. But certainly the converse of this maxim would never have been admitted in the ages of mercy and faith,—that the good, because they are indifferent to evil, and permit men to propagate evil among those who had been before good, were good; and that, therefore, those princes were good and truly merciful who had always shown indifference, or perhaps favor, to the evil.

The rule was for all men, without admitting of any dispensation for princes. Qui non est mecum, contra me est: et qui non colligit mecum, dispergit. How could any system, resembling what is now so falsely termed liberal, be advocated by men who believed that the above sentence had been pronounced by the mouth of God? It was not merely the judgment of rulers, it was the conviction of the people, that Catholic princes were bound, as St. Augustin shows, to take measure to protect the faithful from the infection of heretics, ‡ and to repress such evil, excepting when a greater danger would attend these measures than that which they were designed to obviate. § The abbot Eanulf, contemporary of St. Boniface, writing to Charles, king of the Franks, expressly reasons on this principle, and says, that it is for this end the omnipotent God raises up good rulers, that prelates, by their assistance, may be enabled to exercise their functions, which is now manifest. he adds, "in the nation of the Franes, over whom your glory is

* Alani de Insulis contra Waldenses, c. 22 † Plautus, Pseudol. Prolog
‡ Tract. xi. in Joan. § Joan. Devoti Instit. Canon. Lib. iv. tit. vi.

made to preside, that by the goods entrusted to you, the subjects of your nation may attain to eternal benefits. Therefore, O glorious king, be solicitous to exercise well that grace which has been given to you from above: hasten to extend the Christian faith in the people subject to you, that the temples of the heathen may be overthrown, and that your example and power may have influence to assist the conversion of men, that you may obtain a recompense in heaven from Him, whose name and honor you have sought to magnify among the nations of the earth."*

The Church herself was bound to act with justice and prudence, as well as with mercy. "Times, and the different state of seasons, are to be weighed, which change the merit of causes," says Petrus Cellensis; "for in the primitive Church patience alone was to find place, which was to give the cloak also to him that would take away the tunic; for it was one without the Church who persecuted, and it was one within who suffered; but now that the Church is adult, it is not lawful for her sons to do what her enemies may have done lawfully. For it becomes a mother to correct her son, as it becomes a pupil to endure an adversary."† Of the toleration which springs from indifference to religion, and which is found quite compatible with an odious and insidious persecution, Manes was the first author, as may be seen in St. Epiphanius.‡ Calculating all the advantages which can possibly be ascribed to such a system, one finds much greater danger and evil to the people with whom it exists, than would result from a religious tolerance, which endeavors to repress scandals that tend to undermine all religion, and all virtue among mankind; for so far, at least, the maxims of Æschylus may be admitted. It is good to make men respect the good by fear.

Ξυμφέρει
σωφρονεῖν ὑπὸ στένει.§

"I will utter a short sentence," says that wise poet:—"Insolence is the true child of impiety; but from the health of minds proceeds happiness, which is dear to all.‖ Do not, therefore, expel all severity of punishment from the city; for what mortal, who fears nothing, will be just?" Alas! with what certainty might we add, or what mortal, who fears nothing, will suffer others to serve God in justice and peace?

καὶ μὴ τὸ δεινὸν πᾶν πόλεως ἔξω βαλεῖν
τίς γὰρ δεδοικὼς μηδὲν ἔνδικος βροτῶν;¶

The crusades, and the religious orders of knighthood which conducted them, have been represented by many modern historians as furnishing evidence of the intolerance of the middle ages; and the inconsistency of propagating religion by the sword has been clearly and eloquently shown; though, had these writers spent more time in consulting the original sources, they would never have supposed that

* S. Bonifac. Epist. lxxxii. † Petri Cellens. Epist. Lib. i. 10. ‡ Hæres. Sæcul. iii. n 66.
§ Eumenid. 520. ‖ id. 534. ¶ Id. 698.

there was anything in their argument to which the men of former ages would not have given a cordial assent. Every intelligent person, at the present day, is aware, that the writers of the last century took a false view of these events, and that the wars against the Mahometans in Palestine, in Spain, and in the south of France were justifiable on the principle of self-defence, which was always that on which they received sanction. It is on this ground alone, that St. Bernard justifies them in his epistle to the clergy and people of the eastern parts of France.

"As we must be content to wait," he says, "for the salvation of the Jews, so should we also endure the Gentiles, and not go forth to attack them with arms; but now, since they begin to be violent against us, it is fitting that those who bear not the sword in vain should, by force, repel force."* That Christians may sometimes strike with the sword, appears to him proved by our Lord's answer to the soldiers; and then he asks, on what occasion can it be more lawful than in defence of Sion, and of the just generation guarding truth, that the nations which desire war may be dispersed, and those who disturb the city of God cut off, in fulfilment of that ancient promise, "Ponam te in superbiam sæculorum;" and "in Jerusalem consolabimini," provided the literal sense be not permitted to impair the spiritual, or make men forget that celestial city, of which the earthly Sion is but the figure?† All the zealous advocates who wrote to instigate the chivalry of Europe to engagé in the crusade, were evidently under the impression that Christendom was exposed to imminent danger of being overrun by infidels, and of seeing the cross superseded by the symbol of the false prophet. Was it imaginary terror, when, even in Italy, cities had fallen into their hands? The monk Nicholas, from whose work, entitled "The Great Voyage to Jerusalem," I have so often had occasion to cite passages, when calling upon the Christians of the west to bear assistance against the persecutors of Christ, had this idea uppermost in his mind, which might be urged in his excuse for many violent and unguarded expressions; yet, even amidst all this intemperance, he concludes with these words:—"Certain it is, that we ought not to slay them; but since they are incessantly devising means to massacre and destroy us, it is better to attack them; for one ought not to permit the rod of the wicked to reign over the good, since that would be only to arm the hands of iniquity against the just."‡ "How," asks Innocent III., "can any man, according to the divine precept, love his neighbor as himself, who knows that his brethren, in faith and name Christians, are confined in the direful dungeons of the perfidious Sarassins, and bowed under the yoke of most grievous slavery, and yet does not make efforts to deliver them, going farther than the precept of the natural law, and, as the Lord commandeth, doing to others what they wish others should do to them? Are you not aware, that with them there are many thousand Christians in servitude and prisons, who are cruci-

* Epist. ccclxiii. † Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 8.

‡ Le Grand Voyage à Hierusalem, f. cx.

fied with innumerable torments? "* Do not these considerations furnish a satisfactory explanation, to account for that trunk of the holy land placed in every Church of Christendom, by order of Innocent, of which the bishop, the rector, and a devout layman, had each a key? Do they not explain why the holy mass was solemnly sung once every week with that intention; why, at every mass, the prayer was said of Deus venerunt gentes; † and why, every month, there was a general procession of men and women, in humility of mind and body, with devout prayer, imploring the mercy of Almighty God?‡ And is it reasonable to charge the chivalry of Europe with being intolerant and cruel, because it responded to this voice? Must we exclude from the fellowship of the blessed merciful Geoffroy de Villehardouin, the Marechal of Champagne, and his five noble companions, because having been deputed to repair to Venice, to implore ships to convey the crusaders to Palestine, at the direction of the doge Dandolo, they, on presenting themselves, fell upon their knees before the assembled people, declaring, that they would not rise till the republic had consented to take pity upon the holy land? Did such fervor indicate cruelty? Or is it by bringing a general charge of intolerance against the middle ages, that one can explain this great movement of the people? Pope Innocent III. wrote to the sultan of Damascus and Babylon, and wishing to imitate him who says of himself, "Discite a me, quia mitis sum et humilis corde," humbly besought his greatness that, by his violent detention of Jerusalem, no more human blood might be shed than had already been shed, and following a sounder counsel that he would restore it to the Christians, considering, that from its detention, besides vain glory, more, perhaps, of difficulty than of utility results to him;" adding, "let afterwards the captives of both sides be delivered, and let us rest, in future, from all mutual offence, in such a manner, that the men of our race may not be in a worse condition with you, than those of yours are with us."§

In fact, the communications between the pontiff and the infidels who remained amidst the Christians, had been always of a most friendly nature. In his letter to the nobles, and other inhabitants of Sicily, denouncing the guilt of the tyrant Marconaldus, whose cause was espoused by the Sarassins of the island, and exhorting them not to suffer the faithful to be oppressed by infidels, he adds these words, "for although we wish to love and favor the Sarassins, and augment the good customs which regard them, if they remain loyal to the legitimate king, yet we do not wish, nor ought we to suffer, that they should effect the ruin of the kingdom along with Marconaldus;"‖ and in the letter which he addressed to all the Sarassins in Sicily, he reminds them, that it is from the enemy of the Holy See that they have reason to fear, saying, "for we wish you to consider, and hold for certain, that if his eye spareth not the Christians, whose priests he casteth into the

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. c. 28.
† Gesta Inn. III. 84.
‡ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. c. 28.
§ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. 37.
‖ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. ii. 221.

sea, he will not spare the Sarassins, against whom he will rage with so much the greater freedom, as he believes that he could do God service by shedding the blood of Pagans. We exhort you, therefore, to imitate the constancy of your ancestors, and not to be ungrateful for the benefits which you have received from the kings of Sicily, considering, also, the mildness of the apostolic see, which not only wishes to protect you in good customs, but also to increase its favor to you."* With respect to the men who took up arms in this cause, there has, in modern times, been a great diversity of opinion; but I believe that the ancient and contemporary writers knew them better than the authors of the present day. "O, what utility," exclaims Pope Innocent III., "hath already resulted from this cause! How many converted to penitence have engaged in the service of Christ, for the deliverance of the holy land, and, as if by the agony of martyrdom, have obtained a crown of glory, who, perhaps, would otherwise have persisted in their iniquities, tangled in the net of carnal pleasures, and worldly delights. This is the ancient artifice of Jesus Christ, which, for the salvation of his people, he hath been pleased to renew in these days."†

Accordingly, amongst other secret and inscrutable causes of the invasion and detention of the eastern land, he says, "that the Lord, perhaps, in his mercy permitted it, from foreseeing that many leaving their parents and friends, and all that they had, following Christ under the banner of the cross, would be crowned with martyrdom in the defence of that land, so that the triumphant Church would receive joy and increase in heaven, whence the militant would seem to suffer grief and diminution on earth." ‡ Assuredly, in innumerable instances, it was the charity of Christ which urged the steps of the Red Cross Knight and Pilgrim to the holy land. He was a devoted man, whose armor conscience buckled on; whom charity and compassion brought to the field as God's own soldier. The Italian poet represents Godfroy, of Bouillon, as expressing the sentiments which really did animate these Paladins, when he declares, that the deliverance of the Christians was the sole object of his enterprise.—

"But not for this our homes we first forsook,
And from our native soil have march'd so far,
Nor us to dangerous seas have we betook,
Expos'd to hazard of so far-sought war,
Of glory vain to gain an idle smook,
And lands possess'd, that wild and barbarous are:
That for our conquests were too mean a prey
To shed our blood, to work our soul's decay.
But this the scope was of our former thought,
Of Sion's fort to scale the noble wall
The Christian folk from bondage to have brought,
Wherein, alas! they long have lived thrall.

* Id. Lib. ii. 226. † Epist. Lib. xvi. 28 ‡ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. ii. 211

In Palestine, an empire to have wrought,
Where holiness might reign perpetual,
And none be left, that pilgrims might denay
To see Christ's tomb, and promis'd vows to pay." *

The wars of the Spaniards, also, against the Moors, under the sanction of the Church, have been especially condemned by modern political and moral writers, as indicating cruelty and intolerance; though it will be hard for any dispassionate historian, after an investigation of the facts, to sanction such a sentence: for, in the first place, as in the case of the other crusades, it was a war in self-defence; in which, not alone Spain, but the whole of Christendom was interested. Pope Innocent III., in his letter to the archbishops of Toledo and Compostello, charging them to make peace between the kings of Spain, in order that they may render each other a mutual assistance against the Sarassins, adds these words, "who not only aspire to the destruction of Spain, but threaten also to exercise their cruelty in other countries of the faithful of Christ, and, what heaven avert, to oppress the Christian name."† How grateful to this illustrious pontiff must have been the noble and affecting letter of Alphonso, king of Castile, some time afterwards, relating the great victory of the Navas de Tolosa, in which he says, there was nothing to lament, but the smaller number of martyrs who, from such an army, passed to Christ.‡ The war was necessary. It was waged by men whose whole trust was in the mercy of that God who they well knew would bless none but the merciful, and who advanced to battle, having the figure of the Lord's cross preceding them, and on their banner wrought the image of the blessed Virgin and her Child; that, beholding the ignominy suffered by the image of that Mother, which was pierced with stones and arrows, they might resolve to die with constancy for the faith of Christ.§ King James I. of Arragon, on death-bed laid, spoke to his son Peter as follows:—"Be sure always to bear three things in mind; in the first place, to fear God with all your soul, and commit yourself wholly to Him;—secondly, to preserve your people in concord and duty;—thirdly, to keep peace and fraternal union with your brother James." Then, going on to speak of the wars against the Moors, he advised him to expel them from his dominions by force of arms, because they were the perpetual and intestine enemies of the Christians, so that they never could be prevailed upon to remain at peace with Christians, and never could be moved, either by prayers or humanity, to be faithful to Christ.‖

"Those who hate all wars," says an ancient Spanish historian, "should yet consider that there were near causes which did not suffer the Spanish people to remain inactive any longer; for, in the first place, by external nations we used to be reproached that we had not only enemies constantly in our sight before our

* Book i. 22. † Epist. Inn. iii. Lib. xv. 15. ‡ Roder. Tolet. Lib. vii. c. 12.
§ Ib. Lib. vii. c. 10 ‖ Bernardini Gomesii, Lib. xx.

eyes, but that we could hardly support their repeated and unprovoked injuries. For who is so remote or ignorant of our affairs as not to know what a depopulation of our lands, what a carrying away of our flocks and herds, with their pastors, what attacks upon our villages and castles, were practised by these most cruel enemies? Moreover, every day they grew stronger, and threatened more stoutly, that it seemed as if at last we were not to have any share in Spanish things. At length, what rendered this war unavoidable, Hali Abenhazen, King of the Moors, hearing that we were greatly occupied with other matters, and finding that the castle of Zaharam was more negligently guarded, took occasion to surprise it by night, killing the commander and his men against all law and justice and treaty, leading away in triumph men, women, and children with flocks and herds. Who, then, can blame the Spanish Princes for resolving to make war against the Moors of Grenada?"* Let it be imagined that a tribe differing in race, religion, laws, government, and manners, had been introduced by force into any of these nations of the north, which now boast of having views more enlightened, tolerant, and merciful, than those old Spanish kings: can any one doubt, excepting on the ground of a total loss of national energy, whether, under the continued pressure of the original violence, they would consider it fitting to endeavor to drive them from their soil? Why, then, are we to condemn the Catholic Spaniards for vindicating their country; or does the mere fact, that they beheld the Church and the Christian faith trampled upon, and exposed to daily perils and outrages, suffice to render their patriotism nothing but cruelty and religious intolerance? Deep and holy indeed were the emotions inspired by the deliverance of their ancient cities from what the writers of the middle ages term "the detestable folly of the Sarazin;" and full of noble inspirations were the heroic deeds which, in connection with that protracted struggle, were enshrined in all their hearts.

On one of the pillars of the cathedral of Cordova, of dark grey jasper, is a large rude cross called, "la cruz del cantivo," and held in great reverence. "A captive Christian," says the legend, "was by the Moors chained to this pillar, and forced to behold the horrors of their superstition, and the mockery of the holy faith; but he scratched with his nails the cross on the hard stone, as if taking possession of the temple of the false prophet, in the name of the holy Saviour. Shortly afterwards the prisoner would have received the crown of martyrdom; but that, in a few days King St. Ferdinand took the city, which had been the seat of the Moorish empire since the year 718, and changed the mosque of the unbelievers into the cathedral of the new bishopric of Cordova. On this memorable day the angels of mercy were amidst the conquering army, to moderate the ardor of the soldiers, to protect the women, to preach the Gospel to the Moorish prisoners, and to break the chains of the Christian captives. These were the works to which

* Œlii Antoni Nebrissensis, Rerum Hispanarum Historici, Decad. II. Lib. i. c. 1.

St. Peter Gonçalez then devoted himself."* Let it be remembered, at the same time, with what benignity and mercy the Catholic society of Spain had always treated individually the Moors; how it respected their learned men, loved their minstrels, and received with honor and liberality the ambassadors of their kings. The Arabic knights were received without distinction, on the ground of their infidelity, at the courts of the Christian princes of Spain and Sicily. The Arabic philosophers were entertained in the palaces of many Christian kings. Edrissi lived at the court of the Norman Roger, and the sons of Averroës at that of Frederick Barbarossa. Sometimes even we find them in offices of honor, in the same manner as in earlier ages, when Macrobius, though a Pagan, held a high official dignity under the Christian emperor Theodosius the younger.

The institution of the Teutonic Knights is another subject of offence to the same description of observers; and yet, if we study their history, we shall find not only that the original object of their establishment was simply the protection of the Christians from the Pagans of the north, who were in the habit of making the most ferocious inroads on the newly converted nations; but also that their conduct towards the nations whom they subdued was in conformity with the tenderest mercy and toleration; so that peace and charity, and all offices of love, soon succeeded to the storm of war, whenever they had been obliged to have recourse to it. The plan was first formed by Bishop Albert, in the year 1199, of founding an order of Christian Knights, to protect the infant Church in Prussia from the repeated invasions of the heathens of the north, and it was approved of by Pope Innocent III. † If we are afflicted at hearing of Henry of Poland, and blessed Ambrose of Sienna, preaching a crusade against the Pagans of those regions, we should remember that these barbarians were continually falling upon the Christian communities, burning the towns, and putting all to the sword who were unable to resist them.‡

Pope Innocent III. in his Epistle to all the faithful of Christ in Saxony and Westphalia, makes known to them the numerous conversions made by the bishop of Livonia in that region, and relates how the enemy of men, through envy, has raised a persecution of the Pagans against these new Christians, and inspired the worshippers of brutes, and trees, and waters, and unclean spirits, with a resolution to destroy them from the earth, and abolish the memory of the Christian name. Lest, therefore, it should be imputed to his negligence, if those who already believe should be compelled to go back, or those who desire to embrace our faith should be discouraged and prevented from doing so, the Pontiff admonishes and exhorts them to take measures for obliging the Pagans, who surrounded the Livonian Church, to make a treaty, and to observe it, and promises the protection of St. Peter to all who repair thither, to defend the Christians in the name of

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord S. Dom. i. † Voight Geschichte Preussens, i. 6
‡ Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. liv. 3.

God.* Nor was the evil confided to that infant Church. Against the formidable incursions of the Tartars from the north, the Teutonic Knights furnished a most important assistance to Europe; and the pope, in a bull, soliciting aid for them, says, that they are frequently in want of the necessaries of life, while under a continued expectation of martyrdom.†

The Sovereign Pontiffs, Alexander IV. and Urban IV., not content with ordering fasts and processions, raised their voice to warn the princes and people of Christendom of the necessity of resisting these formidable hordes, whose vast projects and rapid conquests seemed to threaten the whole Christian world. Certainly, before men condemn the institution and conduct of the Teutonic Knights, they should consider what was the situation of the Christian society in the north. No pen could describe the barbarous rage of the Pagans, who used to lay waste and burn the lands and towns of the Christians with an insatiable fury. "The Lithuanians," says the old historian, "accordingly to their error, proposed to sacrifice a Christian to their gods. The lot fell upon the commander Marguard Von Raschan. They bound him to his horse, while still bleeding from his wounds, and then committed both to the flames."‡ So convinced indeed at the time were all European nations of the real character of this warfare, that nobles and princes from the most distant countries, Scotland, England, and France, used to repair to Prussia, to assist the Teutonic Order. "The table of honor" was then instituted, to entertain them before setting out on an expedition, as also after its termination. In 1390, Henry, Count of Derby, the Duke John of Lancaster's eldest son, who afterwards succeeded to the crown of England as Henry IV. came to Dantzig with 300 attendants. Out of France, on the same occasion, came the renowned knight Boucicaut, whose tragic fate furnishes so memorable a page in history.§

With respect to the internal administration, one cannot read the admonitions addressed to these rulers by Pope Innocent III. without feeling convinced that its general character was mercy and liberality. That Pontiff reminds the dukes and nobles of Poland and Pomerania, that although, as the Apostle saith, "it is impossible without faith to please God, yet that faith alone is not sufficient for that end, but that charity, above all, is necessary; without which, faith will profit nothing." He remarks to them, that as this is to be exercised towards all men, and extended also to enemies, so towards those who have been lately drawn from the error of the Gentiles to the knowledge of truth, it should be exercised with so much the more fervor, as they might be more easily inclined to look back, if treated with inhumanity. Reports have reached the pontiff of deeds which seem to proclaim that they require to be reminded of this truth. Therefore, he beseeches and exhorts them in the Lord, and commands them by apostolic rescript, in

* Epist. Inn. III. liv. ii. 191.
† Voight, iii. 151.
‡ Voight Geschichte Preussens, v
§ Id. v. 541.

the name of him who came to save what was lost, and to give his soul a ransom for many, not to oppress the children of this new plantation, but to act towards them with so much the more clemency, as the weak might be in danger of falling back to their former conversation, since old bottles can scarcely contain new wine. And he gives charge to the Archbishop of Gnesne to cherish this people benignantly, for the sake of God ; to defend them from all molestation and burdens, and to restrain their oppressors by ecclesiastical censure."* Again at the suggestion of the Abbot Nicholas, and several bishops, he writes to the soldiers of Christ in Livonia, warning them against throwing an impediment in the way of these apostolic men, by seeking to increase their possessions, rather than to defend the faithful ; reminding them, that the kingdom of God is not lands and towns, but peace and justice and joy in the Holy Ghost ; and declaring that they shall be deprived of all privileges granted by the apostolic authority, if any clamor against them, arising from their cupidity, should ever again rise to the Holy See. †

After a review, however, of the conduct of this renowned order, from the commencement, towards the people with whom they were coufronted, the impartial historian arrives at the conclusion that no charge of intolerance can be substantiated generally against them. "Not with the sword alone," says the historian of Prussia, " but also with the cross of Christ, the emblems of Christian charity and redemption, of Christian pity and tenderness, with the holy symbols of faith and the love of Christ, was the order introduced into the land ; and the sublime end of those emblems and these duties was never forgotten, or suffered to perish in the minds of the brethren of the order." Not as lords, but as fathers, and brothers, as an old chronicle declares, did they show themselves to the poor, and to the higher classes, inviting the new Christians to hospitality, taking part in their entertainments, receiving with compassion poor and sick Prussians into their hospitals, taking care of the widows and orphans, whose husbands, and fathers had fallen in the wars, and sending boys and young men of talent to be educated in Germany, especially to the school of Magdeburg, to qualify them to be Christian teachers on their return.‡

What but mercy in its most exalted sense, could have induced the inhabitants of these exposed frontiers, at times of imminent peril, when they were witnessing the slaughter of so many of their helpless fellow Christians, to suffer as many of their prisoners as expressed a desire for instruction, to be received into the houses of the religious ? In 1241, the Tartars, on their advance to Breslau, had put to the edge of the sword all whom they met, sparing neither women nor children, not even the sick or the dying ; yet we read, in the annals of the monastery of St. Adelbert, that when the city of Breslau was miraculously delivered from falling

* Epist. tom. iii. liv. xv. 148.

† Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. 128.

‡ Ib. 293. Voight Geschichte Preussens, ii. 291

into their hands, by the prayers of St. Ceslas, that holy man received into his order a great number of the prisoners, who evinced a desire to abandon idolatry and to be instructed in the mysteries of the Christian faith. At all times the Teutonic Knights, according to the testimony of the old historian, treated the converted Prussians with the utmost mercy and kindness. Nothing was changed that could be tolerated in a Christian community. The noble was respected as noble, and the ignoble protected in all his privileges, and every thing conducted according to the ancient custom. It is true, if any ignoble person proved himself singularly faithful and useful to the brethren, him they ennobled and exalted; while, on the other hand, eminent acts of malice caused the unfaithful to forfeit their nobility; so that many, born of rustic parents, became possessed of privileges and liberties, their posterity ranking with nobility; while conversely, as Duburg says, many neophites in Prussia, whose ancestors were noble, came to be esteemed ignoble, on account of the malice which those ancestors had evinced against the faith and people of Christ. But Voight concludes, from a general review of the whole state and territorial administration of Prussia by the Teutonic Knights, that the people were governed under them in a much milder and more tolerant manner than is generally at present supposed.* If we recur to more distant times, and examine the wars against the Saxons, we shall be constrained to arrive at the conclusion of Guizot, who admits, that in pursuing those savage enemies, Charlemagne only obeyed the great necessity of repressing the constant invasion of the barbarians. Still, undoubtedly, instances there were of intolerance in this society of fervent and heroic men. Bigotry, alas, is a besetting sin of our nature, and too often it has been the attendant of religious zeal; but, as a great English philosopher remarks in a recent work, "it is perhaps most bitter and unsparing when found with the irreligious:" to which truth the history of modern times gives one concurrent testimony. Fearful and strange was the mixture of intolerance and generosity in that act of Roger, king of Sicily, delivering to death Philip his chamberlain, when he discovered that he had been a disguised Sarassin; and the manner in which Romuald of Salerno relates it, perhaps does him but little honor.† Examples of cruel zeal did no doubt occur in the conduct of those chivalrous orders, instituted for the defence of the Christians; as in the case of Hermann Von Altenburg of the Teutonic order, when he heard of the inhabitants of one Prussian village returning to their idolatry. But what I assert, and what I hope to have proved, is, that in all these instances, there was a contradiction to the concurrent voice of the whole Church in every age, which taught that, not by such sacrifices, but by mercy, God could be glorified.

If, now, we turn upon those who so vehemently accuse the ages of faith, and demand with what consistency they can charge them with intolerance, and whether the revolution in religion, involving both doctrine and manners, which they effected, introduced a spirit of greater mercy and forbearance into the government of

* Geschichte Preussens, iii. 458. † Rerum talic. Script. tom. vii.

states, and the conduct of men in private relations of life,—will they find it easy to give a satisfactory reply? Reader, if thou art one of those early friends who followed my steps through the land of old romance and chivalry, thou wilt not need instruction here, nor deem it strange that I should say little now in justification of our heroic forefathers, for regarding with horror those who espoused this direful cause, the source of shame and sorrow to so large a portion of the human race. "It is a common opinion," says a French historian, "that in the middle ages he heretics alone wer persecuted. This is an error. The Albigenses of Languedoc, the Illuminati of Flanders, the Vaudois of the Alps, the Protestants of La Rochelle and the Avennes, in no instance evinced the gentleness of the first martyrs. Theirs was a warlike spirit, which prompted them to combat without scruple, and to win glory like the heroes of the world—by deeds of arms." "Had our charitable and most wise senators, who have lately all of a sudden become conversant with some of theology, in order to accuse Catholic prelates of intolerance, been pleased to examine the date when these works were originally published, and had they taken a glance at the achievements of their own party, in reference to which some chapters of whose works were written, they would perhaps have thought it quite as well to replace the work of poor Peter Dens upon the shelf, even though they were never again to win the fame, among journalists or scholastic erudition.

Truly it is somewhat over-bold for any followers of the new religion to boast of having taught and practiced toleration, and to charge with massacres and revocation of edicts of mercy the ancient Catholic society. It is true they made common cause with all who resisted the authority of Peter's chair: 'tis true, even so early as in the time of Zuingle, there were many of them heard to express their conviction that the great heroes of the Pagan world were in as favorable a position with respect to salvation, as any men in times subsequent to the gospel: 'tis true, also, that at the present day some of their most popular authors speak of "the deep and fervent devotion and greatness of mind of Saladin the Turk, and say that, among the Europeon warriors or monarchs of his age, no one appears to have so great a claim to our respect as he. But what avails their claim, founded on such abstract views, which only prove how completely they have lost all trace of the manners and sentiment of the first Christians, when we observe the line of conduct, and even the policy, coolly and premeditately acted upon for nearly three centuries, which they adopted in every part of the earth, where power was given to them, towards the immense multitude of their fellow creatures who remained firm in their attachment to the Catholic Church and to the Holy See of Rome?

Who could count the number of massacres exercised by the Calvinists in France during the twelve years' war of which they were the authors? Wherever they were the strongest, they ravaged the country, burnt or demolished the churches, plundered them, and committed the most horrible profanations, massacred the priests and monks who refused to apostatize, put whole multitudes of simple peo-

ple to the edge of the sword, violated even the graves, and twice attempted to seize the persons of two kings. So terrible were the deeds of these men, whose feet were swift to shed blood, that other nations thought they could discern in them the arm of Almighty Providence taking vengeance upon the French for the massacres and destruction committed in Calabria by the Turks, when in alliance with Francis I., their king.*

"What did they desire?" asks St. Victor, in a sudden transport of most just indignation;—"what did they pretend? Where was their mission? where was their authority? where were their miracles, to preach a new gospel and impose a new religion upon twenty millions of men who wished to preserve their own?

"As for the proceedings of both sides," says De Bourgueville, in his Researches on the Antiquities of Normandy, "the Lord God will be a just judge of every thing; but there is a great difference between these cruel and inhuman murders, committed by private authority, without any formality, and those sentences enacted after hearing of the cause against the disturbers of the public repose; for the poor priests and monks, whom the Protestants massacred so cruelly, had not condemned those who had been executed in persuance of a judicial sentence, but had assisted and consoled them with great compassion, praying God for them."†

What was the tolerance of their English brethren? Look at the system which they founded by parliamentary acts, and propagated by arbitrary power. Where, then, were the civil and religious liberties of the people?—and where was liberty of conscience, and that freedom of private judgment so falsely proclaimed by the reformers, when some dozen of individuals could cast the chain of bondage over the national mind, and rivet its links by such penalties?‡ The truth is, tolerance was a spirit to which they never laid claim. They canonized persecution; they preached revenge.

"That is the most soldier-like sorrow," cries Fuller, "which in the midst of grief can give order for revenge on such as have slain their friends. Our general fast was first appointed to bemoan the massacre of our brethren in Ireland; but it is in vain to have a finger in the eye if we have not also a sword in the other hand. We must bend our bows in the camp, as our knees in the churches. Yea, the soldier at the same time may shoot out his prayer to God and aim his pistol at his enemy—the one better hitting the mark for the other."§ The book containing these Thoughts has been lately reprinted in England, and, what is more remarkable, formally eulogized as likely to confer the greatest service, so that there can be no injustice in alleging it. "Its author," we are told in the Preface of this edition of 1830, "was a divine of the strictest sincerity and most fervent piety; and this work bears the strongest evidence that his mind rarely

* Gabriel Barri de Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ, Lib. iii. in Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ, ix.

† Les Recherches et Antiquités de Normandie, 181

‡ Quin's Letters to Molesworth

§ Thoughts, 139, 183.

wandered from the sacred purport of his ministry." All his faults are censured, but there is no notice of the spirit which breathes in these passages. "Few," we are told, in conclusion, "will peruse these Thoughts without being convinced that they are calculated to strengthen the faith and increase the morality of the world, in all 'times' and in all ages."

Is it to Germany or Switzerland that we ought to look for evidence of the superior tolerance of the new system? Those cantons of the latter country, which had embraced the new opinions, as Zurich and Bern, would suffer no Catholics to remain. They sought to starve them out. "As for the common race of men," said Luther, "they ought to be pushed corporally and grossly to do their duty; so that, whether they will or not, they may be exteriorly pious under the law and under the sword, as we keep wild beasts in cages and chains."* Was it in the decretals, or in the canons, or in the scholastic doctors, that he found this doctrine? "If I were in place of these seigneurs," he says elsewhere, "I would assemble the Jews, and challenge them to prove the justice of the epithets which they apply to Christ and St. Mary. If they could prove it, I would give them one hundred florins; if not, I would tear out their tongues."† Was it from any pope or doctor of the Roman Church that he learned such toleration?

Calmly and dispassionately throwing our eyes back upon these past events, the accusation of intolerance seems the most unreasonable of all those that have been adduced against the ages of faith. When a reform was required and begun, how differently was it conducted by those who adhered to their spirit and traditions, and by those who renounced them! The Catholic reform, as a French writer remarks, moved by gentle thoughts, by exhortations full of soul, songs of a ravishing sweetness, prayers bedewed with tears, tender and fraternal epistles, books penetrating with unction and peace,—such are the living witnesses which remain to us of that holy reform! Compare this with the Germanic reform—with insult on the tongue, and iron in the hand, burning the effigy of the pope, and massacreing its adversaries; professing, at the same time, to be actuated solely by the love of truth and the hope of enabling the people to judge for themselves; like Hierocles, the sophist, who, in procuring a massacre of the Christians, published a work against them, entitled, "Philalethes, or the Friend of Truth."

Hear the chief of the German reformers:—"Let them accuse me, if they choose, of being too violent; I care no more for it. I wish thenceforth that my glory and my honor should be in their saying how I rage and swell against the Papists. I have found these cunning men incorrigible. Well, then, since I cannot shake their infernal resolutions by goodness, I break with them. I will pursue them with my imprecations without end or rest, even till my death. They shall never again receive from me a good word. I wish that they may be buried to the sound of my thunder and lightning!" Then after a pause "I can no longer pray with-

* Michelet, Mem. de. Luther, ii. 156.

† Ibid. ii.

out cursing. If I say 'Hallowed be thy name!' I must add, 'Cursed be the name of the Papists!' If I say, 'Thy kingdom come,' I am to add, 'Cursed be the Popedom!' Thus I pray ardently every day, and with me all the true faithful of Christ."*

Well might such an apostle disdain the angel of the school, who taught that prayer is only meritorious when made in charity and inspired by charity!† What a contrast between him and that Spanish friar who prays for charity, while it is charity, and a charity already perfect, which forms his prayer! since it could only have been inspired by the secret operation of Him who gives zeal to his ministers, and infuses love divine into their hearts! What a contrast to that disciple who walked so faithfully in his steps, Peter of Verona! who carried abnegation so far that he chose to imitate the silence of Jesus Christ, and did not wish men to justify him. In the north, what do we behold? Hatred—that shapeless, fiendly thing of many names—cupidity, ambition, the vile passions of sense—a John Hund, secretary of the elector of Saxony, boasting that the nobles had plundered the monks—a spirit of bitter mockery leading to such deeds as Marlowe ascribes to his Jew of Malta, where he represents Ithamore saying of himself,

> Once at Jerusalem, where the pilgrims kneel'd,
> I strew'd powder on the marble stones;
> And therewithal their knees would rankle so,
> That ave laugh'd agood to see the cripples
> Go limping home to Christendom on stilts;"

achievements imitated to the letter in France by Huguenots—encouraged, eulogized, by many a dark scribe, who with his iron pen dipped in scorn's fiery poison, has made his fame enduring. In the south, what is seen with Catholics the while? Disinterestedness, privation, the mortification of nature, the passionate love of suffering, the majestic sorrow of blessed mourners, the purest exaltation of the heart—a John of the Cross crying out, in the midst of the most excruciating pains, "Let us take wing, let us rise, let us rise! What do we here, my brethren? Let us hence to life eternal!" In the north one beholds a rage that induces stupidity, excitement without grandeur, a complete absence of all generous views, no spiritual philosophy, but gross superstition: in the south, a sweetness, an evangelic patience, a serenity which nothing can trouble, a resigned confidence which the greatest obstacles cannot embitter; moreover, a prodigious elevation of views, a marvellous knowledge of the intimate wants of man, a profound understanding of our heart and of our nature, an exquisite poesy which seizes on the soul, which elevates, transports—ideas of order, of organization, of creation. On the one side is seen an active and prudent charity, a kind of softness and delicacy tempered by grandeur; on the other, an ingenious and merciless intolerance with

* Michelet, Mem. de Luther. tom. iii. 27.

† S. Thom. 2, 2, Q. 83, a 2 ad 3um.

a profession of liberty, an ardent and gross sensualism, the energetic corruption of barbarism, which extinguishes, in the fumes of intemperance and in the intoxication of pleasure, the celestial affections of the heart and the light of the understanding.

At the present day, the world itself renders to this truth an involuntary homage.

"Awake, awake, brave peers of England! Behold the formidable progress of Romanism in this enlightened land! Measure the walls that have been lately built at Hastings to enclose a hospice for the sisters of charity, and then say whether we exaggerated the danger." Such is now the cry of senators, re-echoed on all sides, to attest the propagation of faith in this country; for the world judges of the progress and force of Catholicism by the multiplication of its hospitals, of its colleges, of its churches and sanctuaries of retreat from the world, in a word, by what is seen of charity, study, patience, adoration, and beneficence. It estimates the vitality of Protestantism by violence of its political measures, and the fury of its triumphant anniversaries to commemorate days of horror, days of weeping, days of blood.

"When Sanballat heard that we built a wall, he was very angry," saith the Scripture;* and Hugo of St. Victor remarks, in commenting upon these words, that this is the anger of heretics, of those who call themselves Samaritans, that is, keepers of the law of God, when they are aliens from God and from his law, as from the house of David—that is, from the unity of Christ and his Church, by heresy and schism. These men are unwilling that the walls of the Church should be repaired, lest, the state of piety increasing, they should be obliged to depart from their impiety.†

It was quite sufficient ground, therefore, in their estimation, for exciting a general alarm, and for accusing Catholics of intolerance and tyranny, if they should hear of their building a wall and making an enclosure; but what would have been their discouragement if the only proof of their own ascendancy had been the opening of an asylum for the miserable? It was in something very different from the prayers of the poor that they put their trust. Men learned in the law, need not be reminded that almost the whole statute book of England is occupied with provisions to punish and check Papists, in other words, those whom Luther and Calvin, and their missionaries, had not persuaded to renounce the doctrine of the apostles, and to revolt against the authority of their successors: in comparison with which measures, the intolerance of the Mahometans was liberality itself; for in Don Julian's compromise with the Moors, the latter allowed the Christians to keep possession of their churches; and at Cordova they were also allowed to build new ones.

The persecuting spirit of the new societies had not even that poor plea to

* Esd. ii. 4. † Hugo St. Vict. Allegoriarum in Lib. Esther, Lib. ix. c. 13.

allege of disinterestedness, and of unmixed desire to save the people from destructive errors, which might have been urged by the civil power in Catholic times. Calvin was well known to have cherished a hatred against Servetus for twenty years before he brought him to the stake. With regard to severity of legislation against vices, certainly the progress was immense between the times when the opinion of St. Augustin prevailed, "that some evils ought to be tolerated by the magistrate, lest the whole world should be disturbed with lust;" and the age of Calvin's light, which beheld the rulers of Geneva causing a citizen to be beheaded, for having in his possession a portfolio of immoral prints. Or are we referred, for a mirror of toleration, to those governments which had avowedly adopted the principle of religious indifference for the basis of their legislation? And are we to admit them to be eminently tolerant? Yes, when they have closed our seminaries, plundered and destroyed our monasteries, converted our ancient churches into municipal offices, pronounced it illegal to form a holy pacific procession in honor of the mysteries of our faith which teach love and charity to all the world; when, like Thierry, the Burgundian king, they execute an insidious plan against the religious men who cultivate the desert, interfering with the private discipline of their monasteries, on the plea of having protected them, and when passive resistance is offered, declaring that they are too wise to desire to make martyrs, but that they will have men subjects, and accordingly commanding them to depart from their territories, justifying their sentence with an hypocritical profession, and then sending a band of soldiers to drag the servants of God by force from the altar, and to escort them on their road towards the land from which they originally came,—when all this is done, they betray, we are told by a modern author, "no want either of tolerance, or of the good sense from which that virtue springs." On the contrary, they have the authority of Rousseau for affirming, that all these measures emanate from the purest principles of patriotism and political wisdom; for in his Social Contract, that luminary of their system has encircled its intolerance with a kind of glory, by saying, that magistrates may justly punish men for opinions, as rendering them "insociable;" a principle which is adopted by Paley, that father of the present Anglican philosophy. It is true, they have seized on all the treasures which the piety of former ages had appropriated to the relief and comfort of the poor: they have effaced all vestiges of the holy communities, which first cultivated the soil, abolished slavery, imparted the light of faith, preserved letters and arts, converted and civilized the inhabitants; but they have only done what was required to maintain uniformity and order. Their legal order reigns, like that of the conquerors described by Tacitus, "ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant."

Moreover, under both systems, whether the religious or the political, the odium of such measures attaches itself unavoidably to the chiefs and founders. Jeremy Taylor, in his liberty of prophesying, makes an exception in the case of Catholics; and Milton, when arguing to show that the magistrate should not use

force in matters of religion, adds, "but as for popery, why it also may not hence plead to be tolerated, I have much less to say. This is not a religion, but a Roman principality; and the consciences of the Papists, by voluntary servitude to man's law, have forfeited their Christian liberty:"* when it is considered what was necessarily implied, then, by a denial of toleration, the force of such evidence will be understood. The doctors of Lambeth and of Oxford need not be cited, as no one is ignorant of what they required; whereas, in ages of faith intolerance and persecution were the work of men, who, in general, were the disgrace and refuse, not the true representatives or choice spirits of Catholicism. If any individuals of illustrious merit failed in respect to mercy, they were always sure to be recalled, by authority, to a sense of their obligations, as we remarked in the case of Hincmar. Search our annals from the beginning. In vain will you hope to find any parallel for the scene in which the learned and the noble of a great nation,—men the most esteemed for piety, admired for their professions of toleration, and respected for the authority of their office,—are heard, with one voice, maintaining the justice of compelling, by force, a whole people to support an organized body of missionaries, who were to teach a new religion? Had Charlemagne such counsellors? Were such the notions of justice gathered in the school of Alcuin? When was it ever heard that the Catholic Church imposed tithes upon a people before they were converted? But it is beneath the dignity of learning to pursue the comparison. "Honor must be defended;" a man in authority is supposed, by Drexelius, to allege in defence of his harsh measures, "I hold a public station." "I beseech you," replies that learned Jesuit, "let us not be more subtle than is right. Stephen, and the apostles, and Christ, held a public station, and yet pardoned their most capital enemies."† Here was the model of Catholic tolerance; here was the spirit of all who had imbibed the spirit of the Church, and who might, with truth, be adduced as persons qualified to represent it: for of the philosopher, legislator, and statesman, in ages of faith, one might fearlessly say, in the words of the wise man, "His mouth was opened to wisdom, and the law of clemency was on his tongue." What page on their writings is not full of mildness and forbearance, of love and compassion, and the most tender expressions of a merciful and sympathizing heart? I think, upon the whole, no dispassionate man, possessing any moderate degree of information, will venture to object to our arriving at the conclusion of a modern French critic, whose view of the literature of the middle ages cannot, at least, be accused of partiality in favor of Catholic times, and who, nevertheless, in speaking to them, says, "Reason had then its rights. It is not a boldness to be dated from yesterday in our modern Europe. The ideas of justice, and of tolerance. are not a creation of the philosophic spirit."‡

* An Apology for Smectymnuus. † Drexelii de Vitiis. Linguæ, cap. lv.

‡ Villemain, Tableau de la Litterature au Moyen Age, i. 308

CHAPTER VII.

FROM beatitude we have, in brief space, journeyed; but on the new way where now I venture, again are heard in the faint distance, blissful sounds, and voices exclaiming, "Love ye those who have wronged you." O, reader, thou needest not to ask, What tongues are these? This course reveals the multitude which adorned the Lamb that was slain, of which each one bore the image next his heart; for it was the custom at Rome, that, on the Sunday in Albis, which is the octave of Easter, figures of lambs in wax should be distributed by the archdeacon to the people in the Church, after the mass and communion, in order that the gentleness and meekness of the Saviour might never pass from their minds;* and these were quickly borne by devout pilgrims into all lands, with a zeal that oft awakened the jealousy of apostate states, which recognized and denounced them as the badge of enemies, though they could serve only to inculcate the patience which Tertullian calls the mother of mercy, the meek endurance, and heroic forgiveness of injuries, which had been practised by the merciful in ages of faith. Whether we consider the gracious and benign lessons in the ancient books inculcating that duty, or the beautiful examples of its fulfilment, with which the history of the middle ages abounds, it would be difficult to propose a more delightful path than that which now presents itself. The manner in which the duty of mercy towards an enemy is announced and enforced by the ancient writers is such, that a reader can hardly refrain from tears while he beholds the whole sum of wisdom abbreviated, as it were, in one word. "Nothing is more like God in nature," they remark, "than a man who is placable to his enemies; for God loved us while we were his enemies, and not only loved us but chose to die for us."† "We must endeavor," says the holy Cyprian, "to imitate the patience of God. Yes, brethren, the origin and greatness of patience must be traced from God himself; but O, how great is the patience of God! He endures patiently the temples of the profane men, who outrage his majesty; He endures idols and sacrilegious ceremonies; He makes his sun to shine upon the evil, and upon the good, and his rain to descend on the just, and on the unjust: He makes the elements serve all men alike, the impious as well as the good; the winds blow, the springs burst forth, the harvests swell in waves, the grapes ripen, the trees cover themselves with fruit, the forests put on thick

* Baron. Ann. 692.

† Idiotæ Contemp. cap. 30.

foliage, the meadows adorn themselves with the enamel of flowers. God delays vengeance, and patiently waits, that man may correct himself, and return to his Saviour. Such is the patience of the Father, and similar to it was that of the Son; for all the actions of Jesus Christ were characterized by patience, and by that divine evenness of soul of which nothing could interrupt the tranquillity. Accordingly, we find in the Scriptures that the patriarchs and prophets and just men who prefigured Jesus Christ are principally distinguished by this patience and evenness of soul, always the same. Such was that of Abel, of Abraham, of Isaac, of Jacob, of Joseph, of Moses, of David. Now, as patience is the good of Jesus Christ, impatience is the evil of the devil; and as patience belongs to him in whom Jesus Christ dwells, so he whose heart is open to the malice of the devil is the slave of impatience. Let us remount to the origin of the world. The devil could not endure that man should be created in the image of God; so the first man perishes, and causes the ruin of the human race. Adam, impatient to touch the forbidden fruit, finds death in his disobedience; Cain, before murdering his brother, could not endure his sacrifices and presents; Esau could not bear the least restraint upon his appetite; the Hebrew people could not endure the delay of Moses, and so lost God by their impatience. In the Church, also, it is impatience which makes heretics. Impatience raises up deadly hatreds, and makes people revolt, like the Jews, against the peace and charity of Jesus Christ."*

Now hear the devout contemplatist of the middle age:—"If," saith Louis of Blois, "when any difference hath given rise to bitterness between you and one of your brethren, you do not seek to be reconciled to him; if you do not forget the injury he has done to you, but, on the contrary, if you cherish a secret resentment or a less sincere affection for him, you are not a servant of Jesus Christ, you are not a Christian, you are abominable before God."†

Accordingly, when Pope Innocent III. commanded a general procession in Rome, on the fourth feria within the octave of Pentecost, for the peace of the universal Church, and especially for the deliverance of Spain from the hands of the Sarassins, he desired that no one should be excluded from joining it but such persons as cherished enmity against others. "To this procession," saith he "let all be moved to come; nec ab ea se quisquam excuset præter illos qui habent inimicitias capitales."‡

These guides argue to demonstrate the unreasonableness of resentment. "What do you accuse," says Drexelius, "in the man who injures you?—his will or his power, or both? You say both, and yet I will teach you to accuse neither: not his will, for that, without the power, could not injure you; not his power, for that is from God, and what injury does He commit against you? God punishes your sins, exercises your patience, multiplies your rewards,—and this you say is to in-

* S. Cyprian de Patientiâ.

† Louis de Blois, Guide Spirit. chap. i.

‡ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xv. 181.

jure you! But you reply, the man is malevolent. You always will look to man; but I wish you to look up to God."*

"All men are your friends," said the seraphic father to his friars, "and no one is to be called an enemy; for they who are angry with you, and who persecute you, confer the greater benefit on your souls than any you could receive from the sweetest friend. All men, therefore, confer favors on you; and besides yourselves, you can have no enemy."†

This doctrine, in the middle ages, was not confined to the cells of friars; it reigned in the feudal tower, in the Tuscan villas, and in the palaces of Florence. "Qui accepit injuriam," says Marsilius Ficinus to John Cavalcanti, "non ab inferente sed a seipso accepit." It is the part even of a magnanimous man, through greatness, to take but little note of little things; and little and brief are all things temporal.‡

The blessed Ælred, in his Mirror of Charity, thus explains the rule:—Amicus qui non potest non diligi, diligatur in Deo: inimicus qui non propter se potest diligi, diligatur propter Deum; ille ex affectu, iste ex ratione."§ This is taken for granted by St. Anselm, and therefore, in one of his profound works, the disciple asks, "Since Christians must have forgiven, why do they pray demitte nobis debita nostra? Or if they have not forgiven, why do they pray?" To whom St. Anselm replies, "He who doth not forgive, saith in vain 'Dimitte;' but he who forgiveth may pray, because this itself belongs to his forgiveness, that he should pray for it."‖

Have you an enemy, or any one against whom you bear malice, and are you repairing to the church to give to the poor, to the clergy, to God? Hear what St. Augustin saith to you: "Leave your gift, leave the altar; go and be reconciled to your brother. God will not be angry because you defer to offer your gift: te quærit Deus magis quam munus tuum."¶

Finally, St. Bernardine of Sienna tries to call into the service of mercy the interested feelings of the heart. "A merchant," saith he, "acts advisedly, who sells his wares to the highest bidder. Now you will receive a greater reward by showing mercy to your enemy than to your friend."**

'In the Christian combat," says St. Chrysostom, "not the striker, as in the Olympic contest, but he who is struck, wins the crown. This is the law in the celestial theatre, where angels are the lookers-on."††

The action of these principles in the middle ages may be considered in connexion with the manners of the religious, sublimely mild, and of persons engaged in the world, who may be supposed under the influence of the general spirit of society; and in both, the manner in which the virtue was exercised can hardly fail to strike

* Drexilli De Conformit. Voluntatis Hum. cum Divina, Lib. cap. 2. † Sermon iv
‡ Mars. Ficin. Epist. Lib. i. § Ælred, Spec. Charitat. Lib. iii. c. 26.
‖ Cur. Deus Homo, Lib. i. cap. 19. ¶ S. August. Serm. xvi. de Verb. Dom.
** S. Bernard. Senens. tom. iii,; de Beat. Serm, †† In. Epist ad Rom.

every reader as furnishing additional evidence of the fact which we observed in the last book, that the Catholic morality involved graces wholly above nature in its fallen state, and of an origin superinduced, immediately divine. Stephen prayed for those who stoned him, "offering to God," adds St. Gregory Nazianzen, "something more than death, namely, moderation of mind and the love of his enemies." Even so : that renouncement of the corrupt nature inherited from Adam, with all its malevolent and revengeful appetites, which was implied in this most generous passion, was questionless something more than death, which men truly magnanimous at all times had been inclined to accept and to despise. For who but the Creator that had first made man could restore him to a conformity with the eternal image, all trace of which had been so nearly obliterated by disorders utterly incurable without the intervention of a Divine hand ? When was it ever heard, in the ancient world, that not merely a few philosophers, but whole nations existed, with whom it was considered vile and infamous to take vengeance ? As well might you have expected to find men capable of existing without the custom of food, as without this nourishment, which seemed essential even as daily bread to their very animal life. There were, it is true, some isolated sages who entertained a higher notion of what was just and right. "If any one should disappoint you," says Epictetus, "bear it, and do not say this man was not what I thought him ; for this is plebeian, and of a man cast out to external things *ἰδιωτικὸν γὰρ καὶ διαβεβλημένον πρὸς τὰ ἐκτός.*"* Quanto quis major, tanto placabilis iræ, was a celebrated line ; but in general even the wisest and best of the philosophers either expressly sanctioned or tacitly acquiesced in the principles and practice of retaliation. Sophocles himself, and in his old age, too, says, that to render evil for evil exposes no man to the anger of the gods.

Οὐδενὶ μοιριδία τίσις ἔρχεται
ὧν προπάθῃ, τὸ τίνειν.†

You have the same doctrine delivered by the poetic moralist, who seems to aspire to the character of a philosopher even more than to that of a tragedian, and who ascribes the vindictive spirit to his most virtuous and interesting personages. When Eurystheus is brought in captive, Alcmene triumphs in the prospect of vengeance, and exhausts the power of words in expressing her hatred, and her joy, exclaiming,

τί δῆ τοδ'; ἐχθροὺς τοιόδ' οὐ καλὸν κτανεῖν.‡

The manners of the blessed meek and merciful appear to be condemned in advance by the Stagyrite, where he says, "Mildness seems to sin rather in the way of deficiency than of excess ; for the mild person is not revengeful to punish, but rather compassionate to forgive."§

* Epicteti Sentent. cap. 30.
‡ Eurip. Herac.
† Œdip. Colon. 228.
§ Aristot. Ethic. Lib. iv. c. 5.

The idea of injury, affording an occasion for the practice of virtue, never seems to have occurred to any mind. At the most, you could only hope to find a disposition like that ascribed by the Corinthians to the Lacedæmonians, who esteemed it, they said, the same thing, neither to injure others, nor to be themselves injured ;* and the Spartan Ephors are recorded to have actually punished a man for the singular reason that he was generally injured and insulted.† The principle of embracing all men, both friends and enemies, in one affection, and of showing generous courtesy to the latter, would probably have been condemned as repugnant to every idea of justice and honor. "Invite to your feast," says Hesiod, "him who lives nearest to you ; invite your friend, but not your enemy." Achilles even says to Nestor, that he ought to participate in his hatred of Agamemnon, and not try to defend him :—

——— *οὐδέ τί σε χρὴ*
Τὸν φιλέειν, ἵνα μὴ μοι απέχθηαι φιλέοντι·
Καλόν τοι σὺν ἐμοὶ τὸν κήδειν ὅς κ' ἐμὲ κήδῃ.‡

But it would be useless to trace this contrast at greater length. Let us at once turn to the sources of historical information respecting Catholic manners in ages of faith, and proceed to illustrate their attribute of mercy in the order which I have already proposed.

When Herod had beheaded John the Baptist, what revenge did his disciples take ? "See how they behave themselves," says a modern writer ; " 'and his disciples came and took up the body, and buried it, and went and told Jesus.' And was this all ? And what was all this ?" The forbearance of the Baptist's disciples, and the prayer of Stephen, can not only be paralleled in the history of the middle ages, but it is clear that it was strictly by them as living examples to all times that the minds of men were directed, and, as it were. tuned to action, when occasions permitted the exercise of corresponding deeds.

St. Peter of Verona, having had the courage to preach to the Manichæans, was doomed by them to die, and slain by an assassin as he passed through a wood on the road between Como and Milan. After receiving the blow of a hatchet, the blessed martyr was trying to write on the ground with his blood the first words of the Credo, when the murderer finished his work with a poignard. This wretch, Carin, was arrested and conducted to the prison of the podesta, whence he soon escaped, and fled to Forli, near the Apennines, where he remained until remorse induced him to come forward and place himself in the hands of a Dominican friar. What revenge did he take ? See how the order acted : "and the friar heard his abjuration, and then procured him the habit of a lay brother ; the duties of which office he continued to discharge, in a spirit of penance, for many years, till his

* Thucyd. Lib. i. 17. † Plutarch. Instit. Lac. ‡ Lib. ix. 614.

death."* Could any thing be more conformable to what was taught from the Mount?

When the assassin stabbed the pope's legate, Peter he Castelnau, he raised his head, and regarding the murderer, said, "I pray that God may pardon you as I pardon you!" † It was the same spirit in the admirable reply of Sir Thomas More to the men who condemned him:—"As St. Paul had part in the death of Stephen, and both are in heaven, so can you, my judges, and I, be equally saved by the mercy of the Lord."

St. Elphege, archbishop of Canterbury, on refusing to redeem himself by the property of the Church, the patrimony of the poor, was martyred by the Danes, who rushed upon him with sudden fury, and struck him with their swords to the earth; while others advancing, threw a shower of stones upon him. In his last agony he had strength enough to utter a prayer for himself and his murderers, 'Lord Jesus, Son of God the Highest, who came through the Virgin's womb to save sinners, receive me and have mercy on them!" Do you mark how the tradition lives? You might learn it even from the tombs of the middle ages, as from that of Jerome Savina, in the church of St. Mary of Mercy at Venice.

The holy man, St. Berchaire, in the seventh century, was assassinated by a wretch named Daguin, whom he had befriended from youth. It was in the year 685, on Easter-day, after mass, when the saint had retired to take a little rest, that the murderer fell upon him with a knife, and after giving him many wounds fled, but was taken by some of the monks, and brought back to the place where St. Berchaire lay, who, remembering the words of Jesus upon the cross, said to him with his last breath, "My son, appease the anger of God by a long penitence; for my part, I freely forgive you; but go to Rome, my child, to receive pardon for what you have done from the holy father, who has power to pardon you." And with these words he died. The wretch Daguin was permitted accordingly to depart; and he set out for Rome. "but he has not yet returned," savs the ancient author of this Passion.‡

It is recorded of St. Gregory of Utrecht, by his disciple St. Liudger, that he practised, in its literal sense, that divine injunction, "Bless those that curse you." It was his daily practice to show peculiar kindness to those who injured him. St. Francis Regis, being struck by a certain libertine, fulfilled to the very letter the precept of our Lord, and presented him the other cheek, saying meekly, "My brother, if you knew me, you would judge that I merit worse treatment."

The silence of Catholics under insult and injury was not, therefore, of the Homeric stamp, though it is thought that it must have been such by some modern writers. It did not resemble the silence of Ulysses, who disdained to answer Melanthius while meditating dreadful revenge, and who merely leaned his head on

* Touron, Vie de S. D. Lib. v.

† Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc.

‡ Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocese de Troves 192

one side to avoid being struck by the ox's joint hurled at him by Ctesippus, at the same time grimly smiling in his heart at the thought of the coming vengeance. It was the silence of love and innocence, of real deep humility, abstraction from the world, and conformity to the divine will.

Godelef, a virgin martyr of the eleventh century, is one of the most celebrated saints of the Netherlands. In what did her eminent grace particularly consist? In this divine patience and sweetness under injury. Born in the vicinity of Boulogne-sur-Mer, and married at an early age to Bertulf, a Flemish gentleman resident in the diocese of Bruges, though possessing great personal attractions, yet scarcely was she under her husband's roof than she became the victim of barbarous ill-usage, both from him and his kindred. In consequence of his sudden dislike, she became a prisoner in his house. She was debarred from all food except bread and water—cursed, insulted, beaten; but so far from a murmur escaping her lips, her pillow by night and face by day were bedewed with tears for his sake. For his conversion she hourly offered prayers to heaven; nor did once a hint of the barbarity she experienced reach her own family, till she was expelled from his roof, and forced to look to it for support. The bishop, being apprised of the fact, compelled the husband to receive her back and promise amendment; but immediately on her return, he meditated her death. Finding that starvation would not answer his impatience, he directed his confidential domestics to strangle her. At midnight she was called up by the murderers; and as she left her chamber, in obedience, as she supposed, to her husband's commands, she was strangled and quietly laid on her bed; and when, the next morning, she was found dead, the report was spread that she had destroyed herself. A recent historian, in allusion to this saint, is constrained to renounce all the prejudices of his sect, and to admit that here indeed canonization was deserved; for no one ever so returned good for evil—none ever so devoutly prayed for enemies—none ever wore so smiling a countenance amidst the most dreadful privations, amidst the wreck of every earthly hope, when life must necessarily have been a burden.

We find another moving example in the annals of the Capuchins. Mathieu de Bassio, one of the first fathers of the reform in the order of St. Francis, having been cast into prison at Macerata by John of Fano, provincial minister, who subsequently embraced the same holy profession which he had first persecuted, was unwilling to avail himself of the good offices of the merciful who sought to deliver him. A certain priest of that family, being greatly displeased at the severity with which the prisoner was treated, went to him secretly, and promised to open the doors of his prison during the night, that he might escape; but Mathieu indignantly refused, and rebuked the pious brother, saying, "The cross of Christ is not so horrible that a man of faith should fear it, or seek to avoid it; but it is on the contrary, a good which he should receive with open arms whenever it is offered to him. You advised me not well; far be from me such an unworthy action. Cease to recommend things which savor not of God, lest you should

seem to despise that divine wisdom which is offered to me, that it may be glorified in my cross." The priest, discovering from these words the admirable perfection of the man, and finding it useless to attempt further to persuade him, resolved to adopt other means ; and for that purpose proceeded to Camerino, in order to excite the duchess, Catherine Ciboa, to procure his deliverance ; but before her letters could take effect, the brethren of that house had convinced him that it was his duty to consult for the general good, and, after the example of the Prince of the apostles, to leave a prison of which the doors were thrown open to him ; so that, after a confinement of three months, he recovered his liberty. His interview, shortly afterwards, with the Duchess of Camerino, presented a memorable instance of charity on one side, and of forgiveness on the other. While that illustrious woman received the holy man with all the tenderness of a pious mother, and interrogated him respecting his sufferings, he assured her that the Provincial had done nothing but with the best intentions, and that whatever hardship he might have undergone, was owing, not to the fault of that man, but to some other cause, which he attempted to explain in such a manner as to absolve him from all suspicion of evil.*

As a rule of general manners, the maxim of St. Augustin, "Inimicitiæ vitandæ cautissime, ferendæ æquissime, finiendæ citissime," was so well observed in ages of faith, that the latter part was not deemed accomplished unless the very letter of the evangelic precept was complied with ; of which we have a striking instance in the contest which arose between Nicetas Patricius and St. John, patriarch of Constantinople, respecting the affairs of the poor, which the former was accused of neglecting ; for after high words, a separation between them, without a reconciliation, having taken place, towards evening the patriarch sent to inform him that the sun was about to set. Patricius, moved by the remonstrance, returned to the patriarch, when they embraced and became friends as before.†

A Spanish ecclesiastic published a bitter pasquinade against Pope Pius V., and the magistrates had condemned him to the penalty which the law awarded ; but this holy pontiff sent for the prisoner, and gave him full pardon, adding, "My friend, when you observe, in future, any defect in my conduct, I pray you to warn me of it, that I may correct myself."‡

Urban IV., to whom the Church is indebted for the great festival of the adorable Eucharist, had occasion to evince the same spirit. Having been sent, while only archdeacon of Liege, from Lyons into Germany, by Pope Innocent IV., he was violently seized by three gentlemen of the diocese of Treves, who threw him into prison, and took possession of his horses, money, and other effects. When elevated to the chair of St. Peter, he received a petition from these gentlemen,

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1525. † Drexelii de Vitiis Linguæ, cap. 10.
‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom iv.

offering to make restitution, but desiring to be dispensed, from going in person to Rome to receive absolution, in regard to the perils of the journey. Urban IV. immediately gave commission to the prior of the Dominicans at Coblentz to absolve them, and charged him to say that he freely forgave them both the insult and the injury, only enjoining on them to refrain in future from similar acts.*

As connected with the piety of the religious in the middle ages, let us take but two more examples of the forgiving spirit, and mark its action in youth and age, in the student of Cluni and in the venerable and renowned master of Citeaux. Odo was an innocent and pacific lad in the school of Cluni. "He used," says an ancient writer, "to be insulted and persecuted by some wicked youths, of whom Wido was the prince, instigating them to injure him. On a certain occasion, one of them replied, 'What avails it, when we cannot provoke him to anger? Besides, he is more learned than any of us, and he is always ready to teach me whatever I desire to learn. I fear lest he should at length refuse to assist me, if I continue daily to persecute him.' To whom Wido answered, 'He is not what you imply; for brother Odo is of that character, that he will bear not only those things, but much worse, and afterwards he will be ready cheerfully to teach you whatever you may wish.' "†

When such mercy and patience belonged to the character of Catholic youth, what may we not expect from the holy men who were raised up to instruct and edify it?

The Epistle which is placed the first among these of St. Bernard, which begins, "Satis et plusquam satis," is a most admirable model of charity. It is addressed to his nephew Robert, a youth who had deserted the Cistercian order for Cluny:—

"Sufficient and more than sufficient time I have waited, my dearest son Robert, to observe whether the piety of God would vouchsafe to regard your soul by itself, or mine through you—yours by inspiring it with compunction, and mine by filling it with joy on your account; but since I have been frustrated hitherto in my hopes, I am no longer able to conceal my grief, to repress my anxiety, to dissemble my sadness; therefore, against the order of right, I who have been wounded, am obliged to recall him who wounded me, despised, him who despised me, injured, him who injured me. For grief does not deliberate, does not blush, does not consult reason, does not fear the loss of dignity, is ignorant of measure and of order. But you will say, I have never injured or despised any one, but rather it is I who was despised and hurt, and I only fled from him who did me wrong. Was it not better to yield to a persecutor than to resist him? to fly a striker than to strike him again? Rightly; I admit it. It is not to contend that I have begun this, but that I might remove contentions. The fault is in him who persecutes, not in him who flies the persecutor. I do not deny it; I omit what is done; I do not examine why or how it was done; I do not discuss

* Bullar. Ord. Predic. tom. i. † Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 28.

faults, I do not remember injuries ; I only speak of what I have more at heart. Alas ! wretched me, that I should be deprived of you ! that I should not see you ! and that I should live without you ! for whom to die would be time to live; and without whom to live would be to die ! I ask not then why you went away, but I complain that you do not return. Only come, and it shall be peace ; return, and there will be full satisfaction. Certainly it was my fault that you departed ; for I was too austere to a delicate youth, and too hardly did I treat a tender plant : for, as well as I can remember, this is what you used to object to me. That shall not be imputed to you : I might perhaps offer some excuse for myself, and appeal to the Scripture, which attests the necessity of discipline for youth ; but it was, as I have said already, my fault that caused you to depart ; but from henceforth it will begin to be also yours, if you do not spare the penitent, and grant indulgence to him who confesses ; because, though I might have been indiscreet towards you, I could never have been malevolent ; but if you should fear this very indiscretion for the future, you should know that I am no more what I was, than you are what you were. Changed, you shall find me changed. Do you wish to be free from all fault? return. If you acknowledge your fault, I pardon you. Do you also pardon me when I acknowledge mine. Fearlessly come whither humility calls you, whither charity draws you ; you fled from one that was severe ; return to one that is gentle. I have known your mind, that can more easily be moved by love than by fear. And if any one should wonder that a simple, modest, and timid boy should dare to desert his own, and his place, and his vow, against the will of his brethren and the command of his master, let him also wonder that David, and Solomon, and Samson, should have been betrayed into error. When man could be deceived so as to lose the country of felicity, why should it seem strange that a tender youth should be enticed from a place of horror and a vast solitude. A vain prudence represented holy discipline as indiscretion ; and the credulous boy is tempted to follow the seducer ; he is received with honors, and preferred above his equals. But my dear little son, consult your own heart, because you know yourself better than another can know you. Ask yourself, why you departed ? why you left your order, your brethren, your place, and me, who am nearer in flesh, and nearer in spirit ? If it was that you might live in more perfection, be at rest, for then you have not looked back ; glory with the Apostle, and say that you have looked to the things before you, and to the palm of glory; but if otherwise, be not lifted up, but fear since you have looked back, you have prevaricated, you have apostatized. And this I say, my son, not to confound you, but that I may admonish you as a dearest son ; for if you have many teachers in Christ, yet you have not many fathers, for I have begotten you in religion ; I have nourished you with milk as a little one, and I was about to feed you with bread, if you had waited till you were grown up. You have been torn from me, but I can never forget you ; not indeed bone of my bone, or flesh, of my flesh, but the joy of my heart, the fruit of my spirit, the crown of my hope, and as I feel, the half of my soul. ”

This is styled the miraculous letter; for he dictated it sitting in the open air, as was his custom, without the monastery, and a shower of rain coming on, the person who wrote proposed to cover the sheet, but the holy father forbade him, saying, "It is the work of God, write on:" the scribe continued to write, and no rain fell upon the letters.

But let us consider the more ordinary action of mercy in the forgiveness of injuries, and view it in the manners of men engaged in secular life. Nunquam injuria accepta ad ulciscendum ductus. These words of Helgald, which refer to Robert, king of the Franks, might be used, with equally strict historical justice, when speaking of the emperors Lewis and Henry, of our Edward the Confessor, and generally of all sovereigns who corresponded to that type of a Christian king which the holy Church canonized in the person of St. Lewis. They might be applied also to many who assisted in their councils, who, like Andrew Doria, always chose to forget rather than revenge an injury. When St. Adalhard, after seven years' banishment in the island of Heri, was restored to favor by the emperor and recalled, on entering the palace he beheld the nobles, who were his enemies, confused, and evincing marks of shame for what they had done against him; but he prevented their asking forgiveness, and with downcast eyes thus sweetly spoke: "O emperor, and ye princes, nothing happens in the world without the judgment of God. If God hath punished us for our sins, why should that affect you? We ourselves must see to it. You could have done nothing without God's permission. Let us now only obey his orders; forgive, and you shall be forgiven; which I do first, and do you follow me." Then all embraced him, and the man of God proceeded to his monastery, which he had never hoped to see again.*

When Louis XII. succeeded to the crown, he marked with a red cross the names of all those who had most sensibly disobliged him during the reign of his predecessor, saying, "that he did so only to cancel their offence by the remembrance of the blood of Jesus Christ." And he left an eternal monument of this action, in a medal on which was the figure of the cross, with these words under it: "Rubra crux salutis signum albaque Francorum."

Antonio Galatea, in his beautiful description of the country of Otranto, mentions a still more remarkable instance. "The city of Galatana," saith he, "took the side of Joan, queen of Naples, when the Japygian land was laid waste by James Caldora. After their deaths the whole country fell into the power of John Antonio, who condemned my father, as an enemy, to banishment; but he on hearing the sentence, wrote to him in these terms: 'Having received no injury from you good prince, I resisted you to the utmost of my power; for I thought to keep my faith in obeying the orders of the queen, whom Naples and the greatest part of the kingdom followed. Whether she justly adopted Alphonso, or afterwards justly abdicated, it was for her to examine. Some followed the side of the

* Vita S. Adalhardi apud Mabillon Acta S. Ord. S. Bened. Sæcul. iv. p. 1.

mother; others, of the son. We must all now admit the justice of that cause, for which God has decided. You have conquered. Do not vex those who are conquered. I ask no pardon from you, for I have not sinned: this only I pray and beseech, that you would not suppose I acted from any hatred against you, or through ambition.' These words so pleased the good prince, that if he had before any anger against him, it changed into love; and as long as my father lived, he was always one of his dearest friends, till the day of his heroic death, suffered for the truth of God."*

But it is where the offence was more immediately personal, that the forgiveness practised by those who studied in the book of mercy, appears most sublime. Memorable was the conduct of the Duchesse de Montmorency, who founded, in several convents of the visitation, places for the gratuitous maintenance of the daughters of those families at Toulouse, which had been instrumental in causing the death of her husband, supposing that some of them might wish to retire from the world as she herself had done.†

Pasquier says, that the President De Thou was always ready to be reconciled with those who had offended him, or rather, he adds, "I am wrong in saying reconciled, for he did not know what it was to hate any one."

The charity, patience, and forbearance, which reigned in all domestic relations, in ages of faith, present a theme which is not undeserving of attention. If, in a moment of haste, a Joinville had uttered an angry word to the meanest of his servants, before the setting of the sun he would express his contrition. There was none of that clamor and wrath, which so often disturbs the houses of the moderns. Balthazar Gracian, in his instruction for nobles, relates that Don Lopez de Acusia, putting on his armor before a battle, desired his squires to adjust his helmet better, as it hurt his ears; but they assuring him that it was right, he went forth, and on his return, taking it off, his ear came with it; but he only said, gently, "Did I not say truly that it was ill put on."

An English traveller in Portugal describing his visit to the Marquis of Penalvas, and observing the multitude of persons whom that beneficent family loved to harbor, says, "that he found Donna Henriquetta seated on the steps which led up to the great pavilion, whispering to some of her favorite attendants, who, like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, were continually giving their opinion of whatever was going forward." Such communications, though conveyed in the verse of Sophocles, would not be tolerated in society, constituted upon modern principles; but, in Catholic manners, patience and condescension entered into the characters of mercy. No where, if you will hear the same writer, is the sacred precept of honoring your father and mother so cordially observed as in that nation. The dutiful, affectionate attention of young persons to their parents, which struck him as

* Anton. Galatei de Situ Japygiæ liber in Thesaur. Antiq. Italiæ ix.

† Marsollier, Vie de Mde. de Chantal, ii. 156.

so truly amiable, was an essential part of Catholic manners; yet it is no less observable, that the meekness which entered into the composition of the merciful sweetened all authority, whether of public or domestic character. St. Bernard writes to the Countess of Blois, excusing the faults of her son, on the ground of his youth, and reminding her that they must not prevent her from evincing the affection of a mother. "You must act towards him," he says, "in a spirit of gentleness and soothing fondness, for by so doing he will be more excited to good works than if you exasperated him by irritations and reproof."*

It is remarkable, that through all the relations of life, the maxims and traditions of chivalry co-operated with religion in this respect; for we may remember, it was an axiom of honor, universally received even in the world, that patience was the characteristic of noble manners.

We have already had occasion to observe, that in regard to the legal punishment of enemies, and of persons who had committed injustice, the mercy of men in the middle ages was frequently exercised in a most ingenious and striking manner. Alexander, Patriarch of Jerusalem, having been robbed by one of his notaries, who fled into Egypt, hearing that this man was captured by banditti, sent a large sum of money to redeem him; so that it became a proverb. "Nothing more useful than to injure Alexander."†

Alfonso XI. besieging Algeziras, in which famine began to reign, a Sarassin, leaving the city, stole into the Spanish camp, and was discovered with concealed weapons, for the purpose of assassinating him. All cried out, that justice should be executed upon such a wretch; but Alfonso sent him in safety to the Sarassin king, in Africa, as one who had loved his country more than his own life."‡

Evidently, these manners of merciful men, in ages of faith would have interfered with what is termed, the course of justice, and prevented the law from exercising such an influence upon society, as it afterwards came to produce; and yet nothing is clearer than that they were in conformity with the spirit of the Christian religion, as interpreted by the holy fathers. "If any one," says St. Jerome, "commit adultery, homicide, sacrilege, and thus become debtor of ten thousand talents, and ask our forgiveness, if we, on account of the contumely of the deed, be implacable, shall we not ourselves be justly cast into prison, to pay what we may owe to the last farthing?"§ Accordingly, by the canon law it was taught, that no one should apply to magistrates to seek revenge, but purely to have justice maintained for the general interest of the state."‖

"If you wish, through hatred, the legal punishment of men who have bone you an injury, you will sin mortally," says Guy de Roye, in his Doctrinal de Pennence. When the injury was political, and kings the object, there was no ex-

* Epist. ccc. † Soph on. Pratum Spirituale, cap. 34.

‡ Roderici Santii Hist. Hispaniæ, pars iv. c. 12.

§ S. Hieron. Hom. Lib. iii. Com. in Matt. xviii.

‖ Gregorius Tholosanus, Pæludia Jurisconsulti, Lib. iv. 8.

ception. Such manners and principles were strangely at variance with those adopted in latter times, and with the spirit and letter of many parliamentary acts in England during the reigns of Elizabeth and her successors, when men, not content with the severity of penal laws, formed associations, and bound themselves as members of such fraternities, to pursue unto death such and such persons.

Nothing, in fact, can be more striking than the contrast between the effects of the Catholic religion, and those of the reformed creed, upon the ideas adopted with regard to the endurance or punishment of wrong,—between the philosophy of cruel, cold, formal men, righteous in words, and those habits of thinking of the miserable with gentleness, of cherishing mild, pitying thoughts, whatever might be the crime and shame,—of erring, not in harsh severity, but in tears and patience. But when impatience was religion, it is not surprising that revenge should have been law. It is clear, from history, that all the old Christian notions of mercy and forgiveness, on supernatural grounds, had passed away before the education of the moderns. It would be in vain to deny it: they were all antiquated, exploded notions, though there was a decent reserve of formality maintained, in regard to the texts of the bible. General merit or expediency, previous services or regard for the interest of other parties, natural benevolence or magnanimity, might weigh much, when it was a question of abating punishment; but neither kings nor people would have relaxed one iota from what they deemed justice, by seeing their Saviour suspended on the cross. Ah! they did well to take down his image from their tribunals, seeing that it had been so completely effaced from their hearts. With them, as with the Gentiles of old, it was a pious duty to avenge the slain; and the public mind was convinced, that it would be wholly useless to consult the living, since, through regard for the dead alone, it would be impossible for kings to pardon. Let us hasten back to the days of the blessed merciful. The sovereign pontiffs repeatedly set an example to the world of uniting forgiveness of their enemies with a just regard to the interests of society. When Peter de Corbiere, the anti-pope, who had caused ruin and desolation in so many cities of Italy, had been vanquished and taken, he was sent to Avignon, where the pope whom he had excommunicated and deposed was then residing. "The said Peter being patient," says Bernard Guido, "was clemently and mercifully received, but was placed under a decent custody, that it might be proved whether he would walk in darkness or in light. At present, while I am writing these lines, he is there treated as a familiar friend, but guarded as an enemy."*

Balthazar Cossa, formerly called John XXIII., had languished, during three years, in a prison in Germany, when Leonard de Datis, general of the Dominicans, and apostolic legate, at the head of many illustrious Florentines addressed the reigning Pope, to beg that he might obtain his liberty. Whether Martin V. had already treated with the Count Palatin for the deliverance of the prisoner, or

* Tractatur ut familiaris, sed custoditur ut hostis. Bern. Guid. in Vita. Joan. xxii.

whether, as Ciaconius, and some other writers affirm, he obtained his deliverance from this prince by force of money, certain it is, that the prison opened its gates to him; and on arriving in the neighborhood of Parma, he found many of his ancient friends, who received him with respect; some of whom, even through affection or self-interest, entreated him to resume the pontifical habit;—that is, to rekindle the flames of schism and war: but misfortune had changed Balthazar Cossa into another man. His resolution was taken, and, without intimating it to any of his friends, he proceeded almost alone to Florence, without providing any security for his person. On arriving, he went immediately to the Dominican convent of St. Maria Novella, where Martin V. was then residing, threw himself at the pope's feet, implored his mercy, and recognized him as the sole true vicar of Jesus Christ. A step so edifying, and so little expected, drew tears from the eyes of every one present. The pope, more moved than all besides, after having raised him up, and given him a thousand testimonies of sincere affection, did all in his power to alleviate the contrast between his present and past condition, receiving him into the number of cardinals, making him dean of the sacred college, and ordering, that in all public ceremonies, Cossa should be the nearest to his person, and placed on a seat higher than all others but his own.* Nor were the local rulers of the Church slow to imitate these examples. When Gautier, commander of the Florentine troops, who styled himself duke of Athens, had established his power as a tyrant over that restless people, and when they sought to cast off his cruel yoke, he attempted to inveigle three hundred of the first citizens into the citadel, under pretence of conferring with them on the state of the republic; but, in fact, with a design of cutting them off at once, which was discovered by the people, who, in a fury of resentment, rose in arms, and besieged him in the fortress, which was defended by his satellites. What the conspiracies of private men, and the violence of an armed multitude, had failed to effect, was accomplished by the prudence of Angelo Acciajoli, bishop of Florence. He saved the blood of the citizens, put an end to the tyranny, but, what is most remarkable, saved also the life of the tyrant, who surrendered the fortress to him, and confided his person to his hands. The bishop provided both for his safety, and for that of the republic; within the domains of which the fallen despot was never more seen.†

These are certainly admirable examples; yet, in point of poetic interest, they yield to those instances of mercy to personal enemies exercised in war, which we find recorded in all our heroic chronicles. Plato observes, that it is absurd to insult the dead body of the slain, regarding it as your enemy, *ἀποπταμένου τοῦ ἐχθροῦ*; the real enemy, that is, the soul, having then flown away, and disappeared." ‡ This was all that he could urge in favor of the dead; so little had even the philosopher of arguing on the absurdity of hating any one, or of

* Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. xviii.

† Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. xiii

‡ Plato de Repub. liv. v.

pursuing any one with implacable rage. The men whom he addressed would have killed the soul of their enemy, if possible; and so he only shows them that, as that cannot be done, it is useless to expend their fury upon the inanimate carcass. The Catholic hero, like Guise, or even Richard of the lion's heart, unlike the Homeric, seeks not revenge in death. He sleeps in peace when his wrongs are forgiven, and repaid with benefits: then it is that his surviving friend may exclaim, with Deiphobus, My companion lies not unhonored—

——— ἀλλά ἕ φημι
εἰς Ἄϊδός περ ἰόντα πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο
νηθήσειν κατὰ θυμόν· ἐπεί ῥά οἱ ὠπασα πομπον—

followed not by the soul of a slaughtered enemy, but by the prayer of a contrite and forgiven foe.*

When Earl Percy, in Chevy Chase, takes the dead Earl Douglas by the hand exclaiming,

"O, Christ! my very heart doth bleed with sorrow for thy sake,"

we have the new morality of the supernatural law commemorated and displayed before our eyes with an Homeric simplicity. Indeed, that acts of such forgiveness emanated purely from the religious principle, often extorted by the ingenious violence of holy men in ages of faith, and that they were still combated in human breasts by the sentiments of the old nature is shown by poets. Thus, when De Wilton spares Marmion, he expressly admits, that it was in remembrance of his vow to spare his greatest enemy for Austin's sake: for hearken to his own tale:

"Then had three inches of my blade
The heavy debt of vengeance paid.
My hand the thought of Austin staid·
I left him there alone.
O, good old man! e'en from the grave
Thy spirit could thy master save."

That sooner or later, even bold and desperate men were enabled to receive and practise the doctrine of the cross, may be inferred from the confession of Mortham to Matilda, when relating the history of his own life, and saying. "Deep were my plans of vengeance at that time;

'But humble be my thanks to heaven,
That better hopes and thoughts has given;
And by our Lord's dear prayer has taught
Mercy by mercy must be bought."

When Alhama was besieged by the Moors, the marquis of Cadiz and the Christians being in the last distress, the marquis applied to his old hereditary enemy,

* Il. xiii. 415.

Don Juan de Gusman, duke of Medina Sidonia, for assistance, and this gallant knight, forgetting all animosity, hastened in person to his succor, declaring, that the loss of the marquis would be grievous to all Christendom. When the duke had defeated the Moors, and entered the town, the Christians, who had endured the horrors of the siege, resembled skeletons rather than living men. It was a noble and gracious sight to behold the meeting of those two ancient foes, the duke of Medina Sidonia and the marquis of Cadiz. When the marquis beheld his magnanimous deliverer approaching, he melted into tears: all past animosities only gave the greater poignancy to present feelings of gratitude and admiration; they clasped each other in their arms, and from that time forwards. were true and constant friends.

These are instances of individual mercy; but we have proof of the same spirit dictating the conduct of a whole people in ages of faith.

In the beginning of the fourteenth century, Miladan, governor of Dalmatia and Croatia, profiting by the troubled state of Hungary, had raised himself as a tyrant over that whole country, which he oppressed with the utmost ferocity. Knowing no law but his own will, the clergy and the poor were his victims: his avarice had no bounds; his pirate vessels even ravaged the coast of Italy; while at home, with the utmost tranquillity he saw flow the blood and tears of the enslaved people. The blessed Augustin de Gazothes, who then ruled the Church of Zagrab, had the courage to admonish repeatedly this tyrant, who was rather a monster than a man; but though all his efforts were in vain, he said publicly, that he would never cease to pray for his conversion. The justice of God at length overtook him: his own brother Paul, at the head of the chief nobles, contrived to catch him in their nets. Abandoned by his satellites, and loaded with chains, he was conducted before the king of Hungary, who had the magnanimity to spare his life, content to shut him up in a close prison, in the city of Zagrab. After bearing his irons in impatience a long time, he at length escaped from prison, and passed a considerable interval in flight frome one city to another, till Providence ordained that he should fall into the hands of the Traguriens, his mortal enemies. The remembrance of all the evils which he had inflicted upon them was sufficient to excite a spirit of vengeance, and his obstinacy in impiety had hitherto remained invincible; yet it pleased Heaven to work a miracle in his favor, making of this great sinner an illustrious penitent, and inspiring, at the same time, his enemies with sentiments not only of humanity and compassion towards him, but of love and tenderness; for as much as they had detested Miladan proud and cruel, they loved him humble and converted. It was remembered how the holy bishop of Zagrab used to protest that he would never cease to pray for his conversion; and now, when they witnessed the humiliation of their ancient persecutor, they recognized the power of that holy man's intercession, and believed that they were the instruments of God in showing mercy to the conquered.*

* Touron, Hist. des Hum. Illust. de l'Ord. St. Dom. tom. ii. liv. ix.

It is remarked, by ancient writers of Normandy, that at Rouen, the criminals who had been delivered by the chapter of the cathedral on the festival of the ascension, and their accomplices, who had fled, or taken sanctuary, were thenceforth as secure from being troubled or reproached by the friends and relations of those whom they had slain or injured, as they were from being called to further account by the civil authority.

Thus, in 1370, John and Thomas Baratte, after killing Gueroult, having been delivered by the privilege, used to walk publicly through the streets of Rouen, without receiving any reproach or insult from the friends of the dead ;* and similarly, Guillaume Dangiens, accomplice of Guillaume You, rescued, by the same power, from the death to which he had been sentenced, for slaying Colin de la Chapelle, at Pavilly, returned to his dwelling, trusting in that act, married, and became father of many children ; and from the day of his return till his death, lived peaceably in the said town, exercising his trade as a tanner, and never was troubled or reproached by the friends of the dead, or reminded by them of having committed that crime.† In the annals of the Capuchins, we find an instance still more beautiful. Baptist Faventinus had been, for a long time, the head of all the proscribed and infamous men of the province of Æmilia, feared as a monster rather than as a human being, of such strength, that, seizing a man with one hand by the waist, he could hold him elevated in the air, and having the right arm so long, that a sword which he wielded seemed a spear. He had won renown in war, under the duke of Urbino ; but the natural ferocity and turpitude of his mind reduced him to the ranks of the most flagitious men. Having, however, by accident heard Bernardine Senensis preach at Florence, he was suddenly illuminated by the grace of heaven, and converted to a religious life. St. Bernardine, to whom he had immediately applied for admission into the order of Capuchins, after finishing his Lent sermons, prepared to return from Florence to his province of Bologna, and apprised the new convertite, that if he were sincere in his professions, he must be ready to accompany him on foot, and carry a sack of books upon his shoulders. The once ferocious and haughty outlaw desired now nothing so much as suffering and humiliation ; so they set out together. Bernardine took the road to Faenza, the native town of his companion, and passed through the towns of Crispino, Brexillo, and Fuliniana ; in all of which Baptist had committed murders ; so that at every step he had reason to expect death, if not the horrible fate of Altobellus, the robber and assassin, who when taken at Aqua Sparta, was consigned by the duke of Borgia to those whose sons and fathers he had slain, when, to the disgrace of Umbria, cruelty was so ferociously avenged ;‡ but as he desired to suffer in expiation of his crimes, he pursued the way with intrepidity. As he still wore his secular dress of silk, the inhabitants were not long in recognizing him ; and, in

* Floquet, Hist. du Privilège de St. Romain, i. 102

† Id. i. 104.

‡ Leandri Alberti Descroit. Italiæ, 143.

fact, he confessed his name to each wondering interrogator, who asked if the friar's companion really were he—the terrible outlaw? No one, however, the change of the right hand of the Most High being visible, attempted to interrupt them; so they arrived at Faenza, and the convent received them within its walls. The number of enemies whom he might fear in this town could not be told; but, nevertheless, on the following day, by the desire of Bernardine, he went forth and perambulated the city with a rope round his neck.

He first went to the house of a widow whose husband he had slain, and threw himself at her feet, imploring forgiveness. She burst into a flood of tears, and pardoned him on the spot. In like manner he proceeded to the houses of all the other persons whom he had injured; and in every instance he met with the blessed merciful. This sanguinary criminal excited only commiseration and astonishment, and not a word was uttered against him; but all wept and gave praise to God for having spared a sinner and given his soul grace. In process of time he was received among the novices of that convent, when the wonderful transformation of his nature became manifest to all; but he still continued to furnish occasions, from time to time, for the merciful to exercise heroic forgiveness; of which the annals of the Capuchins relate one remarkable instance:—Among the other victims whom he had slain at Faenza was a certain nobleman, of whom two sons survived, bent on revenging his death. These young men, on hearing of the murderer's conversion, persisted no less in their resolutions with regard to him, and conspired to take his life; for which purpose, accompanied with two others, they came armed to the convent, rang the gate-bell, and desired to speak with Baptist; but the porter, perceiving their arms, and doubtless somewhat that startled him in their looks, hastened to apprise the guardian that there was cause to suspect danger; who called Baptist into his presence, and informed him of the arrival of these persons demanding to see him in so suspicious a manner. Baptist asked leave to look through the grate, that he might ascertain if he knew them; and the first glance convinced him of the critical position in which he stood. Sooth they were the sons thirsting to avenge their father's murder. Nevertheless he begged that the door might be set open; and having obtained consent, he presented himself, saying, "Lo, I am the traitor, the impious Baptist, the murderer of your father! Punish me as I deserve—I merit far worse than death!"

Reader, you have seen enough of the ages of faith to know already what follows. The youths are in greater concern than the suppliant; it would be hard to tell who sheds most tears. They are clasped in each other's arms; and the formidable avengers, who came breathing slaughter, by one hint at the mercy and grace of Christ, are thenceforth the devoted friends, whose only thoughts are love and peace for evermore.*

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1562.

After such a scene, one would rather say nothing than propose a comment. It is clear that the dearest friends in ages of faith had been often those who would have been the objects of immortal hatred in unblessed hearts ; it is clear that the difficulty of this virtue gave it only additional charms in the eyes of men ; so that heroic protection was often extended to an enemy, which might have been withheld, through neglect or forgetfulness, from one who had never been seen in the position of a foe. It was the saying popular at Rome during the pontificate of Pius V., that if any one wished to gain some favor from him, he ought to begin by doing him an injury. In fine, what more than all proves the divine source from which this blessed mercy of forgiveness emanated, we discover its action in cases where it could be accompanied and assisted by no power of the imagination, and under circumstances which must have rendered its acquisition wholly beyond the reach of human efforts, when it could only have been exercised from the solitary, interior desire of pleasing God.

Visit with me once more the savage rock, the castle safely walled and moated round about, its dungeons under ground, and its thick towers, " that never told tales, though they have heard and seen what might make dumb things speak. " There the mute and faded smiles of captive youth, when the rust of heavy chains has gangrened its sweet limbs, and all its mild words from first to last attest, that it has no feeling towards its foes but resignation and forgiveness !

Silvio Pellico is an author who may with strict propriety be cited as illustrating the character of the middle ages ; for where the same faith exists, all separation and difference of time ceases ; and as a Catholic of the tenth century might be taken for one of our contemporaries of the same faith, so any book which is written at the present day in the genuine spirit of Catholicism might be supposed to date from an epoch of the olden time. He says, in the memoirs of his own captivity, that the irritation which ruled him since his condemnation had made him irreligious, but that the virtue of his poor young fellow-prisoner, Oroboni, who always defended and forgave his enemies, at length influenced him to follow in that divine track. " Then," says he, " when I could again pray sincerely for all the world, and abandon all hatred, my doubts as to faith vanished. Ubi charitas et amor, Deus ibi est." This young count, Antonio Oroboni, condemned with Pellico to hard imprisonment in the fortress of Spielberg, in Moravia, a model of piety and charity, died at length in that prison ; and the description of his death is so completely in harmony with the characters of the middle ages represented in history, that I have no scruple in citing it to illustrate them :—" What a shudder," says Pellico, " ran through my veins when they told me he was dead ! I heard the voice and steps of those who came for the body. I saw from my window the cart which was to bear him to the cemetery : it was drawn by two of the convicts ; four guards followed it. I accompanied with my eyes this sad convoy to the spot. It entered the enclosure ; it stopped at the corner of the wall—there was the grave. How often had he said to me, while looking at the spot from his win-

dow, ' I must accustom myself to the idea of resting there ; but I confess that it is repugnant to me. I could be more easily resigned to death on one condition : if I could but return once more under my paternal roof, embrace my father's knees, hear one word of benediction, and die! ' He sighed and added, ' If this cup cannot pass, O my God, thy will be done! ' The last morning of his life, he said, on kissing the crucifix which Kral presented to him, ' Thou who wert God hadst nevertheless a horror of death ; and thou saidst, ' Si possibile est, transeat à me calix iste!' Pardon if I say it likewise ; but I repeat also thy other words, ' Verumtamen non sicut ego volo, sed sicut tu.' He died on the 13th of June, 1823. A few hours before expiring, he spoke of his octogenarian father, and wept ; adding, ' But why weep for the happiest of those who are dear to me, since he is on the eve of rejoicing me in the abode of eternal peace ?' His last words were, ' I pardon my enemies from my heart.' How like the youngest prisoner in that song of Chillon !—

'And not a word of murmur—not
A groan o'er his untimely lot;—
A little talk of better days,
A little hope my own to raise.' "

Such are the death-scenes in the dungeons of the middle age—such is the testimony of history respecting the action of blessed mercy towards the objects of men's fear or hate! It is the same spirit wherever the Catholic religion exists, wherever lips have been trained from childhood to kiss the crucifix. A whole world of vengeful and cruel tragedy has been annihilated in the human heart, and a new creation effected there. What more new to it than mercy to the foe in war, mercy to the criminal in presence of the judicial power, mercy to the wretched agents of inhuman wrong,—holy mercy, exceptionless, dictating love to the foe, compassion to the guilty, and forgiveness to the oppressor ?

CHAPTER VIII.

THE mercy which is occupied in relieving the poor, forms so essential a part of Catholic justice, and enters so largely into every branch of duty belonging to the manners of a Catholic state, that having already considered them in relation to poverty of spirit, meekness, mourning, and justice, it might be imagined there would be nothing left in the way of historical illustration to throw light upon the exercise of this virtue in the middle ages, since so much has been already exhibited in connection with the four first qualifications for the attainment of divine beatitude. "I question not," as Dante says, "but he who searched our volumes leaf by leaf might still find a page with this inscription on it, 'I am as I was wont.'" Nevertheless, somewhat still remains unseen; nor would it, indeed, have been possible to exhaust the subject of mercy to the poor, as it was taught and practised during the ages of faith. That it was the inseparable attendant upon the preceding graces will be obvious to any one who considers for a moment their character and object. The poor in spirit must necessarily have loved those who were in a situation the most favorable, perhaps, to the development and exercise of the same grace. The meek could not but love those who were the peculiar and fitting objects towards whom they should exercise humility. Mourners would naturally seek to join the society of those who were alike unhappy. Those who had compassion on themselves, laboring in the groans of penitence, which, saith St. Bernard, is the first stage of mercy,* would not be remiss in tenderness to others; besides that all penitential exercises of necessity involved mercy to the poor; so that Alanus de Insulis and Vincent of Beauvais, or he who continued his great work, and in general all such writers, immediately after treating on confession and satisfaction, proceed to the subject of alms. Above all, they who thirsted after justice could not but feel the strict obligation of ministering to the wants of their distressed brethren; "for to give alms," as the same moralists remark, "is a part of justice; and although the transgressors of this precept are not punished by human laws, yet are they by the divine law." † They inform us, indeed, that in the language of David justice is nothing else but mercy, as in the line so often sung by the Church, beginning with, "Dispersit, dedit pauperibus;" which is the justice enduring for ever, that the prophet also saith shall go before the face

* De Conversione, c. 16. † Vin. Bellov. Specul. Mor. Lib. iii. p. x. dist. 19.

of the merciful; at the sight of which beautiful precursor, angel-like, with golden wings, the gates of heaven, as St. Chrysostom saith, will open instantly, without there being any one in the city of the blessed so daring, or amongst the seraphs so inflamed and burning, as to attempt to question their right of entrance.*

In the society, however, of the middle ages, men were not left to learn this duty by inferences only. Most striking is the sentence and admonition of the venerable Bede, when he shows that only by charity to the poor can those persons who remain in the world expect to join hereafter the society of the religious who had persevered in the way of perfection, in conformity with the counsels of Christ. "There are," saith he, "two orders of elect in the future judgment: the one of those judging with the Lord, who left all and followed him; the other of those judged by the Lord, who did not indeed similarly leave all things, but yet who of the things which they possessed gave daily alms to the poor of Christ, who will therefore hear at judgment, Venite benedicte."†

Here, again, we are presented, in the history of Catholic manners, with a feature divine and supernatural. "Endeavor to be charitable only by your reason," says an ascetic writer: "you will endeavor in vain." As the origin of that virtue is more elevated, so are its indications often distinct from all signs of mere natural benevolence. Charity is not to be estimated by its external acts; it is extinguished often amidst the greatest largesse, and it burns with all its ardor in the smallest alms. It is divine love which constitutes the value of alms, as of martyrdom.‡ To give them through vain glory is evil, notwithstanding the goodness of the external act."§

The moralists of the middle ages show in great detail the necessity of paying attention to the quality of alms, teaching that they must be given in purity of affection and intention, in charity and from charity, not through a desire of human praise or any temporal advantage; and that they must be offered with humility and devotion, as if recognizing our Lord in the person of the poor.‖ We shall be convinced, as we advance, that in consequence of this doctrine the social condition of the poor in the middle ages was very different from what later philosophers are apt to represent as being natural and just, and that the material order in regard to them was greatly modified by the spiritual. The triumph of the cross, in fact, seems to have been most complete here.

In the middle ages there was a celebrated legend respecting an infidel prince, who refused to believe the truth of the Christian religion, because, on being presented at the court of Charlemagne, he observed that the poor were placed at a low table, and provided with inferior food. This was indeed the exaggerated coloring of a romance; but what would the inventors of such tales have said, if they had been told that in the chapel of Charlemagne the poor were not suffered

* Ap. Cresolii Anth. Sacra. † Bede in Natali S. Benedicti. ‡ Idiotæ Contemp.
§ S. Thom. Sum. 1, q. 20, a. 1 ‖ Vinc. Bellov. Speculum Moral. Lib. iii. pars. x. d. 22.

to approach the altar, to partake of the divine mysteries, until the rich had left it? What would they have made their infidel prince say on remarking that ordinance? I think, beyond all doubt, it would be something terribly severe. I should fear to write it down, because, perhaps, if such a measure were to be adopted at present in any country where the influence of the modern philosophy has been widely spread for many generations, it would surprise or offend no one. However, without being conscious of any exaggeration or arrogance, I think we might affirm that those old writers, in their simplicity, or, if you will, in their presumption, would never have thought of defending the emperor and his courtiers, who acquiesced in such a measure, by alleging reasons of convenience and expediency, but would have attempted to justify it in the eyes of the infidel by assuring him that they were men of very subtle and deep thoughts. Whether we should have heard that the answer had satisfied the malicious infidel, is another question. Even the authors of chivalrous tales were not the superficial scribes we think them. After all, the poor are men; the poor can feel themselves honored and humiliated; and it would certainly, in ancient times have been thought to require a very acute intelligence to contrive, with a saving of faith, to give external precedence to the rich as rich, in the immediate presence of Jesus Christ. It is most true the different ranks in society were not then marshalled in opposition to each other, as if expecting every year to gratify a mutual and long-cherished hatred in a pitched battle. The rich and great were respected by the poor, whether it was supposed, as with the Easterns and the Sclavonic races, that the word which expressed them was justly derived from the Divinity as the giver of riches, or as with the occidental nations, the Germans, Italians, and French, from royalty as coming from the king. "We do not execrate all riches and rich men," says the writer mistaken for Vincent of Beauvais, "for they are not in fault, but only the abuse. Riches are lawful, if acquired without iniquity, preserved with humbleness, and the fear of God, expended with sobriety and frugality in necessary and lawful uses, and dispensed with piety to the poor."*

St. Bernard even says, "Though God is not an accepter of persons, yet I know not how virtue in a noble person pleases more—perhaps as implying greater freedom of choice."†

The friend and lover of the people in the middle ages, like this living splendor of the Church, or the blessed Francis of Assisium, did not therefore seek to render noblemen unpopular, or excite the poor against the rich—did not encourage them to seize by violence what was not their own; he was not a tribune, not a Gracchus. To love the weak and unassuming is a sentiment to which the pride of our nature is not averse; but as he did, to love the rich, and mighty, and proud, is the triumph of Catholic charity. Yet it is no less certain, that through regard for the spiritual interests which are promoted by assisting and comforting

* Speculum Moral. Lib. i. p. iv. 22.

† Epist. cxiii.

the poor, the practical tendency of riches was contemplated with fear and some degree of horror. Not the least merit was ascribed to men for becoming rich; but, on the contrary, riches without alms in strict proportion were thought a crime. To omit other considerations, it was regarded as proved from experience that happiness alone is capable of hardening the heart of man, and of rendering the acquisition of charity almost impossible. Here, as Bossuet remarks, is the malediction of the great fortunes; here it is that the spirit of the world appears most opposed to the spirit of Christianity: for what is the spirit of Christianity? It is a spirit of fraternity, a spirit of tenderness, a compassion which makes us feel the sufferings of our brethren, enter into their interests, and experience their wants. On the contrary, the spirit of the world, that is to say, the spirit of grandeur, is an excess of self-love, which, very far from thinking of others, imagines that there is nothing in the world but itself.* You find this fact discerned by men of observing habits, however widely separated from each other by opinions, nation, language, or age.

Bossuet, who preached to the court of Louis XIV., and Tieck, who enriches the German literature of the nineteenth century with characters drawn from nature, agree in this representation. "No, no," says the latter, speaking in the person of an aged recluse, "I have been young, and I have lived in the world, and I have not been always poor, as you see me now. No trusting the great, no connection with the rich! They know not the love of God; compassion and mercy are strangers to them; egotism is their pillow, cruelty their bed. What should I do in the midst of such people? If I have long lived in this state, which you deem so poor and miserable, and found it happy, it was not to return to your equitable, wise, intelligent men, who always know how to find an honest and specious pretext for every shameful and criminal action. From the time that I first made acquaintance with beggars, I made acquaintance with hearts that my Saviour has touched. Leave me in peace to be poor, to be so poor as to be obliged to beg, that is my happiness and my devotion. My Saviour also had not where to lay his head. Almost all men think that they begin to live from the day that they acquire property. As for me, I lost and despised every thing, and it is from that time that I feel at my ease. Blessed Father Francis, and many others more, St. Roch, St. Alexis, thought the same. It is already a paradise on earth to be poor, and to possess nothing. Ah, you worldly people! you know not what you renounce to be men of the world, and surpassing others in riches and dignity! To be humbled, prostrate in the dust, trampled on by pride, O that is the true happy state, the sweet solitude of the heart and of charity."

In this passage the authority of the seraphic father, St. Francis, is justly cited: for it is one of his injunctions in his first Rule to the Minors, that they should rejoice when they could converse with poor, miserable persons, infirm and abject, and such as beg by the way from door to door.†

* Serm. sur la Charité Fraternelle. † Cap. 11.

Already, reader, you must begin to suspect that a wide distance separates Catholic charity, as taught and practised in the ages of faith, in all its views and principles and forms of development, from the beneficence of the moderns, wanting faith, which is found alternating so easily with riches and the love of grandeur; when even they who go before, the shepherds of the flock, extol advancement as a proof of merit, and when the multitude therefore, who see their guides strike at the very good they covet most, feed there, and look no further : and in fact, no estimate that you have formed of that distance will be in danger of having overpassed the truth. Perhaps my words may seem exaggerated to those from whom a new law hath taken memory and custom of love-tuned deeds; but not the less will I affirm, that in no respect has the great moral revolution of the sixteenth century, styled by its followers "Reform," produced such a change in the ideas and conduct of mankind, as in that of their notion of poverty, and treatment of the poor. The work of sixteen centuries in their favor was broken up in an instant, though its fragments were only gradually consumed; and that immense multitude of the human race was in a great measure, and as far as ideas respecting it were concerned, made to fall back to the place which it had occupied in the old civilization, before the poor had the Gospel preached to them. I say, in a great measure, for an exact return to the condition of the Gentiles, before the light of Christianity had risen, would, of course, have been impossible, independent of all religious changes; but, so far as was necessary to constitute a total opposition to the spirit and manners of the Catholic civilization, the revolution, although gradual, was as complete as the most ardent political economist of the reformed school could desire. That it would be in vain to think of explaining the phenomenon which here presents itself, by alleging any change which has taken place independent of religious influence in the material condition of European nations, will be clear also to every reader who has an intimate acquaintance with the history of the middle ages.

In the third book we had occasion to notice the riches of the ancient Catholic states; and here I shall briefly remark, that the population of those countries was then considered as superabundant. Leander Albertus attempts to account for the extraordinary inundations to which the Po had subjected Italy in the sixteenth century, by adducing the vast increase of its inhabitants. "I think," he says, "that one cause consists in the prodigious multiplication of the human race in these latter times; for the plains can no longer furnish sufficient food for the population, so that men are now obliged to cultivate the tops of mountains; and in consequence of their soil being thus disturbed, the waters descend more freely into this great river, and cause it to overflow its banks."*

Setting aside, therefore, at once, as founded on error, the theories of modern writers respecting the causes of this moral revolution, let us proceed to view the

* Leand. Albert. Descript. Italiæ, 598

facts which have been presented to the world at these different stages of its history. The ancient states produced slavery. Christianity produced poverty, in the common sense of the word; Protestantism produced pauperism, for it was necessary to invent a new word for the condition of existence, to which the reformed system reduced that class of men, who in the ages of faith had occupied so eminent a dignity in the bosom of the Church of Jesus Christ. Under the system of poverty and Catholicism, the friendship of the poor, as St. Bernard says, made men the friends of kings, who deemed it an act not beneath their dignity to wash the feet of beggars. Under that of pauperism and reform, you may illustrate the proposition in the book of wisdom, that all flesh seeks communion with its like, by alleging the instance produced there: "quæ communicatio sancto homini ad canem? aut quæ pars diviti ad pauperem?" The pauper indeed plays as prominent a part in the drama of public life, as the poor man did formerly, but it is not exactly the same part. The pauper too falls under the observation of princes and nobles; and there are regulations also made in regard to him; but whether he is the object of that disinterested and personal affection, on which we shall find that the poor man in Catholic times might always reckon when he heard of the rich and powerful espousing his interests, is a question which, before we are at the end of the present chapter, the reader will be quite competent to answer for himself. At the first step one thing is clear, for evidently all the notions of men at present respecting the very mode and form of exhibiting mercy to the poor, are utterly unlike those which universally prevailed in ages of faith. Compassion was then to be increased by the presence of the suffering object, from which every one now endeavors to escape, like Agar, unable or unwilling to endure the sight of what would awaken pity, and seeking relief in flight, exclaiming, I will not see the boy die.* But moralists of the Catholic school remarked, that our divine Lord, who was animated with an ardent desire of suffering, acted differently: he approached the tomb of his friend Lazarus, and wept; he looked on Jerusalem, his dearly loved city, and groaned over its calamities. Jacob, they go on to observe, did not turn away from the view of his son's garment stained with blood. These were the patterns for those who were of the Mount. Thibaud, Count of Champagne, used to give shoes and vests to the poor with his own hand; and being asked once why he did so, he replied, that he chose to dispense them thus in order that, by giving and laboring personally, he might be the more moved to devotion and pity for the poor, and be disposed to practise always greater humility.† "God hath given thee eyes," says Guy de Roye, explaining the five senses of nature, "in order that you might look on others with pity:" ‡ the last purpose for which modern philosophers would suppose they were intended; though in the divine oracles the symbol of mercy is the eye :§ but these men

* Gen. xxi. 16.

† Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. x. 21.

‡ Le Doctrinal de Sapience.

§ Cresolii Anthol. Sacra. 519.

have reversed every thing. Catholic charity is that which flies not from the view of misery and infirmity—which conquers the repugnance of sense by seeing only the immortal soul which suffers and is purified ; the Catholic religion says, be generous, be merciful ; relieve Christ in the person of the poor man, behold the sufferings of the wretched ; and if the wretched do not come in your way, leave your way, and descend in search of them through penury's roofless huts and squalid cells. The beneficence of the modern systems requires no such sacrifice. To own all sympathies, and exterminate the insidious pride that waits on riches, to cultivate compassion in practice, not in fancy, to sit and smile with poor men, "to kiss salt tears from the worn cheek of woe,—to live, as if to love and live were one,"—this is not reformed religion, or law, the creed of those who look to thrones of earth for discipline. The modern beneficence has other ways ; it sets out with the conviction of Chremylus, in the old play, that it would be doing the greatest good to men if poverty could be banished, for that is now the basis of all views of territorial improvement, so that the first step is always to weed out poor people from an estate ; and it pursues its course in the spirit of his friend Blepsidemus, who exclaims, on beholding Poverty

Ἀναξ Ἀπολλον καὶ θεοὶ, ποῖ τις φυγῃ ;

so that two men can be put to flight by one woman ; for to the eye of persons formed by the type of this age, indigence wears the aspect of that vengeful Fury, which poets of old represented in their tragedies, from which every beholder must recoil in dismay. All this indeed is expressed in measured language ; but do I exaggerate in estimating what is at the bottom ? The new philosophy says, "be humane, relieve your fellow-men, without distressing yourself ; there is no necessity for your coming in contact with these poor things ; it would injure society if the disgustful and distressing sight of abject misery were seen. There are always proper persons to superintend the wretched ; keep out of their way ; and if they should obtrude themselves on our way, let the magistrate be apprised, let him protect you, and let the inscription over the doors of churches warn all devoted persons from bringing disgrace upon their faith, by giving alms to the wretched beings that encompass them. Catholic charity came by hearing, and descended by faith into the heart ; it was the result of a conviction that the words of Christ in the Gospel respecting those who relieved and neglected the poor, would hereafter be fulfilled ; it was essentially, therefore, an intellectual act. The bounty of men, who adopt the modern principles and manners, may be justly said to come in general by speculating or following the independent but capricious sentiment of a generous heart. Its effects, accordingly, are very different : with Catholics the giving of alms was an art, and, as St. Chrysostom adds, the most useful and precious of all arts. Whether it be so with the moderns, I will not pretend to determine ; but in that event, it has certainly made progress in a direction totally new. Their beneficence has no resemblance to that charity sung

by Fortunatus, and ascribed by him to Sodonius II., Archbishop of Mayence:

Sis cibus ut populi, placide jejunia servas;
Et satias alios, subtrahis unde tibi.*

as also to St. Nicetius, Archbishop of Treves, of whom he says:

Dum tibi restrictus maneas et largus egenis
Quod facis in minimis, te dare credo Deo.

It is rather that doubtful beneficence which is expected from flesh and blood excited, or the motives of secret vanity, which would be despised even by the Turks, who have a proverb never to trust men who are generous after they have dined, and which Aristotle and the writers on physiognomy in the middle ages would not have been more inclined to trust, who affirm, from what they think general experience, that merciful persons are pale of complexion, of phlegmatic temperament, easily moved to tears, and of abstemious manners. Michael Scot remarks, that their brain is of a frigid complexion, that they are easily alarmed, that their voice seems sometimes to fail as if they had a certain impediment, that their mouth is generally small, indicating that they are not formed for boisterous scenes, that they eat but little, that they are secret, modest, learned and pacific.†

Cocles of Bologna, whose work appears also in the collection entitled "Infinita Naturæ Secreta," adds, "Misericors est sapiens et disciplinatus et timidus et verecundus"—four qualities which seem the very opposite to those which fit men for making orations before large convivial assemblies, and for contributing to the excitement and imitative fever of popular meetings for banqueting and mirth.‡

The charity which follows the new banners is all mixed up with pleasure and ostentation, either with dinners and rites that savor of barbarous buffoonery, or with the triumphs that suit pride's golden palaces, balls, fancy fairs, lists of subscribers, strange combinations out of common things, and inventions how to fleet the time in delicate accordance with the judgment of the world and a taste that guides a life of dissipation.

At Paris, in the fourteenth century, comedians were pronibitea from giving plays during the time of collecting for the poor, lest the money of the people should be directed from them;§ but the ingenious science of economy, in modern times, has enabled men to feel that they contributed to the support of the poor not only without subtracting any thing from their own usual amusements, but even in proportion as they multiply them; so that the most dissipated are the most merciful. But this adjustment of the difficulty, however subtle, would not have been suffered to satisfy any understanding, much less to tranquillize any

* Gallia Christiana, i. 347.

† Michael Scotus, Liber Physionomiæ, pars ii. cap. xxxiii. xlv. lxvii.

‡ Magistri Bartholomei Coclitis, Bonon. Physionomisti Anastasis, Lib. i. v. 20

§ Monteil, Hist. des Francais, tom. vi.

conscience, during ages of faith. "Dead flies corrupt the ointment; that is," adds St. Bernard, "vanity, curiosity, and pleasure: and as these abound in sacrifices of the Egyptians, we cannot in Egypt sacrifice to our Lord God a sacrifice of justice and charity. Therefore we must go a journey of three days into the desert; that is, into the solitude of the heart."*

The two schools, therefore, are at issue: what the one denounces as a source of corruption, is recommended by the other as a vital energetic principle; and as it has pleased most governments of the north to decide in favor of the latter, the whole face of our countries bears testimony to the revolution of opinion which has taken place. Poverty and misery, nakedness and hunger, are as before, or rather, perhaps, such as they never were before; so that the senator now rises from the banquet, where discourse has turned on the state of pauperism, like him who, at his game of dice, hath lost, and when all the company go forth, remains in sadness fixed, revolving in his mind what luckless throws he cast. But meanwhile nothing horrible offends the sight; the poor and squalid tenants of cellars are not seen; the naked and the hungry are not permitted to come within view of the privileged classes, pampered with rank luxuriousness and ease, whose delicacy would be shocked at the spectacle, or in whose breasts remorse, perhaps, would occasion uneasiness if that spectacle were beheld. The legislature and police have taken care to establish a better order; they have protected these voluptuous men from the stings of their own conscience.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, in describing the happiness of the poor in his age, remarks, that they who are not infirm run fewer risks of incurring fatal evil than the rich. "They move about," he says, "from place to place; sometimes they take up a position here, sometimes there; and they manage so well, that they find at length some soul who is ready to comfort them.

They sit down in the open squares and market-places; they address the passengers; they implore their assistance. They should not do so if our reform had extended there. Very different was their condition after the modern notions of economy had superseded the manners of the Catholic state.

Times there were, indeed, when a saintly silversmith like Eligius might entertain the poor at his door every day, and no other notice be taken of his custom, but by the inhabitants of the city saying always to those strangers who asked to be shown the way to his house, "Go into such a street; and where you see gathered a crowd of lame, and halt, and blind, enter, for there is his dwelling." But had a friend of the poor acted in the same manner after the establishment of the modern religions, he would have been denounced to the magistrates as injuring his neighbors, by rendering disgustful the public way; and though he might be a prince of the empire, he must either have caused the poor to forsake his gates, or been content himself to leave the city. Men who are duly formed to move in the

* S. Bernard. Sententiæ.

modern civilization hold poverty to be a cursed, not a blessed state, and those who would adopt it from choice, to be mad, not holy. Where they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian. "Pass on, and come not near—put money in thy purse, or get these to a workhouse!" is the only reply to the afflicted, who tremblingly make known their wants, and ask for pity in the name of Christ the Saviour. To a workhouse! The progress is not great from times when the reply was,

*Οὐκοῦν ὑπόλοιπόν σοι τὸ βάραθρον γίγνεται.**

For what, if it be a stranger, that has no claim, as the world says, or even if the right be unequivocal, but the dejected being should be as gentle as unfortunate and should have a mind too delicate to outface the scrutinizing look of humorists strong in the might of office?—what if it be a maiden or a child, not necessarily, insensible, or void of all the tender feelings of humanity, because poor and friendless? Can we then point with exultation at our legal statutes, and at the coarse dreary piles which furnish what they grant? Truly, in such cases, the difference may not be so very great between the pit at Athens, into which were to be precipitated those whom the law punished, and this new Barathron, into which are to be received those whom the law relieves, especially if we take into account the ordeal through which their discouraged hearts must pass—the bitter words and all the taunt which, from the prosperous, weak misfortune takes—before they can attain to the full enjoyment of the good things which strict law awards and aged, sullen avarice pays. To a workhouse!—yes, holy Poverty, that is the word now alike to thee, perhaps, accepting as a gift of God all humiliation; but I will add, hideous word! only to be equalled in deformity by the edifice on which it is inscribed, that doth the eyes and bosom fill with grief—barbarous title, which would as precisely designate a place not made for dwelling of the human kind, yet doubtless here pregnant with sad truth: for what are men, if only their bare wants are satisfied?

> 'O reason not the need! our basest beggars
> Are in the poorest thing superfluous
> Allow not nature more than nature needs—
> Man's life is cheap as beast's."

"There are persons," says the universal doctor, "who give to the poor what they would scarcely throw before swine, and yet think that they can redeem their sins thereby; and this is, as it were, blasphemy against God."†

Such men are never wanting; but what a contrast to all this will be presented to an observer conversant with the manners of Catholic ages in days of yore, as recorded in history? O God! how will such a person be able to convince himself that he is now in the same world, the same country, the same city, as that on

* Aristoph. Plutus

† Alani de Insulis Sum. de Arte Prædicat. cap. xxxiii.

which his memory dwells? Certainly, if he should attempt to describe the manner in which the poor were generally treated by Catholics in the middle ages, no man will believe his report. He cannot describe it without using terms that will seem to every one as exaggerated and poetical. All that he can do will be to invite men to examine facts, proclaiming things kinder and wiser than were ever said in human book —"except in Shakespeare's wisest tenderness"—invite them to see the palaces in which the poor were received in sickness, the cloistered courts which were built to shelter them in age and infirmities, the banquets which were provided for them in the halls of princes, the choice dainties which were reserved for them from the table of the nobleman—the sepulchres, on which tears of pity and abundant alms are commemorated amongst the highest graces of a king; as that of Louis VII. of France, on which we read,

"Lingua preces vivas, lacrymas pia palpebra fudit
Pauperibus solidos officiosa manus."*

All that he can do will be to point out the laws, which, so far from subjecting the poor to imprisonment, on pretence of their presence in public injuring or offending the community, pronounce it an indictable offence to make any appropriation of the tracts of ground which in almost every parish had been set apart for their use or enjoyment, as may be witnessed in the petition against the Duke of Suffolk, for enclosing the commons of Melford.† The administrators, too, of these laws he may produce in evidence, some of whom, if possible, would have weighed the tears of the poor as more precious than all the jewels of a crown, if they had to make them restitution for an injury. With such recollections, is it wonderful that he should feel alarmed at the prodigious diminution of mercy which has taken place in the intercourse between rich and poor? or that he should be inclined to repeat to the men around him, and to himself too, that piercing reproof of a famous author, who may live to win back all his merits: "You say that you love your brethren—what would you do if you hated them?" Alas, where truths are diminished, how could mercy remain whole? In these limits where the feet of Christ's messengers once found no obstacle, such a growth has sprung of rank and venomed roots as long would mock slow culture's toil. Where is good Dunstan? where Elphegus, Anselm, Lanefranc, Ælred? Wonder not, lordling, if the poor do weep, when I recall to them those once-loved names,—Edmond of Abingdon, and Bede of Wearmouth, the hooded men of Glastonbury and Tintern, with Netley's cloister, and Crovland each race disherited, and besides these, the ladies and the knights that visited the fatherless and the widow, and cheered to enchantment their afflicted hearts with love and courtesy. Look how the human breast to felness hath relapsed, from having lost correction! Talk of difficulties in the way of admitting the truth of Catholic doctrines! Hypocrites! Let them say rather the impos-

* Ap. Duchesne, IV.

† Hen. VI. 2d P. I.

sibility of treating Lazarus as their brother. Come, see the gates of these reformed Christians, forgetful of their old nobility, and the menial troop which hastens to drive away, with refined insult, the poor beggar whose sores the dogs, perhaps, were about to lick! There is a progress here. Dives could see a mendicant. Come, see the enviers of this new nobility, the masters of manufactories! See the active agents for preserving this social order perfected—the magistrates and overseers, the beadles and the bars of justice—and those sunk in grief before them! Come, cruel one! come and behold the children, slaves who must work sixteen hours in the day!—the orphan arraigned as a criminal for having prayed over her father's grave! Come and see the portals that refuse to open when cries of a woman in her last distress collect a crowd before them of such comforters as say, "How poor thou art!" and look upon the spot of mire where she does lay her burden down, with no heroic Bruce to shelter her! Come and mark these injuries, no longer strange, and thou mayest see what charity thy reformed creed hath nurtured! Come and behold what love is found among thy people; and if thy proud inventions needs must reign for ever, come, at least, and witness their effects! But, lordling, go thy ways; for now I take more joy in weeping than in words!

"Oh!" cries Tieck, on seeing the disdain with which the poor are treated, "I can fully enter into your feelings, ye holy saints, whom the world scorns and scoffs at—ye who did scatter your all, even down to your very raiment, among the poor, and did gird your loins with sackcloth, and did resolve as beggars to undergo the gibes and the kicks wherewith brutal insolence and swilling voluptuousness drive the needy from their doors; that by so doing you might thoroughly purge yourselves from the foul sin of wealth."

It is not to be inferred, however, that the action of Catholic charity was incompatible with the regulations of a wise and humane police. It was a law of Charlemagne, that every seigneur should be bound to nourish the infirm poor on his lands, that they might not be obliged to wander elsewhere; though, indeed express provision was made for the charitable reception of the poor strangers who might fly in troops from their country through dread of the Normans or Britons;* and in Rome, Venice, and other cities of Italy, we find at the present day spacious and solemn buildings on which is inscribed, "Pious House of Exercise for the Poor," or a text from the apostolic epistles teaching that men should live by the labor of their hands. In what is called the great school of charity, at Venice, you read, "Quid prodest homini si charitate hominem non alit? Charitas enim a Deo descendit." And again, "Venice preserves her dominion by religion, law, and justice—her subjects by charity and love."

Howard visited many of these Catholic institutions: and his description is not a little curious, if contrasted with what is found in countries that have adopted

* Capit. Car. Calv. Duchesne, tom. ii.

the reform of the sixteenth century. The great hospital for the employment of the poor, in the suburbs of Vienna, contained, when he visited it, three thousand persons. He says that the order, the cleanliness, the elegance observed there, cannot be seen without lively satisfaction. Indigence and old age, he adds, wear a smiling aspect here. Many of the inmates have attained the age of eighty. All the profit of their work is at their own disposal. You see cheerful faces on every side.

At Rome the hospital of St. Michael, for the same object is vast and noble. Each person is instructed in some trade ; and when a young man has attained the age of twenty, he is presented with a suit of new clothes and a sum of money to enable him to commence keeping a shop for himself. In the centre court is a beautiful fountain, and the chambers around it are appropriated to the aged and infirm. " In 1781, I beheld," he says, " 260 men and 226 women, enjoying here a consoling retreat. A vast table is provided for them, and they all seemed to feel and enjoy thoroughly the value of the succor which charity has provided for them." According to his description, the great house of correction at Ghent was conducted with such order, decorum, and religion, that one might take it for a college. In Spain there is such abundance of charitable institutions, that he says one finds few or no beggars. In the house of correction of San Fernando, which is at a distance of three leagues from Madrid, he found the utmost order, provision of excellent food, a humane and attentive governor to watch over the men, a matron to superintend the women, and a general discipline maintained throughout, which could only arise from the strict care which was taken to oblige every one to observe their religious duties.*

The confraternities of the middle age had enacted various wise regulations respecting the interests of the poor ; but the persons employed in such offices were not hardened hirelings, such as would be deemed unfit, as Rubichon remarks, for the care of horses or dogs. They were the meek and holy, who voluntarily undertook the burden of such tasks for the love of God, and for which they could never have conceived that any one would think of proposing to them a temporal compensation. When the apostles were about to choose persons for the office of ministering to the temporal wants of the poor, they selected them as " viros plenos Spiritu Sancto et sapientia."† Such were the overseers of the middle age, if that term can be applied to persons who discharged an office so different from what the word is now commonly used to imply. Discretion was allowed to the rich, when there was a display of suffering generally exaggerated, and a wise police enforced by magistrates subjected them to no censure.‡ In fact, St. Bernardine of Sienna distinguishes a triple poverty, voluntary, necessary, and pretended, that of the poor of Christ, of the poor of this world, and of the poor of Satan, rich in avarice, poor in substance ; to whom, as Hugo of St. Victor says, Christ doth not promise the

* Howard on the State of Prisons, &c. † Acts vi. 3. ‡ Ligorio Theolog. Mor. Lib. ii. 3.

kingdom, but hell.* And although the Church placed no bounds to her charity, yet the fathers of the fourth council of Carthage required that the Catholic poor should be more respected than others: "pauperes et senes ecclesiæ plus cæteris honorandi sunt."†

Thus, when money was given to St. Vincent of Paul, to enable him to purchase a horse, being resolved to bestow it in charity, the objects he selected in preference, were the poor English and Irish Catholics, who had fled from the tyranny of Cromwell. "Alms ought to be discreet," say the ancient moralists; "we should give to the good rather than to the evil; to many, not to one alone."‡ St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, passing one day in the street of St. Ambrose, entered a house, where he found three poor maidens leading a pious, retired, and industrious life, nourishing their mother and themselves with the work of their hands. Being moved to compassion, he assigned them a pension; but after some time, hearing that they began to neglect their work, and grow dissipated, he returned, and remonstrated with them, and withdrew part of the pension, in order that they might be obliged to resume their honest employment.

A poor citizen of Florence going one morning very early to the church of the Annuntiata, overheard two blind men discoursing to each other on their respective funds, one of whom said, that he had two hundred gold ducats sewed within his cap; while the other replied, that he had three hundred similarly concealed in his cloak. The citizen repaired to the Archbishop, and told him what he had heard, who called the blind men before him, and reproached them with the injury which, they inflicted on other poor men, and said, that henceforth he would support them as long as they lived, but that they must give up the five hundred ducats, which he handed over to the poor citizen, to form a dower for one of his daughters.§

Of similar discretion in the dispensation of immense alms, an example is found in the conduct of Diego Deza, Archbishop of Toledo, in the time of Charles V. In the first place, pitying the condition of reduced noble families, he set apart one quarter of his own palace, in order to receive their children, that they might obtain there a Christian education at his expense, and under his own eye. Then, in distributing his riches to the poor, he contrived that each distressed family should be relieved; but as he did not favor idleness, he used to give corn to laborers, and tools to artisans, encouraging them in this manner to provide for their maintenance.‖

The amount of the alms of Yves Mayeuc, Bishop of Rennes, and Confessor of Queen Anne of Brittany, from whose charity he drew liberal resources, was not more remarkable than the discretion with which it was dispensed. It is true, in regard to his own wants, nothing could be less prudent than his bounty; inso-

* De Claustro Animæ, i. 9. † Can. 33. ‡ Vin. Bellov. Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. x. 22.
§ Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. Liv. iii. ‖ Id. tom. iii. Liv. 24.

much, that his domestics were obliged frequently to remonstrate with him, and therefore, he used to give much in secret, and to seize the opportunity, when his servants were not present, to give to some poor person whatever he could lay his hands on: but, in general, it was his custom to get the poor instructed in some trade. He kept in his episcopal house, and paid out of his own purse, a number of shoemakers, tailors, and cap-makers, who were constantly employed to work for the poor: he purchased the leather and cloth, and when the articles were finished, he used to carry them, in his own hands, to such families as he knew wanted them.*

Muratori evinced as much displeasure at idleness and deceitful mendicity, as he showed love for the virtuous poor. He obtained an order from the Duke of Modena, prohibiting any one to beg in the streets, unless furnished with a ticket, which was only granted by a confraternity of charity, after an investigation into the condition of the person who desired permission. In France, in 1493, strict ordinances were published against beggars and vagrants;† but this was at a time when the civil government was fast losing the impression which it had received from the faith, and when, perhaps, it must be confessed, the principles of the Gallican schools partook in some degree of that severity; insomuch that the Sorbonne, when consulted in 1530, by the magistrates of Lille, decided that the poor might be forced to receive no alms but from the public fund, and the citizens restrained from giving alms, excepting to the public fund;‡ but the decision of such an assembly could not prevent men in those days from blushing at its practical inferences, for the force of nature is very great; so that the public mind was still sufficent to counteract the severity of any local measures of administration; for the rule of manners respecting the poor continued to be taught and practiced in conformity with the spirit of the early ages of the Church, when a St. Hermas said, "Let your charity have a free course; give, give to all who are in need, without examining to whom you give; for God wills that you give to all; it is He who will demand on account from those who receive as to the use which they will have made of your gifts;"§ and when St. Chrysostom had been heard to say, a merciful man is like a port for the wretched, which receives both bad and good. If you see one that has suffered the shipwreck of poverty, judge not his deeds, but show him pity; it is an extreme insolence to inquire with curiosity into the life of a miserable person, because, forsooth, you have given him a loaf of bread. Even if he be a robber or a manslayer, still ought you not give him that much or a little money? Doth not your Lord make his sun to shine upon him? I beseech you, therefore, "let us do all things in simplicity." The spectacle of poverty was still deemed necessary to the rich; and, in fact, the giving of alms was

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. liv. 25.

† Ord. 1493, art. 55, coutume du Béarn, art. 44, coutume de Loudun, chap. 39.

‡ Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. vi. 68. § St. Hermas, Pastor Parabol. ii. Mand. ii.

thought to confer greater benefit on the donor, than on the person himself who received them. Had men contracted any guilt? They gave alms, and the tears and joy which accompanied the fulfilment of that duty, together with the prayers of the poor object, wrought a change in their hearts, and disposed them to receive the sacrament of penance and reconciliation. By sense of new light, the men who presevered in deeds of mercy perceived from day to day their virtue growing, and the circuit of their charity widening as they ascended.

The historian of the Dominicans produces an interesting example: Peter de Tapia, a Dominican, celebrated Professor in the Universities of Spain, and subsequently Archbishop of Seville, was sent as a missionary to preach through various provinces of that kingdom. On one of these courses he happened, when travelling in Old Castile, on the frontiers of Arragon, to meet the Duke of Medina Celi, accompanied by some gentlemen, and followed by many servants. This Seigneur saluted the strange friar courteously, without knowing him, and asked him where he was going. "I have come," said the man of God, "from distributing the bread of life to your vassals." "Then," replied the duke, "you shall dispense the spiritual, while I furnish the corporal alms, in paying all your expenses while you are on my lands:" so after these few words they parted, and each pursued his way; but one of the gentlemen, who had recognized the father Tapia, failed not to tell the duke that he was a man of celebrated learning and sanctity; upon hearing which the duke sent back to request that he would not leave the territory without coming to see him. This charity was the origin of the duke's conversion: the young duke, governing many subjects, was himself governed by his passions. Separated from his wife, he lived with favorities in dissipation and luxury, yet he possessed frankness, candor, and some generosity. A bad Christian, he, nevertheless, was generally considered by his vassals as a good master and good lord. As soon as the holy friar came to his castle, he opened his heart to him without disguise, and begged him to say how he ought to put in order his house, and the affairs of his state. The delight of the holy man may be easily conceived. The first change he effected was the reconciliation of the duke with the duchess: all persons who gave scandal were sent away: the duke labored thenceforth to edify the people, and make them happy, consoling them in misfortunes, and defending them from all oppression. The benediction of heaven seemed to be manifested in the numerous offspring which were left, to transmit the titles of that great house; and the duke always ascribed his temporal prosperity to the charity which he had shown to the poor. The state of Alcala passed into his house on the death of the duchess of Montalto, without children; in allusion to which he said one day to the father Tapia, "Behold how God rewards, even in this life, the little service that one renders to Him in the persons of the poor." All that grieved the duke was, the resolution of the friar to accept not the smallest present from him; but as he was resolved to evince his gratitude in some way, he assigned to the college of Alcala a certain quantity of corn every

year, and gave the superior a sum of money, which was employed in decorating the church, and in publishing the works of Cardinal Cajetan.*

"I will say, my Lorenzo, what I think;" I cite the words of Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Lorenzo de Medici: "though it should seem an execrable saying, but it is true, and nothing is more sacred than truth. I will say freely then what I think. God, my Lorenzo, is venal; but with what money can the great God be bought? Ah, with that with which he bought others, that is, charity—with charity to the poor—for before Him we are all poor indeed, and he hath bought, He hath redeemed us. Let no one wise, or brave, or temperate, boast that he imitates God. These are but shadows of divine virtues. Only the man bountiful to the poor exactly imitates Him. O happy merchant, who with a small price, buys both men and God!"†

It is not to be inferred that generosity to the poor was of itself deemed capable of atoning for previous acts of corruption. The importance ascribed to alms was carefully defined and distinguished. Liberal offerings were not deemed fruits by which the character of the donors could be known. The question was not, how much is given? but with what disposition is it given? Cornelius Agrippa, in his dark, forbidden books, treats on almsgiving as part of the purgation necessary for the attainment of an oracular mind.‡ Magicians gave alms; hypocrites and great criminals gave them; therefore the guides of the middle ages were wiser than those who now rest satisfied with a statement of the amount which men lay at their feet. "Let not sinners flatter themselves remaining in crime, with the idea of redeeming their sins by alms; for," continues the universal doctor, "alms are of no avail to obtaining pardon, unless by the intervention of penitence; although I doubt not that alms, and other good works, may avail towards their obtaining a conversion of heart from God.§ To the living, a general consequence of alms was known to be an increase of grace. "Alms," says Vincent of Beauvais, "multiply spiritual goods, and enrich the soul; they multiply spiritual friends, and gain advocates in heaven." This doctrine was nothing less than part of the deposit of faith. Alms are termed by the fathers another baptism, according to the voice of Christ, Date eleemosynam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis. St. Jerome hesitates not to say, that the result of alms, springing from charity, is the same as that of baptism. "Such alms cleanse the soul as by an immersion. The fire of hell is extinguished by the sacred font, and the worm of conscience is destroyed by the pious liberality which relieveth Christ in the poor." Alms are compared, therefore, to the dove which Noah sent from the Ark, and which returned to him in the evening with a green branch of olive; for in the evening of our days, as death draws on, and the deluge of sorrow surrounds us, this dove will return to us, bringing confidence, peace, joy, and immortal glory. Hence

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom.v. liv. xxxvi.

† Mars. Ficinus, Epist. Lib. i.

‡ De Occult. Philosoph. Lib. iii. c. 56.

§ Alani de Insulis Liber Pœnitentialis.

St. Chrysostom says, "that alms have wings, and that they confer the lightness and elasticity of angels."* As for the application of ill-acquired goods to purposes of charity, the Catholic religion can never be convicted of having sanctioned such an error. The ancient moralists show, that alms must be given in purity of possession, from one's own, not from another's substance—that money acquired by unlawful means, and given to the poor, is not to be reputed alms, and that if one should give all that he had thus gained, he rather increases than diminishes sin.† Dionysius the Carthusian shows, that it is a miserable delusion to think of justifying plurality of benefices, by urging works of mercy; for that such alms, so far from being conductive are injurious to the divine honor.‡ It was evidently the universally prevailing belief in the middle ages, that almsgiving would avail nothing when it was the fruit of oppression, simony, or of any conduct reprehensible. Legends told of men appearing after their death, complaining of the torments they suffered, and declaring that even their charity to the poor was vain, adding, "since our alms had been given from goods unjustly gained."§

Descending from Mount Gargano, where in the temple of the archangel he had spent some days, in a seraphic ardor of spirit, Matthew a Bassio, first general of the Capuchins, was received into the house of a certain usurer in Manfredonia, who placed food before him; but when the friar beheld it, he exclaimed, "What do you offer me, mine host? Is this bread or is it blood?" "Bread, certainly," replied he. To whom the man of God answered, "Not so, but instead of bread you are offering me the blood of the poor! Ah, cruel bread, steeped in the gore of the poor of Christ; who would not shudder at beholding it?" Then rising from the table, he rushed into the street, and proceeded to the gate of the hospital, where he besought a lodging. The host, terrified at the scene, like another Zaccheus, vowed instantly to make restitution, and from that day forth to renounce the manners of his past life.‖ But the source of bounty to the poor was not diminished by keeping it clear from all connection with polluted streams. In these ages the Castellan, the knight, or even the peasant, might have used the words of Job, and said, "Si despexi pereuntem; eo quod non habuerit indumentum et absque operimento pauperem."¶ We find their zeal in this respect attested on their tombs, as on that of Evrin, Seigneur of Lagny, in the church of the abbey of Lagny, who towards the close of a holy life, became a priest; for the inscription is to this effect:

Qui pertransitis, si rem pensare velitis
Hic faciendo moras, non incusabitis horas:
Prudens, pacificus, qui presbyter unde pudicus,
Qui nudo vestis, qui consolatio mœstis,
Qui risus flenti fuit, et cibus esurienti.

* Hom. vii. de Pœnit. † Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. p. x. 19. ‡ Dion. Carth. De Fonte Lucis, 1.
§ Amalricus Augerius. ‖ Annales Capucinorum, an. 1552. ¶ xxxi. 19.

Hic situs Evrinus ; meruit mundo peregrinus
Nunc inter cives cœlorum vivere dives.*

Thus Spenser describes one whose mode of assisting the poor, proves that the poet was familiar with the old Catholic traditions of manners:

He had a wardrobe not of garments gay,
But clothes meet to keep keene cold away,
And naked nature seemely to aray :
With which bare wretched wights be dayly clad,
The images of God in earthly clay ;
And if that no spare clothes to give he had,
His owne cote he would cut, and it distribute glad.†

Notwithstanding the number and magnificence of the religious edifices, which date from the middle ages, there appears to have been then but little occasion for repeating the warning of St. Chrysostom against the secret vanity, which prefers constructing material temples, to relieving the unknown poor in secret.‡ Truly the Christians of those dark ages, as they are termed, will be able to remember, at the terrific judgment of Christ, having seen their Lord hungry, and having fed him, thirsty, and given him to drink, a stranger, and taken him in, naked, and clothed him, sick and in prison, and visited him. Nothing was omitted that could tend to remind men of their obligations to the poor. In many states, as we still can observe in Italy, even the inscription upon the money comprised an admonition to give alms, and a sentence from the Holy Scriptures to that effect. The emblem of poverty asking alms, and exalted to heaven by Jesus Christ, was sculptured on the walls of cathedrals and abbey churches, under the form of a woman wearing a crown, and standing upon one foot, having the other, which resembled that of an aquatic bird, bent backwards as if in supplication, to suggest the word which, in the Italian language, signifies a beggar ; for the subtle investigators of the Scriptures in these ages had remarked, that such imagery was in harmony with what had been of old ordained, when Solomon in the temple made two doors of the wood of olive, to signify the material and spiritual works of mercy, and also with the conduct of Christ, who chose to ascend from the mount of Olives, in sign, as they suggest, that alms glorify and introduce into the eternal kingdom."§

The doctrine of modern political economists has yielded such a harvest, that men are found who avowedly disdain, through scorn of mendicity, to ask their daily bread of God as in the prayer of our Lord, saying, we must, by work and industry, create it for ourselves: but, however humiliating the avowal may be deemed by sophists, it must be admitted that the clergy of the middle ages sanctioned the idea that there was nothing in the act of supplicating his fellow Chris-

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, tom. xv. 35. Spenser, i. 10.
‡ In Hom. 45. Matt. c. 23. § Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Mor. iii. 10.

tians contrary to the dignity of a disciple of the cross. In Flanders boys used to be seen in the streets wearing an ecclesiastical dress and crying out. "Date bonis pueris panem pro Deo."

At the castle, or monastic gate, on the bridges, beneath the stone crosses on th highways, at the portals of churches, and wherever there was a spot that seemed to have an influence of religion, there sat the mendicant, the wandering palmer, or the destitute wretch who might hope by looks to excite compassion.; and in relation to art, at least, it is no great progress to perfection to have our streets and portals stripped of such figures as Callot represents, and insolent well-dressed proletaires demanding assistance, for the sake of propriety and the honor of a gentleman, in their place. The old painters are fond of these subjects; witness the picture in which we see a wall, through which is a small window with a cross over it, and the word "alms" inscribed, before which a crowd of poor persons, old and young, are presenting themselves, while a hand alone is seen dispensing alms. These windows can be remarked in most of our ancient buildings, though they have been walled up since many years. Neither can I discover grounds for believing, that in the moral order the change has been so greatly for the better, as some writers affirm. In Catholic countries, where the ancient manners and institutions remain, the poor are not that clamorous, obtrusive, and almost menacing race, which they are forced to become elsewhere. Dante represents them standing meekly in silence, content to let their looks speak for them. All is peaceable, orderly, even cheerful in the group before the gate. Each waits for his turn, and seems as grateful to behold another receive alms, as if it had been given to himself; as if each followed the precept of the seraphic father, who says, "I return thanks to God that I was never a robber of alms, for I have always taken less than I might have had, lest other poor should be defrauded."* Their looks and words seems to verify the saying of the same blessed man, that whether alms are granted or cruelly refused, they return equal thanks to God; if granted, for the consolation; and if refused, for the occasion offered of merit and patience.†

We have already remarked that the cnarity of the great in ages of faith involved them in a personal and often laborious service. Meekness went along with alms; and it was not deemed sufficient to be liberal, if one did not follow the example of our Lord in condescending to the poor. St. Gregory remarks, that the ruler asked him to come to his son, and he refused to go in person; but to the servant of the centurion, though not invited, he promised to go in person. The Son of God did not wish to go to the ruler's son, but yet he was ready to visit and save the poor servant;—"memorable lesson," adds the holy pope, "to reprove our pride, which refuses to estimate men as men."

In the middle ages, great consolation resulted to the poor from the general opin-

* Apophthegmat. B. P. Francisi, xi. † Sermo III.

ion, or rather Christian instinct, that simplicity was an estimable quality in the great. Thus Helgald says of Robert king of the Franks, "He loved simplicity, and he showed nothing but what was common, in his speech, walk, and manner of life."* The same virtue was ascribed to Charlemagne, and the epitaph on Isabella, daughter of St. Louis, particularly eulogizes her simplicity.† In fact, it was then religion.

In Catholic times, it used to be the darling recreation of a young princess, daughter of a king, child in heart as well as in age, to feign herself one of the poor, laying aside her royal state, and putting on a peasant's cloak, to walk amidst her young maidens of honor, pretending to beg, and like St. Elizabeth, perhaps, as if warned by a divine inspiration of the lot which Providence was reserving for her, saying, "It is thus that I shall walk about when I am poor and in misery, for the love of my God."‡

The genius of great artists conduced to the same end. Of many it is particularly recorded, that, like Pietro Cavallini, the Roman painter, they were the most devoted friends of the poor.§ He, it is true, was a man of saintly life; but where could they find studies for the holy family, if they did not frequent the society of the holy poor? Independent, therefore, originally, of religious motives, it evidently entered into the habits of our ancestors, and even into their notions of enjoyment, to visit personally the poor. Only look at their solitary cabins, and the picturesque site on which they construct them, and judge how interesting it must have been to persons who had minds like those of the old Catholic gentry, to know somewhat of the inmates. Here they knew they should find a form of domestic life very different from the monotonous and artificial society of the rich. The lady of the feudal castle, as well as the artist of Rome and Florence, had felt this in the days of her youth, and piety sanctified what a lov or nature had perhaps at first inspired. The lady, when she retired by night into her secret tower, and heard the rising gust drive the large drops against the tinkling pane, would look in contemplative mood from her casement towards the cottage on the distant heath, that she had visited perhaps only some few hours before, and then she would indulge her fancy in conjecturing what were at that moment the thoughts and occupations of the poor, alas! so much more exposed than she feels herself to the driving of the pitiless storm; for she knows the peasants intimately for many miles about, and it discolors not the complexion of her greatness to acknowledge it. Amidst all the splendor of her rank, she cherishes a familiar acquaintance with the sons and daughters of the poor; and, indeed, these humble considerations make her often out of love with her greatness. She feels it no disgrace to remember their names, or to know their faces, or to take note of their devout prints upon the walls, of their furniture, their tables and dressers, with all that is arranged

* Ap. Duchesne, iv.
† Id. tom. v. 443.
‡ Ct. de Montalembert, Hist. de S. Eliz. c. 8.
§ Vasari.

upon them in such neat order: or to hear the inventory of their shirts or gowns, to know at what time she must send linen to one or warm clothing to another. She knows what sport amuses most the child, as if she were its playfellow, and what sayings are familiar to the aged tongue, as if she culled wisdom from it. She has often sat as a dear friend in the poor man's cabin amidst the innocent group, round the blazing faggots gathered from her own woods; and not unknown to her are the simple profound sayings, the low muttered prayers, the strange old recollections, and the bright whispered hopes of the aged indigent creature who dwells like a recluse on the skirts of some wood or blasted moor.

The duchess, say the records of St. Elizabeth, used to ask the poor who applied to her, where they dwelt, and then no distance or difficulty of road could stop her. She visited the cottages farthest from the castle; she entered them with a kind of devotion mixed with familiarity, and consoled their inhabitants far less by her generous gifts than by her sweet and affectionate words. Often has she been seen leaving the castle loaded with provisions, taking precipitous paths to hasten to the huts in the neighboring valleys. On one of these occasions, it is said, she met her husband in the woods returning from hunting, and that he saw a luminous crucifix over her head; which so moved him that he caused a pillar, surmounted with a cross, to be erected on the spot, as a memorial of it for ever.*

But to return to the mendicants and the wandering stranger. The seraphic father, St. Francis, said that the bread of beggars was blessed and sanctified by charity; it is holy bread, saith he, which the praise and love of God sanctifies.† "Cast your bread upon the passing waters; that is," adds St. Anthony of Padua, "the poor who pass from place to place begging; and after much time will you find it—that is, you will be recompensed. Alms in holy Scripture are termed a sack, because whatever you put in it is found in the eternal life. Thou art a stranger, O man! Carry this sack on the way of thy pilgrimage, that in the evening, when thou arrivest at the hospice, thou mayest have some provision."‡

I said that in the circle of the beggars all was fair and orderly; and sooth, whether you be an artist in search of forms, or a philosopher in pursuit of moral observation, you will do well to pause awhile and remark the group that gather before the door of the blessed merciful; you will see countenances among them that will impress you forcibly with the idea that they are those of living saints, of men of prayer and contemplation; and when they do speak, it is often to utter some affecting and piercing remark, or some benediction that sounds, even without attaching a supernatural importance to it, like a prognostic of future felicity. An ancient author speaks of the impressions caused in the mind of a certain matron, from the reply of two strangers whom she found before the church of the martyrs, John and Paul, at Rome. and to whom she ordered her almoner to give

* Ct. de Montalembert, Hist. de S. Eliz. chap. 8. † Colloq. B. P. Francisci, vi.
‡ Ser. S. Antonii de Padua, Dom. ii. post Epiph.

money. They had only said, "Thou hast visited us, and thou shalt be recompensed in the day of judgment." Yet these few words were sufficient to inflame her whole soul with the anticipations of heaven.* Truly no one need be surprised at such relations, who has sat down in the circle of beggars in Catholic countries, amongst whom it might so easily happen that there would be a blessed friend of God. Uncharitable tongues encourage rich men to suspect these just ones who return to them more than Romeo did to Raymond Berenger. Aged and weak, the wanderer departs; and if the prudent did know the heart he has, begging his life by morsels, they would lament their stern severity.

Antonio Manzone, surnamed Peregrinus, of his own accord left his country when a boy, through love of the celestial life, and travelled over nearly the whole world as a mendicant, living on alms. He visited Jerusalem, Rome, Loretto, Compostello, and other holy places, with incredible labors of body, and returned to Padua, his native city, absolutely unknown, where he led a life of poverty and want, till, with weakness, cold, and fatigue, he died, and left a writing behind him by which it was discovered that he was of the noble family of Manzia of Padua.†

The scrupulous attention which every one evinced to give some gratification to the persons who applied to him for alms, might lead one to suppose that the Catholic rule was like that of the old heroic world, of which Homer makes Ulysses remind Nausicaa, when he entreats her to have pity on him, and adds,

——— ὅε γαρ κακα πολλα μογησας
Ἐς πρωτην ἱκομην.‡

To which, also, Sophocles makes Œdipus appeal, who, finding that he has first come to the grove sacred to the Eumenides, urges this circumstance as a claim to their especial favor, saying, "since to you first of all the land, I have bent my knee," or applied for succor.§

"Whenever you give any thing," say the writers of the middle age, "mortify not with harsh words, A sweet word excels whatever you can give; it is above all your other presents." "There are men," says Guy de Roye, "who are so rude to the poor when asked to give alms, that they even reproach them, and apply vile epithets to them before they give them relief, which is a great confusion." Such alms please not God; for one ought to give immediately, remembering what Seneca saith, that nothing is bought so dear as what is gained by prayers.‖ The king, St. Louis, and that "dear holy Elizabeth," who in a short life, offered all that could adorn a Christian in a princess and a saint, had such a respect for the poor, that they never gave alms without kissing the hand that received them.

According to St. Gregory, compassion is more than a gift; because it is more to

* Vin. Bellov. Specul. Moral. iii. x. 21.
† Bernardini Scardeonii Hist. Patavinæ, Lib. ii. Thesaur. Ant. Ital. tom. vi.
‡ Od. vi. 175. § Œd. Col. 85. ‖ Le Doctrinal de Sapience

give one's self than one's property, for by compassion we give a part of ourselves —grief of heart. It was, therefore, the true Catholic mercy which Henry IV. ascribed to his son, saying,

> "He hath a tear for pity, and a hand
> Open as day for melting charity."

This was imitating Him who wept at the sight of Martha and Mary, in order, as St. Gregory Nazianzen says, that tears might thenceforth be laudable.* St. Chrysostom therefore says, that to weep, στενάζειν, is a noble kind of alms;† and notwithstanding the supernatural motive, humanity and pity were never to be wanting. Alms must be pious, say the ancient moralists, and given with compassion. We must be able to say with Job, "Flebam super eo qui afflictus fuerat, et anima mea compatiebatur pauperi."‡ We read, in consequence, that John the Almoner always gave more to women than to men, on account of the infirmity of their sex. Those who give alms to beggars in the ancient paintings are always shown with kindly visage comforting them. "Nor do I mean," says St. Bernard, "that we should be without affection, and that with a dry heart we should move our hands alone to the work. I have read, amongst the great evils of men enumerated by the apostle, that one consists in being without affection."§

"It is a glorious thing to be able to make true friendship," says the universal doctor, "and the charity of Christians has stronger bonds than natural love. You have a friend, not who should visit you in sickness, console you in prison, but whom you should visit in prison, whom you should feed when hungry, whom you should receive when erring. If you love your poor neighbor, by that mere love you give alms; for the alms of the heart are much greater than those of the body; for charity suffices in alms without earthly substance; and that which if corporally given does not suffice, unless it be offered with a benignant mind."‖

It is this tender compassion which characterized those men of eminent charity, Francis and Dominick; for the spiritual and corporal necessities of their neighbors did so afflict them, that they used to dissolve into tears when they could not redress them. "Send no one away sad," says St. Thomas à Kempis, "but dismiss them in peace and joy. Let them have what food and drink may be needful to them, and afterwards commend yourself to their prayers; and if you should add any thing more for their consolation, God will repay you."¶ The maxim respecting alms was that of St. Augustin: "Semper redditur et semper debetur."** For, as St. Antony of Padua observes, with the ancient writers whom we before heard, to give alms is an act of justice;†† insomuch that sacred Scripture saith, "Defraud not the poor of alms." Guy de Roye says, that those who do not succor the poor according to their ability, will be guilty of homicide, if, through thei

* Or. 31. † In Ps. 129. ‡ Vin. Bellov. Speculum Morale, Lib. iii.ix. 22
§ In Cantica, Serm. 4. ‖ Alani de Insulis Sum. de Arte Prædicat, cap. xxi.
¶ Thom. à Kemp. Epist. ** Serm. 26 de div. †† Ser. S. Ant. de Padua.

neglect, any of these should die.* St. John of God used thus to call the poor his creditors. "Make friends of the Mammon," says St. Clemens Alexandrinus; "a friend is not made by one gift, but by a long intercourse; for neither faith nor love can be produced in one day, but he who perseveres to the end shall be saved."†

The guides of the middle age are constantly reminding men of the admonition of Tobias, to provide against the day of necessity; adding, that is the day of death and the day after death, when man truly wants mercy; and as St. Ambrose saith, mercy is the sole companion of the dead; therefore, they conclude, that it is great wisdom to give mercifully to the poor for God—that this is a wisdom not earthly, animal, diabolic, but a wisdom which is from above. Indifference to the poor they had so often warned them against, that they could not miss the scope at which they aimed. Indeed, the homily of St. Cæsarius of Arles on the last judgment, which is designed to inculcate works of mercy, would alone explain the phenomena presented in the extraordinary solicitude for relieving the poor, which distinguished the society of the middle ages; for then the inhabitants of every city, castle, and rustic village throughout Christendom, were accustomed to hear the same admonitions, not as inquisitive, to criticise a specimen of eloquence, or as well-bred persons to assist at a benevolent assembly with civil decorum, but as listeners attentive to a voice unearthy, yea, as those laid in the grave—their hands together clasped, while busy fancy conjured up the forms of Christ's terrific advent. After repeating the words of the gospel respecting the doom of souls, that terrible voice of our Lord at once to be feared and desired, he continues to address his hearers in the following terms:—"Who, on hearing these words, would not at the same time tremble and rejoice, since Christ promises to his servants a kingdom—to sinners everlasting fire? Hear, I beseech you, dearest brethren, this lesson with your whole hearts! let it sink deep into your minds! For whoever receives this lesson in a teachable spirit, if even he be incapable of understanding the rest of the Scriptures, may, by it alone, learn to do every good work, and to flee every evil one. Observe, then, what our Lord promises to say to those who shall sit on his right hand:—'Come, ye blessed! for I was hungry, and ye gave me meat.' Whilst to those on his left hand he will say, 'Depart from me, ye cursed! for I was hungry, and ye gave me no meat.' He did not say, Depart from me, because you have committed theft, or murder, or other deeds of the kind; but, because from your substance, ye have not given to the poor. As they on the right hand will be redeemed by almsgiving, so they on the left will be condemned for the neglect of it. He will not say to these, Come, ye blessed, because ye have not sinned! nor to those, Depart, ye cursed, because ye have sinned! but because ye have refused to redeem your sins by almsgiving. No man without sin ever did or can exist; but every man, with God's aid, can redeem his sins. God has said, 'Whoever feedest not the hungry, and clothest not the naked, shall be

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience.

† Lib. quis Dives salvet.

sent into everlasting fire.' If he is to be damned who giveth not to the poor, what shall be the fate of him who hath taken what is another's? If he is in hell who would not receive the stranger into his house, where is he who hath expelled the owner from his house? If fire be the lot of him who has not clothed the naked, what is reserved for him who makes naked the clothed? Wherefore, my dearest brethren, adhere to almsgiving, to works of mercy, which will not suffer the doer to labor in darkness. O soul, which dwellest within fleshly perishable walls, give whilst thou canst—give unto thyself from thine own substance! for fleeting is what thou possessest, and God offers thee a kingdom in exchange for thy works of mercy."

The holy fathers meet the objection which is so often raised against almsgiving by men who urge their domestic necessities. "Let us give to Jesus Christ the vestments of earth," says St. Cyprian, "to receive from him the vestments of heaven. Let us give the food and drink of this world, that we may assist one day with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, at the everlasting banquet." "Da pauperi ut des tibi," says St. Peter Chrysologus, "da tectum, accipe cœlum." After repeating the words, "He who hath pity on the poor lendeth to the Lord," a writer of the thirteenth century exclaims, "O earthly and cupidinous sons of Adam! why do ye not attend? why do ye not negociate? why do ye not lend on such usuries, without sin, and for an ineffable gain? Why to faithful bargains and to most lucrative markets doth the avarice of worldlings turn so deaf an ear, as if sleeping on the earth? Alas! to what Jew, to what sacrilegious person will ye delay to give little for much, a temporal for an eternal a corruptible for an incorruptible treasure?"

The universal doctor had argued in the same manner: "O man! why seek to enrich thyself with that of which thy neighbor hath need? why appropriate to thyself what should be communicated to the poor? Dost thou wish to be a skilful merchant, an egregious usurer, a prudent mercenary? Give what thou canst not retain, that thou mayest gain things which thou canst not lose; give little, that thou mayest receive an hundred fold; give what belongs to another, that thou mayest obtain an eternal inheritance!"*

"But you will say," observes St. Cyprian, "'we have a numerous family, which prevents us from giving abundant alms. Precisely the more children you have, the greater ought to be your alms. You have to pray the Lord for many persons; you have to efface the sins, to purify the conscience, to redeem the life, of many persons. Thus Job offered a multitude of sacrifices for his children; and the more numerous they were, the more victims did he immolate to the Lord."†

In the legend of the hermit instructed in the diverse and obscure judgments of God, the angel kills the child of the rich man, who received them to hospitality,

* Alani de Insulis Sum. de Arte Prædicat. cap. vi. † De Eleem.

and assigns as the reason, afterwards, that the father, formerly a man most charitable to the poor, had since the birth of his son neglected to practise works of mercy, and had kept every thing for his son.*

The Catholic rule, therefore, was, to give alms without fear of doing injury to others. "The beginning of avarice," says St. John Climachus, "is to pretend alms; but its end is a hatred to the poor."† And St. Augustin showed the groundlessness of such fears, demanding, "An putas qui Christum pascit à Christo non pascitur ?"‡

These sentiments passed current with the people, and gave rise to proverbial sayings in every nation, such as that of the Spaniards, "that to give alms will never lessen the purse." In the legend of John the Almoner, we read of one who gave immense alms, from having found by experience that the more he gave to the poor, the richer he became; and ancient writers have taken pains to collect numerous examples in proof of the justice of this general observation.§

In the time of Tertullian, every one set aside what he destined to the poor once a month ;‖ and besides contributing to this general deposit, brought his oblations to the altar. In the middle ages, the rule concerning the proper quantity of alms was reasonable and strictly just. We find it delivered in this manner :—"Your goods are either necessary to support your decent state in society, or not. If not, you are bound to give alms of them, even to the poor who are not in peril of extreme necessity ; if they are, you are not bound to give alms of them so as to disable yourself from living according to the decency of your state, unless the poor who are in such indigence that notable signs appear in them of extreme necessity, either present or proximate ; for to other poor you are held to give alms in time and place, so as not to derogate from your own power of living according to the decency of your condition."¶ That this was not a dead letter is certain, for history displays it in action.

We read that William Ferrier and his wife Constantia, the parents of St. Vincent the celebrated Dominican, inhabiting Valencia, after their first dissipated years, made it a rule to give to the poor whatever remained of their annual revenues after providing for the proper maintenance of their house.**

In respect to the giving of alms, the Catholic society of the middle ages seems to have resembled, as far as relates to the external act, the people described by Thucydides, with whom it was counted more disgraceful not to give to one who asked, than not to receive after having asked.†† We read, in fact, of many men who, with the bitter pang of self-remorse were smitten, and who did condemn themselves to severe penance, for having neglected on some occasion to relieve a beggar. Hermann Barth, master of the Teutonic order, before his pilgrimage to the East, while almoner of the king of Denmark, in Lubeck. during a cold win-

* Guy de Roye, Le Doctrinal de Sapience. † Grad xvi. ‡ S. August. Lib. de Eleem.
§ Speculum Mor. Lib. iii. x. ‖ Apol. 39. ¶ Apol. iii. x. 19.
** Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. tom. iii. Lib. 17. †† Thucyd. L. cap. 97.

ter's day, had repulsed with harsh words a poor woman with her children, who sought alms. Soon afterwards, these poor creatures were found frozen to death. Admonished in a dream of the impending judgment of God, and terrified at the result of his own barbarity, he made a vow to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. There he was given an office in the German hospital, in which he so distinguished himself by his piety, his zeal for the poor, and his gentle solicitude towards the sick, as also for his valor in battle against the infidels, that he was elected master of the order.*

Such a case was most rare; but when an occasion of the kind did occur in ages of faith, the anxiety was not how to hush up the event as quickly as possible, and then banish it from the memory; for there entered too many elements of a religious nature into the composition of men's minds, when the doctrine of future judgment was current, to give much scope to the action of those prudential maxims with which the men of our days dole out their miserable pittance to the poor.

St. Francis of Assisium, in his youth, while following the trade of his father, having refused on one occasion, contrary to his custom, to give alms to a poor man who asked it for the love of Christ, was suddenly so moved to compunction, that he immediately afterwards made him a great donation, and promised to God from that hour never to refuse alms again to any one who should ask him. Pope Leo thought he had offended a poor man whom he found at his gate. Returning, he led him into his private chamber, and made him lie down on his own bed.†

Justine, a Panigaleo, who had migrated from the Observantins to the Capuchins, exercised the office of guardian in the convent of Narni, before the building of that house was completed. It happened, one evening, that a certain poor stranger arrived there at sunset, and asked for lodging. Dominicus, a Buschetto, who had charge of the door, gave him a loaf of bread, but declined admitting him, on the ground of the building not being finished, and of their own great poverty. The stranger took the bread, and said, "I know that you are poor, but I am not ignorant of what you can do;" and without more words, turned his back and departed. This incident was sufficient to plunge the whole community into the deepest affliction. The porter immediately disclosed what he had done to the guardian, who replied, "Alas, my son! we have committed a grievous sin—we have denied lodging to our Saviour—we have driven from our gate the Lord of angels! Woe to us disdainful, ungrateful men!" and then he wept bitterly. During many days and nights he had no rest; for the words of the beggar, "Lo, I depart rejected!" seemed to sound in his ears, and he thought that he could never sufficiently lament having refused him a night's lodging.‡

Eckehard the First, master of the school of St. Gall, in the time of the emperor Otho I., and one of the most learned men of his age, would not, on one occasion.

* Voight, Geschichte Preussens, ii. 58.

† Vincent Bellov. Specul. Moral. Lib. iii. p. x. d. 21 ‡ Annales. Capucinorum, an. 1547.

permit a certain stranger to be ill-treated by the servants of the hospice, for pretending to be lame and suffering himself to be carried, when the discovery of his deceit was made by his springing out of the bath when the servants poured in more hot water instead of cold, on his complaint in Welsh, saying "Caldo," which they understood to mean "too cold."*

Every circumstance of human life, whether of joy or sorrow, triumph or adversity, was deemed an occasion that called for a distribution of alms to the poor. What generous liberality was evinced towards them by the inhabitants of Lyons during the splendid festivities in the year 1559, which were celebrated in that city to express the public joy on the restoration of peace between the Christian kings! †

The custom of leading an ox through the streets of Marseilles, on the festival of Corpus Christi, and probably of exhibiting another in Paris during the carnival, however systematically perverted in later times, from the supposed discovery of its being a remnant of Paganism, originated in nothing else but the charity of certain pious confraternities, which had bound themselves at these seasons to regale the poor. Drexelius mentions an instance of a marriage feast at which three hundred poor persons were benignantly entertained; the bride and bridegroom serving up the dinner, and waiting upon them till the end of the banquet. ‡ On any great deliverance we read even of the common soldiers giving up part of their day's provision in alms to the poor. The least circumstance was sufficient to touch the hearts of men of faith, and induced them to practice works of mercy.

Atto, bishop of Troyes, when sick, gave every thing that he possessed to the poor; and we have the letter which St. Bernard wrote to him on his recovery, praising him for that act of wisdom. "Above all royal treasures," saith he, "this title of poverty doth now ennoble and render you illustrious. Job is praised because he endured his losses patiently; and shall a bishop not be praised, who willingly gave up and liberally distributed? He did not wait till the hour of death, when he could neither give nor retain; but while suspended between the hope of life and the fear of death, living and willing, he dispersed and gave to the poor, that his justice might remain for ever; for it is more fitting that the priests of God should be clothed with justice than with gold or silk. O wondrous clemency of God towards you! He wounded the flesh, that the soul might be healed; he killed avarice, that you might live to justice."§

To mourners, indeed, belonged in an especial manner the duty of liberality to the poor. Monteil gives the narrative of a forlorn wanderer in the fourteenth century, travelling through a part of France where there were few towns or human habitations. "I walked," says the beggar, "slowly on, loaded with age and misery, and looked on all sides if I could see any Christian that would give me bread. Presently an old woman who had a goat that was grazing by the side of

* Eckehard in Cas. S. Galli, c. 89, 10
† Paradin, Hist. de Lyons, Lib. iii. c. 31.
‡ De Eleem. par. iii. c. 7.
§ Epist. xxiii.

the road, said to me, 'Run, run! the people of that great castle which you see yonder, have published since many days, for three leagues about, that they give alms.' I hastened thither, and found that they gave two sous to every one; and the person who distributed the alms said to each one, 'Pray God for his humble servant, the high and puissant lord, the late baron, our master!' Such was the case when Louis de Sancerre died, who ordered in his will that the alms should be cried through the country for two leagues round. At the funeral of Pierre de Luxembourg, there were more than ten thousand poor, of whom thirty-eight were clothed; bread and meat were distributed to all."* At the funerals of the great, hundreds of poor men used to be clothed in black or grey stuff, who walked in procession with lighted flambeaux.†

On the death of Charlemagne, his son Louis inspected his treasure of gold and silver and precious stones; and after giving what was legal to his sisters, distributed all the remainder among the poor, chiefly widows, orphans, strangers, and indigent priests; giving all for his father's soul, and reserving nothing for himself but one silver table of a triple form, as if composed of three shields joined in the centre, which he kept for love of his father; and even this he redeemed with a price which he added to the alms for his soul.‡

Nor was the distribution of alms confined to the days of burial, or those immediately subsequent; for it continued to be made on every anniversary, as is attested by many ancient tombs, as I remarked on that of Jerome Vignola, in the church of St. Julian at Venice. Thus, on each anniversary of Peter de Nemours, bishop of Paris, who died in 1220, there were always one thousand loaves given to as many poor persons.§ The alms formerly given at Westminster Abbey, on the anniversaries of our different kings that lie there entombed, were very considerable; but what shall we say of those mites given every where by pious children, in every rank of life, when revolving years brought back remembrance of the day that a father or a mother died? "Ah! suffer me to mourn for my friend, the holy priest Francis Zaghio," says Bernardine Scardeoneo, in his History of Padua, "too soon taken from us by a premature fate. He was dear to me from his boyhood; and though in age he might have been my son, I not only loved him as a brother, but revered him as a father. His discourse was generally on the passion of Christ, and on works of mercy. Every year he used to celebrate holy rites, on stated days, for his departed mother's soul; and on these occasions he would afterwards invite a few of his friends, and place at the table twelve poor

* Monteil refers to the will of René, king of Sicily in 1474; Mémoires de Comines; Antiq. de Rouen, par Taillepied, chap. 53, on the funeral of George d'Amboise; Testamentum Humberti II.; Delphini, Jean Chartier, Hist. de Charles VII.; Hist. de la Maison de Courtenai, par Dubouchet, giving the will of Jean de Courtenai in 1510; l'Hist. du Diocese de Paris, par Lebeuf, chapters, Montmorenci, Ecouen, Louvres

† Testament de Banduin Desplancques, in 1482, in l' Hist. de la Maison de Béthune; and the Testament of Jean de Courtenay, in 1510, in the Mémoires de Comines. Preuves.

‡ Thegani de Gestis Ludovici Pii viii. § Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 488.

men—blind, lame, and beggars—whose feet he washed; and then, though he had but a slender patrimony, he used to give alms to a crowd of poor persons."*

The going on a pilgrimage was another occasion on which men felt bound to exercise more than ordinary liberality to the poor; for, in short, no pious practice of the Catholic religion was deemed whole and sound without the accompaniment of alms. Behold, for instance, Robert Duke of Normandy setting out for the Holy Land, with an honorable escort. "What tongue," exclaims William of Jumièges, "what words could relate the abundant alms which he distributed daily to the poor? What widow, what orphan, what poor person, was seen by him without being consoled at his expense? In fine, he arrived at the venerable sepulchre, in which had reposed the thrice holy body of the King of Heaven. What pen could describe the torrents of tears with which he watered this tomb during eight days, or relate how many presents in gold he piled upon it?"†

Louis I., Count of Blois, who was so moved by the preaching of that miraculous man, Foulques, curate of Neuilly-sur-Marne, that he took the cross with Baldwin, Count of Flanders, before his departure signalized his charity towards the hospital of Cheteaudun, and the chapter of Chartres, as well as towards the monks of Val Dieu in that city."‡ St. Adalbert, of Prague, intending to make a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, prepared for the journey, not by amassing money, but by distributing all he had to the poor. Even a large sum which the Empress Theophania, consort of Otho II., then at Rome, gave him. he secretly applied to the relief of the indigent.

Above all, to penitents, bounty to the poor was an indispensable condition of their reconciliation with the Church; so that, as the historian of Bologna testifies, many cities of Italy felt the happy effects of the memorable year of devotion which saw the great movement of the pacific host, which Rainerio of Perugino, the blessed hermit, first levied; for of their repentance many charitable confraternities, such as that at Bologna, of the hospital of St. Mary, are standing monuments.§

When the Emperor Charles V. came to Rome, in 1536, his confessor Garsias de Loaysa took care to remind him of the injuries which his troops had inflicted on that city. Therefore, besides making great presents to every church, he left a deposit which was to be employed in enabling a certain number of poor maidens to marry, each of whom was to receive from three hundred to two hundred crowns, and also made a noble distribution of alms in every quarter of the city. His confessor seems to have been greatly moved by the cases of suffering which he then observed, consequent upon the sack of Rome; for on his return to Spain, being made archbishop of Seville, we find him sending to that city every year, out of his own revenues, five hundred gold crowns.‖

* Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patavii, Lib. ii. cap. 6.
† Hist. Norman. Lib. vi. 12.
‡ Berniers, Hist. de Blois, 305.
§ Sigonii. de Epis. Bonon. Lib. iii.
‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. 26.

Let us hear a late traveller's account of Catholic manners, in a country which had at that time escaped the influence of the modern opinions. "In Portugal," saith he, "marriages, christenings, and funerals, are generally followed by a liberal distribution of alms. The inhabitants of Lisbon do not fancy themselves contaminated by coming into contact with their indigent brethren, for whom they almost invariably show a friendly solicitude. They are not to be persuaded that there is death in the touch of the poor, or contagion in their shadows; they know them to be heirs of the same hope, and regard them as objects whom Heaven has surrendered to their bounty. Hence they have no surly mastiffs or pampered menials to drive the children of indigence from their doors. The Portuguese is never harsh to the poor, however importunate they may be: if unable to relieve the applicant, he conveys the denial with a kind look of sympathy. 'The Lord prosper you, my brother!' is the most usual mode of dismissal. If he accede to the request, his manners seem to indicate that it is an honor conferred upon himself. The general phrase is, 'Do me the pleasure of accepting this trifle;' when he respectfully touches his hat, and moves on. Instances of sturdy beggars are very rare, for a man in health scorns to invade the patrimony of the infirm. If compelled by distress to solicit relief, he will often check your liberality, by declining to take more than is requisite for his present support. From the earliest age, tenderness and solicitude for the poor are unceasingly inculcated. Children are generally the almoners of the family; and it is delightful to witness the alacrity with which they will break up their games and abandon their amusements, at the first summons of this important duty. Religion perfects what the habits of the nursery had commenced, and charity becomes blended with their very being."*

Do you mark, reader, how the manners of the middle ages have been preserved with the ancient faith, and how, under that blessed influence, the poor and the rich are every where the same?

In the ancient books we find ascribed to innumerable persons that trait which St. Jerome records of St. Paula, who used to think she had suffered a great loss, if any one else but herself nourished the sick or hungry poor. Damnum putabat, si quisquam debilis et esuriens cibo sustentareter alterius.† During the famine in 1504, when the people of Lyons, and of the country around it, made such devout processions barefoot, imploring the mercy of heaven, Paradin mentions that there was the greatest emulation among the citizens to determine who would give most alms to the poor.‡

We have before seen what care was taken in all ages of Catholic civilization to inculcate hospitality, as a work of the blessed merciful. Origen saith, "Let the old man run, let the old woman hasten, let the boy be active, let no one be slow in such works." "O man," cries Alanus de Insulis, "if thou knowest thyself to be

* Letters to Osorius. † Epist. xxvii. ‡ Hist. de Lyons, liv. iii. c. 16.

a stranger and a pilgrim on this earth, thou wilt not refuse lodging to a stranger; for if thou shouldst exclude the poor of Christ from thy roof, thou wilt exclude Christ himself from a lodging in thy breast."* A writer of the thirteenth century says, "Let hospitality be given cheerfully, and, above all, constantly; for let no one imitate the Jews, who in one and the same week received our Lord processionally into their state, and then ejected and crucified Him."† By hospitality is acquired the knowledge of God, as was seen in the two disciples going to Emmaus, who were illuminated not by hearing, but by entertaining our Lord, and also infusion of grace, as was proved in Zaccheus, into whose house, with the Divine Guest, salvation entered. At the gates of cities, in the twilight hour, might be often found gentle youths, deputed by their hospitable parents, to stand there on the look-out for strangers in distress, who courteously unto love's table bade the welcome guest. That hospitality of this kind should have been exercised not alone by the inhabitants of wild and unfrequented places, but also by the elegant and highly refined communities of Italy, in the ages of most perfect social organization, is a fact not a little remarkable. Ambrose Leo says, "that nothing gives such pleasure to the citizens of Nola as to receive guests."‡

At Brettinovo, in Romagna, a town beautifully situated on a mountain, the chief families, in the time of the Guido del Duca, sung by Dante, used often to have contentions with one another, when a stranger arrived, for the honor of receiving him to hospitality; to prevent which, in future, a pillar was erected in the market place, to which were fastened as many rings as there were fathers of families; and as soon as a stranger hung his horse's bridle on one of them, the family to whom it belonged claimed him as their guest, and entertained him with all honor and humanity.§

Every one has heard that when the friar Jerome Savonarola was preaching at Florence, vast crowds of strangers of all ranks came to that city, in order to assist at his sermons; but few perhaps were aware, that on that occasion these strangers were received gratuitously into the houses of the Florentines, several of whom, through Christian hospitality, used to lodge under their roof as many as from twenty to forty; and not only did they give them lodging and food, but these rich citizens used to wait on them at table with their own hands. Severe to themselves, and full of compassion for their neighbor, they revived the simplicity, innocence, and pious liberality of the first Christians.‖

The ingenious delicacy, too, of the Portuguese was characteristic of Catholic manners, in relation to the poor in every country. That courteous style, which gave rise to the custom of dating letters from your house at Paris or Lyons, from your castle in Languedoc, or Normandy, as if one gave one's own house to the per-

* Alani de Insulis Sum. de Arte Prædicat. c. 37. † Speculum Moral. Lib. iii. p. x.
‡ De Nola, Lib. iii. c. 6. § Leandri Alberti Descript. Italiæ, 467.
‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 23.

son to whom one wrote,* was not confined to intercourse between equals and the great. "Those rich men are to be considered unjust," says Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Angelo Politian, "who instead of remembering God and the poor, call themselves proprietors of riches, when they are themselves rather the property of riches. On the contrary, they are just and happy who, amidst great riches esteem themselves ministers of God, tutors of the poor, dispensers of riches. Fortunate young man, who has found such portions! I had found such long since for myself."† In fact, to judge by the general practice, the villa or palace of a rich man was open to every poor youth of genius that required encouragement, and to every stranger whom sickness and calamity overtook while within the range of his ordinary alms. Not to speak of those who, like Piccolomini, Duke of Amalphi, and Count of Celano, did not rest until, through the ardent love of God and affection for his servants, they had wholly given their beautiful parks and gardens to the poor that sought celestial recreation,‡ it appears as if, in general, one might have gone to the house of the Catholic nobleman, in ages of faith, repeating the words of Socrates, when he invited Aristodemus to accompany him to that of Agatho, ὡς ἄρα καὶ ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ δαῖτας ἴασιν αὐτόματοι ἀγαθοι; and if a sense of one's own inferiority suggested that they were not applicable, the custom of these times would have encouraged one to proceed without referring to the authority of Homer, who makes Menelaus a worse, repair uninvited to the supper of Agamemnon, a better man.

The Counts of Cortarodula of Padua traced their title from "the court of Rodulo," which was the term applied to the castle of their munificent ancestor Rodulo Valuasorio, at the village of St. Mary Nonio, in consequence of his generosity in receiving and nourishing there men of all ranks.§ Andrew Doria received indeed as his guests the Emperor Charles V. and his son Philip Maximilian, King of Bohemia, with his wife, the daughter of the emperor; but you are greatly mistaken if you suppose that the poor, and men of humble rank, were excluded from sharing his hospitality. Those palaces which he erected with royal magnificence, those delicious gardens along the sea-shore and on the mountain, those painted galleys, which were the wonder of the age, were ready at all times to receive the poorest man, as well as the prince. "Never," says Sigonius, "was he known to show a different countenance to the great and to persons of the lowest rank; and not only his house, but even his bed-room, was open to every one who wished to speak to him."‖ In fact, these delicious villas of the nobles of Italy and Spain were, from time to time, as the occasion might require, the retreat of the poor student, the garden of the poet, the convent of the monk, the desert of the hermit, the hospital of the sick.

St. Louis Bertrand, an Apostle of America, being seized with his last illness

* Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. v. 309. † Mars. Ficinus, Epist. Lib. I.
‡ Mutii Phæbonii Hist. Marsorum, Lib. iii. c. 7. in. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.
§ Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patavii, Lib. iii. 13. ‖ Sigonii de Reb. gestis And. Doriæ, Lib. ii

in Valencia, the physicians prescribed for him the country air ; and no sooner was this known than the Duke of Najarra, and many other nobles, disputed with each other as to which of them might have the honor of receiving him into one of their villas. The Archbishop of Valencia, Don John de Ribera, had the preference, and during many months he served him with his own hands, gave him the medicines and food at the proper hour, and said mass before him every day.*

Men of the middle ages might often be represented by painters in the act of imitating to the letter the good Samaritan. In the thirteenth century a nobleman of the country riding through a wood in the neighborhood of Pavia, finds two youths, in the habit of St. Dominic, covered with blood, and stretched upon the snow. Alighting, he perceives that one of them is dead, and that the other has been grievously wounded. The latter he places upon his horse, and conveys to his own castle, whence he sends persons to provide for the burial of the other Here, as if he had been his own son, he takes care of the stranger during many months ; and on his recovery, hearing that they had been traveling to Paris, to study at that university, when they fell into the hands of assassins, he presents him with money to pursue his journey.

Every thing that could diminish the appearance of conferring an obligation, was carefully exhibited in the dispensation of mercy. Apollinarus, Patriarch of Alexandria, contrived to relief the distress of a young nobleman, who had fallen into poverty, and in such a manner, that it seemed as if it was the young man who conferred a great favor in not requiring much more as his due.† John, the Monk of Cluni, who had written the life of St. Odo, the second abbot of that monastery, says of him, " that on a journey he used to ask the children and poor boys on the road-side to sing some ditty, in order that he might pretend to repay them with his alms."‡ The Abbot Leontius, in giving alms, used to place the money on the ground, or on the steps of churches. that it might not seem to come from his hand, but from the mother of God.§

Of Angelrann, the venerable Abbot of St. Riquier, in the reign of King Robert, we read, that as he was full of constancy and love for all subject to him, so he was also most compassionate to the poor. He used often to leave the monastery in search of people to relieve : he used then to carry with him a secret purse full of silver, and whenever he saw a poor man approach, he used to take out some denarii, and let them fall on the ground, and then he would call out to the poor man that he might come and see what was lying there, as if he were himself surprised. Then the poor man would say, " my lord, here is money on the ground : " upon which the pious deceiver would order him to pick it up, and take it for his own, as if it was, no doubt, prepared for him by God.‖

The Universal Doctor is obliged to denounce a disorder incident to many per-

* Touron Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. liv. 30.
† Sophronius, Pratum Spirituale, cap. cxciii. ‡ Bibliothec. Cluniacen. 33. § Id. cap. lxi.
‖ Chronic. Centulens. sive S. Richarii, Lib. iv. cap. 8. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

sons, he says, in prayer; who, while addressing God with their lips, are all the while thinking within themselves how they may best give alms to the poor. * Although, probably, such a distraction is at present less frequent than in the twelfth century, when it is treated as a venial sin. I have myself remarked rich persons kneeling among the poor in churches, who used to take that opportunity of dropping pieces of money into their caps, or upon their jackets which lay beside them, and thus leaving them to wonder at the unexpected grace.

St. Gregory Nazianzen praises his father for having given to his mother the whole administration of the money which he set apart for bounty, chiefly in order that the praise might not redound upon himself.

The father of St. Catherine of Sienna having given her full liberty to dispense his alms, she used to search out families that were in secret distress, and while sick and weak herself, used to carry out early in the morning loads of corn, wine, oil, and other provisions, and contrive to introduce them into the houses of some widow or poor person, who was ashamed to ask alms, and having deposited them behind the door, would then make her escape unseen.† Every land, in short, could tell of some subtle act of mercy, which, in respect to the delicacy of the spirit that dispensed it, resembled the gift of Nicholas,

> Which on the maidens he
> Bounteous bestow'd, to save their youthful prime
> Unblemish'd.‡

The chief public provision for the poor in ages of faith consisted in the property of the church. By the canons of the Council of Orleans, in the year 511, a third part of the offerings to the church are given to the bishop, with an injunction that he must provide for the poor and the sick; and by the Council of Tours, in 567 it is ordained, that cities, and priests residing in the country, should nourish their respective poor, in order that these may not be obliged to remove to other places. By the canons of the Council of Clermont, in 549, it is ordered that the bishop who shall hear of there being any lepers on his territory, or in the city, must furnish them with all that is necessary.

Having already had occasion, while illustrating from history the justice of the ecclesiastical order in the middle ages, to enter into many details respecting its pious liberality, there would be at present but little to add on the subject of episcopal and monastic charity, if it were not that the object on which our attention is at present immediately fixed seems to require that we should produce some instances. We observed that in this great work of providing for the wants of the poor, the Roman Pontiffs set an example to the world, which the Universal Church was not slow to follow. The names of Silvester I., Gregory the Great, Urban I., Leo IX., Alexander V., Innocent III., Boniface V., Adrian I., Gregory

* Alani de Insulis Sententiæ.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. 14. ‡ Dante, Purg.

XIII., Clement VIII., Pius V., and numerous other Pontiffs on that supreme chair, must be for ever associated in the human memory with the idea of charity and munificence in the utmost perfection and degree. In the archives of Rome there is a book still extant filled with the names of those who, in Rome and in many other places, received alms from St. Gregory the Great, for he sent money to the poor of distant cities, as to those of Jerusalem, where he also founded an hospice.* So great was the liberality of Alexander V. to the poor, that he used to subtract sometimes from his daily bread to give to them, and in allusion to the effects, he used to say, "I was a rich bishop, a poor cardinal, and now I am a mendicant pope." Yet this does not prevent historians from affirming, that the riches of the Roman Church were acquired by means of her charity and alms.† During a season of scarcity, Innocent III. provided for every distressed person, in Rome. Those who were ashamed to make known their poverty received assistance secretly, and others, to the 'number of 8000, received provisions daily. "What money he expended in this work," says an ancient writer, "He knoweth, from whom nothing is hidden." During his pontificate he employed the tenth of his revenues in alms, besides other immense sums, and all oblations received at his feet. His almoner went about in search of poor and infirm persons, and to such as were noble he gave seals, so that the person who brought them received money every week for their support. The same benignant pontiff, in a spirit of Catholic simplicity, used to suffer poor boys to come before his table at the end of his repasts, and receive the food that remained on it; and every Saturday he used to wash and kiss the feet of twelve poor persons, and give money to each.‡

"O what was the grief of all men," cries Hugo, bishop of Ostia, describing the death of Eugene the Third to the chapter of Citeaux. "What especially were the lamentations of widows and orphans! you would say that he must be already with God who is so lamented by the people.§ Such was the type of all ecclesiastical princes. If you ask to behold the treasures of the Church, she presents to you the poor; if you inquire into her means of defence, it is again to the suppliant poor that you are referred. "The prayers of the poor are my defence," said St. Ambrose to the emperor; "those blind, those lame, those aged persons are more powerful than the stoutest warriors." ‖ If you inquire to what end the Church has been endowed with wealth and property, you are told that it is to feed the hungry, to clothe the naked, and, according to the necessities of time and circumstance, to relieve the poor of Christ. The prodigious alms of the church of Toledo to the poor, who were ashamed to beg, are described by the old Spanish historians,¶ while modern writers only descant on its grandeur and its privileges; and what think you, reader, were those of York, and Canterbury, and Durham, and those other English sees, whose bounty to the just and needy is gone by, not

* Drexelius de Eleemosyna, i. 4. † Id. Pars. iii. c. 5. ‡ Gesta Innocentii. III. 143.
§ Epist. S. Bern. ccccxxxvii. ‖ Serm. de Basil., non trad.
¶ Lucii Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hispaniæ, Lib. ii.

through their fault, but his who first taught kings, with impious and insane violence, to abolish the discipline of Rome? Bartholomew de Martyribus indeed lamented the disposition of those who first introduced splendor into the archiepiscopal palace at Bragua, in which he would only occupy a small room, which he fitted up like a cell; yet these palaces were built by holy men of charity, with the express view, it is said, of leaving no pretence to successors for not residing, or for not being bountiful to God's poor. If you are led at moments to feel surprise at the magnificence of the episcopal state in the middle ages, your suspicions and jealousies are quickly dissipated when you find that the feast is for the hungry, the delicacies for the lame and the blind. "Largus muneribus, sibi parcus," say the biographers of Gui de Sulley, Archbishop of Bourges, in the thirteenth century.* And this is the testimony in most cases. When St. Ansbert, Abbot of Fontanelle, made his first entry into Rouen, as bishop of that see, in the seventh century, and a grand entertainment was given to persons of all classes, we read that the largest table was for the poor, and that the prelate having caused every one to be placed according to his rank, then seated himself among the poor.†

You find the same usage after a lapse of eight centuries, when Yves Mayeuc, Confessor of Queen Anne of Brittany, made his first entry into Rennes, after being consecrated bishop of that see, for he ordered the gates of his palace to be opened, and a table to be provided during many days, not alone for the canons and great men of the city, but for all the poor, on whom he waited with his own hands.‡ Garsias de Loaysa, Archbishop of Seville, gave a fund to supply 1000 ducats every year for marriage portions to poor orphan maidens of the city of Talavera.§ It is highly curious to compare the constant zeal in this respect, and the corresponding deeds of men who are accused by the modern teachers of "forbidding to marry," with the theories and deeds of the same teachers, who seem to regard the marriage of the poor as detrimental to the state, and who are actually in some countries enforcing measures, which when practised by the Spaniards upon the Indians in America, were denounced by the Dominican friars to the government of Spain as incompatible with the profession of Christianity. Certainly the contrast is most singular, and if it were only as a lively remark, I am surprised that our contemporaries have not indulged in it, though even at the risk of placing their own guides in an unenviable position. A few instances will show what kind of evidence Catholicism can produce here. Let us note some.

Pius V. signalized the first years of his pontificate by giving marriage portions to an immense number of poor maidens. Prodigious sums, for the same purpose, were given by Peter de Tapia, Bishop of Segovia, and by other Spanish prelates. Louis de Vervens, Archbishop of Narbonne, used to give every year 12,000 livres, in marriage portions, to the poor maidens of that city and diocese;

* Gall. Christ. tom. i. † Aigrad. Vita S. Ansberti apud Bolland. ad 9 Feb.
‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. iv. 25. § Id. iv. 26.

and he provided that the same sum should be similarly paid for ever.* Cardinal John de Torquemada, Master of the Sacred Palace, whose works of mercy entitle him to as much renown as his learned writings in defence of the faith, besides giving prodigious alms to the poor, founded, in 1460, in the Dominican convent of the Minerva at Rome, a congregation charged with giving a dower every year to twelve poor maidens, on the festival of the Annunciation. Such was the origin of this celebrated confraternity, which was afterwards so much enriched by sovereign pontiffs, cardinals, Roman princes, and nobles, that after three centuries, it was able to give every year sixty Roman crowns, and a dress of white serge, to more than 400 maidens. Pius V. gave 5,000 gold crowns to its fund. So greatly was this establishment esteemed by the popes, that they always went in cavalcade, accompanied by the cardinals and the Roman nobility, in order to distribute with their own hands the tickets of those who were to receive them.† Innumerable were the young persons whom the charity of Thomas Carbonel, Bishop of Siguença, enabled to marry, and establish themselves with decency. How affecting must it have been to behold the 2,000 children, who came amidst all the inhabitants of Siguença, to welcome back this holy prelate, when he returned to them after his absence at the court of Charles II. to whom he had been appointed confessor, and from which he could only get permission to depart by appealing to the canons of the Church, and to Pope Innocent XI.‡ Nicholas Albergatus, Bishop of Bologna, gave up all his episcopal revenues, retaining only what was necessary for his own subsistence, in order chiefly to give marriage portions to poor maidens, and the remainder he employed in supporting learned men.§ Such importance was attached to charity in this form, that by the canon laws the goods of a fraternity, founded for the purpose of enabling poor persons to marry, could not be alienated without solemnities.‖ These Roman priests, "who forbid men to marry," take very strange measures, methinks, to secure obedience and accomplishment of prophecy. But let us mark the more ordinary course of episcopal mercy to the indigent.

Maurice, Archbishop of Rouen, who had owed his education to the charity of a convent, when elected Archbishop in 1231, finding that the annual income amounted to 12,000*l*, gave orders that the expense of his family should never exceed 3000, and that all the rest should be given to the poor, as to the rightful owners.¶ Simon Salterreli, Archbishop of Pisain 1323, chose four ancient inhabitants of that city, on whose probity and experience he could rely, and charged them with the office of selecting the best objects for his alms. By their hands he gave the greatest part of his revenues, and even of other personal property which devolved upon him, to widows, orphans, and ruined families, who, through delicacy, could not make

* Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 393.
† Touron. Hist. des. Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 21. ‡ Id. tom. v. Lib. 39.
‖ Sigonii de Ep. Bouon. Lib. 14. § Novarii Tract. de Privileg. Miser. Person. 244.
¶ Id. I. 586.

known publicly their distress.* St. Antoninus, Archbishop of Florence, gave orders to his servants that no poor person should ever be sent away empty handed. He was reduced sometimes to the necessity of selling his furniture, and even his clothes, to meet the demands of his charity. He had no horses, and one mule sufficed for his service, and he sold this animal to give the price to the poor, but it was purchased by a rich citizen of Florence, who did not fail to send it back as a present to the Archbishop. Notwithstanding this continual expenditure he was able to make a permanent foundation for the relief of poor families that were ashamed to ask alms, in the college of St. Martin, in which he established twelve administrators, and which prospered so well, that when Touron wrote his History, it used to support 600 poor families. On founding this college the saint observed, that he was working for some families which were then rich, but which would one day be in distress; and the event verified his prediction. The charity of Cardinal Orsini, when Archbishop of Beneventum, was so prodigious on the two memorable occasions when the city was reduced to a heap of ruins by earthquakes, that he deserved to be styled its second founder. In the space of thirty-five years he spent there, in works of mercy, the sum of 698,593 ducats.† This reminds one of what is related of St. Charles Borromeo, that in a few days he distributed to the poor of Milan 60,000 gold crowns. Touron proposes the question, whence did they derive such immense funds? and he shows, as in the instance of the Archbishop of Beneventum, that they were enabled to effect this by the riches of their own family, the revenues of their see, and, above all, by a wise economy and an extreme frugality, for they both lived absolutely as penitents, and their servants were content with necessaries.‡

Peter de Tapia, a Dominican, Bishop of Siguenza, in the time of Philip IV., gave a memorable example of mercy to the people of his diocese; for in order to defray the expenses of a war, the minister had imposed a tax upon them, which the majority were unable to pay in money, and the government required them to give their corn and oats instead of it. The bishop was greatly moved at the view of their sufferings, and indignant at the severity with which Antony de la Tour collected the money. He resolved, therefore, to take the whole payment on himself. The king wrote to thank him for his liberality to the poor; but the bishop, on placing the sum in the hands of the collector, said to the officer, "You will do well, sir, to learn in future to command your temper. I am sorry you are going to the army, for ill will befall you there." The bishop said no more. Antonio departed, and after a short time, falling into a dispute, drew his sword against a general, and suffered death for that offence by the hands of the executioner.§

Although it would be endless to enumerate instances of episcopal charity to the poor on ordinary occasions, I cannot refrain from adding to the examples already

* Touron, tom. ii. liv. xi. † Italia Sacra, tom. viii.

‡ Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. vi. liv. 43.

§ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. liv. 36.

cited the name of Dominick de Marinis, Archbishop of Avignon. He was of a family that had been long celebrated for its mercy to the indigent. His mother, Theodora Justiniani, was styled by St. Philip Neri, a person of all goodness, in consideration of her alms ; and his father, the marquis of Bomba, in the kingdom of Naples, not content with imitating her in that respect, wrote a dialogue to excite the pity of the faithful to have compassion on the poor of Jesus Christ. Touron says, that it would require a volume to describe the charitable acts of the Archbishop, into whose palace the poor used to enter as if it was their own home.

In the middle ages no vastness of enterprize, or splendor of works, seem to have interfered with the discharge of episcopal mercy to the wretched. The present beautiful cathedral of Sienna owes its plan and commencement to Thomas de Berta, bishop of that see, who assigned for the work great sums from its revenues, and who is precisely a prelate distinguished in the history of his order for the profusion of his alms to the poor.* On occasions of public calamity the service rendered by ecclesiastics would seem almost incredible, if it were not so well attested.

Walter de Sufield, Bishop of Norwich, in the thirteenth century, at whose tomb so many miracles were wrought, in a year of famine sold all his plate and distributed every pennyworth among the poor. In the year 1788 De Juigné, Archbishop of Paris, gave 300,000 francs to the poor ; and in the same year the Curate of St. Roch, in that city, gave to them 200,000 francs. After the troubles which afflicted Genoa, in the year 1295, the celebrated Archbishop James de Voragine gave up all his rich revenues to relieve the wants of the citizens : he sold even his furniture to give the money to the poor. An ancient writer records, that to the hospitals alone he gave as much as would have almost exhausted the resources of a king.†

When St. Thomas of Canterbury began to discharge the archiepiscopal functions, much of his time was occupied in deeds of mercy, in visiting the sick, relieving the poor, and ministering in the hospitals : daily on his knees he washed the feet of thirteen beggars, and gave to each four pieces of silver. The episcopal charity never failed, even where the means might have been supposed wanting to give it effect. St. Martin one day going to church, met a poor man naked, and ordered his archdeacon to buy instantly a vest for him ; and as he delayed doing it, he took off his own in the sacristy, and gave it to the poor man ; and when the archdeacon soon after came to press him to leave his prayers, and go into the church to say mass, he told him that he must first purchase a vest for him. Thus compelled by necessity, the archdeacon went out, and for five pieces of silver bought a shaggy tunic, that had been made two years, which blessed Martin put on, and when he raised the Lord's body at the altar his arms were seen naked.‡ Pope

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. liv. 3.

† Idem. liv. 6.

‡ Vincent. Bellov. Speculum Moral. Lib. iii. pars x. dist. 21.

Gregory finding a poor man who had suffered shipwreck, and not having any thing else at hand, gave him a silver dish full of vegetables, which had been sent to him by his mother. St. Germain of Auxerre, on his return from Rome, going out of Milan, desired to give all that he had to the poor; and inquiring from his deacon if he had done so, found remaining only three denarii, which he then gave, saying to the murmuring attendant, "God has enough to feed his servants this day;" and in fact they had not proceeded far when the servant of a rich nobleman came up, and presented them with 200 solidi from his master.* Marc Antonio Bizzonio, Bishop of Fulginas, in 1586, was proposing to set out for Rome, to visit the threshold of the Apostles, when in the act of proceeding forth, a certain nobleman fell on his knees, and besought his charity, confessing that he and his family were almost in despair through poverty. The Bishop, shocked at such a recital, broke off his journey, and gave the money which it would have cost him to this distressed family.† When Augustin Justiniani, one of the great scholars of that period, was appointed by Leo X. to the see of Nebbio, in Corsica, on arriving in that island he found the number of poor persons so great that his means did not suffice to relieve them. But this bishop of a poor see was determined that the fruits of his learning should make amends, and for this purpose he published, with notes, two thousand and fifty copies of the Psalter, in five languages, of which he was master, Hebrew, Greek, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Latin; finally, this illustrious scholar abandoned all the honors and advantages that were offered to him by the learned world,—at Paris, where he was almoner to Francis I., at London, where he was received by Sir Thomas More, at Rome, where the treasures of the Vatican must have possessed such attractions for him, in order to pass the rest of his life in his poor diocese on that island, while returning to which, in 1536, after a short absence at Genoa, where domestic affairs had required his presence, he perished in a tempest.‡ Gilles Foscharari, Bishop of Modena, in the sixteenth century, more than once pledged his episcopal ring and crosier, in favor of those whose distress he could not otherwise instantly relieve. The habit of St. Dominick or of St. Francis, which these men generally persisted in wearing, was, it is true, dearer to their hearts than the insignias of their ecclesiastical authority.

Had we permission to wait until more of these men of mercy passed, we might behold an Ives, who never thought that he had dined or supped unless he had entertained some poor man or stranger at his table, a Laurence, Archbishop of Dublin, in whose presence sixty poor persons dined daily, an Anno, Archbishop of Cologne, in whose palace as many as twenty-four poor men dined every day, and a multitude received alms, a Godefrid, Bishop of Amiens, who waited every day on thirteen beggars, for whom a table was prepared, a Cardinal Bellarmin, who when

* Idem. † Italia Sacra, tom. i. 716.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. liv. 25.

Archbishop of Capua, could sometimes hardly penetrate into his own house, such a crowd of poor persons pressed round the gates, all of whom received relief, who, after the example of Pope Pius V. refused to have any fire in his chamber in the severe winter months, in order that the price of the wood might be given to the poor

But such details are interminable; let us be content with a hasty visit to the tombs of bishops, which often attest, with impressive simplicity, how well they discharged that duty of their high office. The epitaph on Leontius senior, Archbishop of Bourdeaux, was written by Fortunatus:

Quem plebs cuncta gemens confusâ voce requirit,
Hinc puer, hinc juvenis deflet, et inde senes.
Nemo valet siccis oculis memorare sepultum
Qui tamen in populo vivit amore pio.
Ecclesiæ totum concessit in ordine censum,
Et tribuit Christo quod fuit ante suum.
Ad quem pauper opem, preciumc aptivus habebat,
Hoc proprium reputans quod cupiebat egens,*

The same poet had described the charities of Charentinus, Archbishop of Cologne, in verses, which were afterwards placed upon his tomb.

Si videas aliquos quacunque ex gente creatos
Quamvis ignotos, mox facis esse tuos.
Pectora cunctorum reficis dulcedine verbi,
Lætificas vultu tristia corda tuo.
Pauperibus cibus es, sed et esurientibus esca,
Rite pater populi, dando salutis opem.†

In short, it is the common praise of all these Catholic prelates, as it had been of the Apostles, "that they were mindful of the poor."

From a consideration of these facts, it is not strange that some men should still be found to raise an energetic cry against the projected spoliations of ecclesiastical property; and as, in the instant which has lately occurred of a Spanish writer, to declare, although with the conviction of speaking to deaf ears, that in seizing the property of the Catholic Church, legislators are robbing the people of their best inheritance. "Politicians," saith this Spaniard, "who declaim against the riches of the clergy, do not consider the advantage that society derives from it. They would not wish to annihilate the patrimony of the poor of Christ, which is administered by the majority of the clergy with probity and exactness, if they would compare the amount of the property of the Church, her expenses and economy, with the immense patrimony of our grandees, their dissipation, and their alms. Allow the clergy to be despoiled of their revenues, and the streets will be filled with ghastly objects, houses will resound with the mournful cries of orphans and widows

* Lib. iv. c. 9

† Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 257.

famishing with hunger, and the roads will be infested with miserable workmen who receiving no wages in winter, will seize by violence what the inhumanity of their fellow-citizens denies to their necessities; for surrounded with luxury, and yielding to the most criminal passions, they expend impiously what they should spare for the poor."

But let us, in order to illustrate this subject still further, repair to a spot which abounds in every kind of interest. Let us proceed to the convent-gate, dear alike to the saint, the philosopher, the poet, the artist, the stranger, and the poor. The abbey of St. Riquier gave every day to the mendicants five sous of gold; it nourished three hundred poor, one hundred and fifty widows, and sixty clerks. Such was the liberality of St. Anselm, when Abbot of Bec, to the poor, who were daily fed in the hospitium, that not unfrequently he persuaded his monks to send from their own table the untouched viands, so that their own support was sometimes deemed owing to a miraculous intervention of Providence; when immediately after his exhortations to confidence in God, either a vessel would arrive from England with provisions, or some rich noble visit the monastery, and leave a memorial of his benevolence.

In Italy, and in the Catholic Cantons of Switzerland, I used to find at certain hours the doors of all the convents and religious houses surrounded with crowds of cheerful poor people, bringing their dishes and vessels to receive food and alms; the monks and nuns would be seen engaged in conversation with some of them who were disclosing their wants; and each for his little history seemed always sure of meeting with a most kind and gracious ear. "As for the poor," said one of the fathers to me with whom I was conversing, while lodged in the convent of Camaldoli, among the Apennines, "there is no one around our monastery who had not something from it. The young and able are employed in some work or other, and receive wages, the old and weak, or such as are not in a condition to work, come here to our gate, and have their food daily; there is provision for all our poor brethren." St. Benedict, in a time of famine, having given whatever he could find in his abbey ordered that in fine the last vessel of oil should be delivered to the poor.* Again, when a famine and pestilence devastated Aquitaine, and many provinces of Gaul, St. Odilo, Abbot of Cluny, broke up the sacred vessels of the church, and many beautiful ornaments, and did not even spare the crowns which the Emperor Henry had left there as a memorial, and whatever he could collect he gave to the poor. One day as he rode by the way, he found two boys who had perished. Immediately dismounting, he took off the woollen vestments which was next his skin, and wrapped up the dead bodies in it, and so gave them sepulture.† Bartholomew de Carranza, the Dominican, after acquiring immense literary renown in Spain and Italy, on his return to Valladolid, in 1540, from the latter country, sold all his books to succor the poor during a famine, and by his

* Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Mor. iii. x. 21.

† Bibliothec. Cluniacens. 317.

advice forty poor persons were nourished within the college during many months.* In the year 1197 a new and small monastery at Heisterbach, in the diocese of Cologne, made such efforts to relieve the distress of the people during a scarcity, that in one day there were counted fifteen hundred poor at the gate. Gebhard, who was then abbot, had an ox killed every day, which together with enormous loaves of bread, was divided amongst them. The means of the house were slender, yet this bounty was continued till the coming in of the fruits. On occasions of this kind the presence of a monastery was always attended by the same effects, and it will be curious to remark, in future ages, whether, when similar circumstances occur, the lay possessors, to whom the governments of Europe have consigned the houses of the religious, will be as insensible as the former proprietors to the loss of domestic treasures, in their zeal for relieving the wants of their distressed brethren; and also whether a minister of commerce in the capital, or a bench of magistrates on the spot, will be either able or willing to administer equal relief to the sufferers. In the year 1770, and that which succeeded, when a dreadful famine prevailed in Switzerland, Nicholas, Abbot of Einsiedeln, applied all the resources of the abbey to relieve the people. At immense expense were provisions of various kinds transported out of Italy over Mount St. Gothard, and distributed amongst them. The bread was baked within the abbey itself, and divided; and, besides, all the usual alms were given in an increased measure, for which charity the whole country afterwards formally expressed its gratitude.† Calmet shows that it was the ancient custom in all the principal houses of the order of St. Benedict, to give to the poor the tithe of all the revenues whether of corn, wine, cattle, or money, without reckoning private, secret, and extraordinary alms.‡ Thus Franco, Abbot of Lobes, in the reign of Louis-le-Debonnaire, made a decree that all tenths should be given for the use of the poor and strangers at the gate of his monastery.§ And similarly in the ancient statutes of the abbey of St. Peter at Corby, given by the holy Abbot Adalard, in the year 822, we read that a tenth of all things belonging to the house was to be given to the poor.‖

In the celebrated monastery of St. Maximinus, near Treves, there was a custom religiously observed, from the tenth till the seventeenth century, of giving twice a week a large portion of bread to every poor person who came for it, and as many as six hundred often applied. During the distribution the gates were closed, and all chariots were obliged to wait outside until the pious work was finished, which ordinance, it is said, displeased some rich men in latter times. The ancient statutes of Corby expressly sanction what some potentates before the revolution stigmatized as an abuse. "If strangers," they say, "should come from distant provinces exceeding the usual number of those relieved, the porter must provide what

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iv. 29.

† Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronik. 194. ‡ Comment. sur la Règle de S. Ben. tom. i. c. iv.

§ Fulcuinus de Gestis Abbatum Lobiensium apud Dacher. Spicil. tom. vi. p. 558.

‖ Statuta Antiqua Corbeiensis, cap. vi. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

is necessary for them, but so as not to diminish any thing from those who are daily relieved."* Then follows incidental evidence, that this discipline did not lead to an abuse of charity, for there is a remarkable provision made in the event of there being but a small number to seek alms. After stating what provisions must be daily given at the gate of Corby, there is this sentence: "If it should happen at any time that fewer people come, the hospitalier and the porter are to keep this circumstance in mind, in order that another time, when more persons may arrive, what was then left may be distributed.† Never less than four denarii in money are to be given daily at the gate, besides wood, and clothes, and vessels." The holy abbot adds the following injunction: "We beseech all persons, therefore, who may be appointed to offices in this monastery, that in point of largesse and distribution they may attend rather to the will of God than to the example of our parsimony; since every one will have to render an account for himself."‡

This was a reflection which members of the monastic order seem to have been at no time disposed to forget. Burkhard, Abbot of St. Gall, would sometimes return bare-foot, having given his shoes to the poor; and when his Chamberlain used to complain of the state of his wardrobe, in consequence of his charities, he used to reply, "If you do not give me what I ask, I know one that will; for the Dean, often to assist me, hides articles of clothing under the covering of my bed, that I may find them there."§

We have already seen, that St. Gregory the Great gave to a poor sailor not only all the money he had in his monastery, but also a piece of plate which belonged to his mother; and it was supposed by his biographer John the Deacon, that his subsequent elevation to the pontificate was the reward of that act. Adjoining his monastery he maintained a house of entertainment for the poor, and every day he gave dinner to twelve poor strangers at his own table. This was the custom of many abbots. Hear a capitulary of the Carthusians read. "Our Lord Jesus Christ says in his Gospel, give alms, and lo all things are clean to you. Therefore, we exhort and implore all priors of our order, in the bowels of the same God and Saviour Jesus Christ, who suffered himself to be suspended on the wood of the cross for us, that according to the faculty of their respective houses, they would apply their whole hearts to giving great alms. For there is nothing so accordant with nature, as that we should do to others what we would desire to have done to ourselves in a similar necessity."‖ Even the prejudiced author of a modern history of Glastonbury, expresses admiration at the vast number of charitable foundations made by the monks of that abbey for all kinds of distress. Brother Silvester was moved to embrace the order of St. Francis merely by witnessing the generous liberality of Brother Bernard Quintavalle

* Id. cap. iv. † Id. cap. iv. ‡ Id. cap. v.

§ Ekkehard de Casibus S. Galli, cap. x.

‖ Annales Ord. Cartusiensis, tom. i. Lib. iii. cap. xx.

to the poor.* We read of Capucnin friars, who, when they could not assist the poor in any other manner, used to beg leather or cloth from their relations, and make shoes and clothes with what was given them for the poor.† Regenbodo, a monk of Hirschau, used to give so much of his own allowance to the poor, that he left himself to suffer hunger and thirst, for it was the custom in the ninth century for each monk to receive a portion for his own support during the year.‡ Bartholomew de Martyribus, in his latter days, living retired in his convent of the holy cross at Viane, used to devote himself wholly to the instruction and comfort of the poor. Returning one Sunday evening, after preaching in the country, he met a number of indigent persons, to whom he gave all that he had; but one poor old widow, coming after the rest, and stating that she had not even a bed for her daughter, he appointed her to come under the convent wall, at a certain hour, when, on his return, he tied up his own bed, and after nightfall let it down from his window. The poor mother was below to receive it, and the friars did not discover, till after many days, that their illustrious brother had only the boards of his bed to sleep upon.

In the year 1740, notwithstanding the most deplorable spoliations which had been suffered at Jumièges, the monks of that abbey furnished bread to six or seven hundred poor. This munificent charity was practised by that community to the last hour of its existence, so that when the revolution forced Dom Bride, the Prior, to fly from the house, he set out, accompanied with the prayers and tears of the surrounding people.§

But to recite the services of the monks, collectively and individually, to the poor, would be an interminable labor. It is enough to refer the reader to the lives of any eminent members of the monastic institute, which will soon convince him that, in respect to mercy, the character of an Angelrann, or a St. John of God, was typical of them all. In reading their annals, however, and indeed the history of the middle ages in general, one cannot but feel some degree of surprise, on remarking the number of instances in which extraordinary erudition, which might be thought to leave no time or memory for such works, was combined with the most tender solicitude for the poor; instances which seem to indicate that faith had restored that supposed pristine order of nature, traces of which it was thought had been faintly discerned by those philosophers who had investigated the secrets of things, and who remarked, that merciful persons were inclined to historical researches and moral studies. Aristotle, in treating on physiognomy, ascribes to the merciful, as their sign, the disposition of being curious inquirers respecting manners, and always communicative; on which passage, Cocles, of Bologna, a physician of the middle ages, comments, and adds, that their cell of memory is greatly enlarged: "Memoriter nam retinent et libenter recitant facta hominum et gesta, præcipue ab

* Les Chroniques des Frères Mineurs, Lib. i. 27.
† Annales Capucinorum, an. 1539.
‡ M. Gerbert, Historia Nigræ Silvæ i. 125.
§ Deshayes, Hist. de l'Abbaye de Jumièges, p. 162.

antiquo."* Michael Scott affirms, that they are great watchers by night, and of subtle genius.†

What these curious investigators deemed conformable to nature, was seen realized in the great historians and philosophers of their time. When Muratori lived at Modena, as librarian to the Duke, he had a custom of distributing alms every day at twelve o'clock to the poor of his quarter. During the hours which he devoted to study, he would receive no visits from any but the poor; but at whatever hour any of them applied for relief, whether he was at his books or at table, he would instantly rise and give to them. In the severe season he used to provide a stock of beds and warm clothing to distribute among them, and sometimes when he used to find a beggar stiff with cold, and hardly able to support himself, he used to have him carried to his house, warmed, placed to eat at his own table, and then sent away with alms. In addition to this ordinary bounty, he established a confraternity in the church of the Pomposa, to provide for the wants of persons who might be forced otherwise to beg, and also to furnish employment to the sons and daughters of the poor; and to aid this institution he published his Treatise on Christian Charity. He gave to it the revenue which he drew from his benefices, and, from the dedication of his works, and, as he wished to transmit to his heirs as an honorable memorial the gold chain which had been presented to him by the Emperor Charles VI., he had it estimated, and a sum equivalent in value given to the fund. This institution supported 200 orphans, widows, and helpless persons, and paid 100 sequins every year to the hospital. Here we should allude also to the charity with which so many learned physicians attended the sick poor, of which the historians of Padua record instances. Bernardine Scardeoneo says, that Jerome Tirabosco Coradino used to visit indigent sick persons for nothing, more willingly than others repair to the rich for money; to whom refer these words, which are inscribed on his sepulchre in the church of St. John. "In hac urbe morbos summa cum charitate depellens." Similar to him was Jerome Urbino, a man of great piety, without whom it was thought no one in Padua, whether rich or poor, could recover;—so benign also, and condescending, that not only the citizens, but every sick person among the spiritual poor of Christ, in houses of religion, used to seek his assistance.‡

But, leaving these clerks of science and letters, and turning our attention now to the manners of the Lay society, in the middle ages, we shall find that men of secular life had caught the influence of the ecclesiastical spirit, and were directed in a great measure, as far as relates to the treatment of the poor, in conformity with the rule of religious perfection. King Robert used to nourish, out of his own revenues, 1000 poor persons in eight different cities that he had selected. Whenever he travelled in Lent, he used to feed 100 every day. On Maunday

* Magistri Bartholomei Coclitis Bononiens. Physionomisti Anastasis, Lib. i. p. 20.

† Michael Scott, Lib. Physionomiæ, cap. xlv ‡ De Antiq. Patavii, Lib. xi. 9.

Thursday, at the hour of tierce, he served 300 with his own hands, having one knee on the ground; to each person he gave vegetables, a fish, bread, and one denarium. At sext he did the same. And after dinner, he laid aside his royal robe, and washed the feet of 160 poor men, giving to each two solidi.

Helgald, the Benedictine monk, describes all his charities in detail. On one occasion, returning from a certain monastery, he found that his lance had been gloriously adorned with silver by his wife. After looking at it some time, he began to reflect whether there were not some person who might want the value of it. So, calling a poor man to him, he asked him for an iron instrument, with which he could take off the silver, and when this was brought to him, he closed the doors, and then, with the assistance of the poor man, removed the silver from the lance, and, with his own holy hands, put it into his bag, and charged him as he departed, to take care that no one should discover him. He used to have his palace filled with the holy poor, and they were admitted to feed round his table. He chose, however, twelve poor men, whom he especially loved, whom he had always with him, in honor of the holy Apostles, whom he loved with a devout heart, always preparing for their solemn festivals with a votive fast. These poor men always rode before him wherever he went, and at his death he prayed that their number might never be diminished. The chief care of this man of mercy was thus described:—

" Pascere jejunos, nudos vestire, ligatos
Solvere, discordes conciliare sibi;
Et quæcumque homines miseri solatia quærunt,
Hæc, ut possibile est, promere corde pio."*

Theganus relates of the Emperor Lewis-le-Debonnaire, that he never sat down to table until he had given his daily alms; and that, whenever he was travelling, he used to entertain the poor when he rested, places at all places where he stopped, a xenodochia ready prepared.†

St. Oswald, king of the Northumbrians, was not surpassed even by the holy Bishop St. Aidan in deeds of mercy. On one Easter festival, both bishop and King being seated at table, there arrived a multitude of poor from other parts; the King ordered not only the yet untasted viands, but a silver dish then before him to be broken to pieces, and the fragments to be distributed among them. Petrus Alphonsus says that a certain well educated youth, son of a wise minister of state, to whom a king had promised, on his father's death, the same dignity, gave away all his paternal property to the poor, meditating on the vanity of the world, and the mercy of God; and, being accused to the king as a dissipator of his father's goods, he replied, that he had not dissipated, but congregated them, and placed them beyond the reach of thieves and corruption. At which answer the king was so pleased, that he made him his privy counsellor in place of his

* Epit. vii. Rob. ap. Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. tom. iv. † Duchesne, tom. ii. p. 135.

father. St. Boniface, when a lad, used to be flogged by his mother for giving away his clothes, even his shirt, to the poor.

One of the first traits recorded of Roger, king of Sicily, is his love in boyhood for giving alms, and when he had nothing to give the poor, his custom of running to his mother Adalesia to beg that she would give him something for them.*

Hear now the monk of Monte Cassino describe the boyhood and youth of the great Abbot Desiderius, who became sovereign Pontiff, under the name of Victor : —"He was of very gentle blood, and his father was Count of Beneventum, and he was always trained up by gentlemen, and instructed in good customs. After his father's death, he used to take what his mother had, and give it continually to the poor ; and with his precious clothes he used to cover the poor. And when his mother saw such subtraction of her riches, not to prevent him from doing his will and pleasure, she used to let him do what he wished, for she loved him with great love, as well she might love such a holy, and beautiful, and gentle youth, and her only son."† A great almoner, says Christine de Pisan, was King Charles V., as may be witnessed in his many foundations of churches and colleges; he gave to poor abbeys and priories, and to churches ; he restored hospitals with great alms ; he gave to the mendicant friars, and to poor scholars, whom he comforted and supported till they could have a degree ; and whenever he heard of any one grown old or distressed, whether poor religious persons or others, or of any poor maidens that had no portion, or poor orphans or widows, or persons in any piteous case whatever, he gave of his own largely ; and every day continually with his own hand, humbly and devoutly he used to give a certain sum of money to a number of poor people, and he used to kiss the hand of each of them."‡

The Archduke Leopold, and his father the Emperor Ferdinand II., were often heard to declare that if all their treasury were to be exhausted, they would give their habits to the poor, as St. Leopold is known to have done.§ I find these lines on the tomb of Lewis VII., king of France :—

"Pauperis ut memores, melius sint pauperiores,
Gaudeo pauper homo pauperiore domo."‖

The kings of France used even to claim, as belonging to their dignity, the title of "Chief Administrators of the Goods of the Poor," as may be witnessed in the Royal Letters of the 26th of February, 1475, relative to the Hospital of Bourdeaux, an office, which, in the time of such princes as Lewis-le-Debonnaire, Robert St. Lewis, and Charles V., might have been fairly granted to kings, without an injustice, or exposing the interests of the poor to danger. The ancient capitularies

* Alexand. Abbat. de Rebus gestis Rogerii, apud Murat. Rer. Italic. Script., tom. v.
† L'Ystoire de li Normant, Lib. iii. c. 49. ‡ Livre des Fais du sage, Roy chap. xxxii.
§ Avancin, les Vertus Horoiques de Leopold, &c. ‖ Ap. Duchesne, tom iv.

attest, that the kings of France of the first two races, consecrated the largest part of their treasury every year to the assistance of the indigent.*

In later times one may conceive what an immense advantage it was for the poor to have frequently one of themselves in the person of some holy friar, loving poverty and the poor, at the court and in the very council of the monarch, as his confessor. In ages of faith those who wore rough raiment were in kings' houses. Such was John of St. Thomas, the Dominican, comfessor of King Philip IV. of Spain, who was always seen attending to the interests of the poor, whenever it was a question of levying supplies, receiving and presenting their petitions, becoming their advocate on every occasion, and then visiting them in sickness or in prison. And how zealously did many princes correspond to the counsels which such men gave!

A certain ambassador at the table of Amedæus, duke of Savoy, making inquiries respecting sporting dogs, the duke told him that he should see his kennel the following day. Having arrived at the appointed hour, the duke led him into a large hall, containing many long tables, at which a crowd of poor persons were dining. "These are my sporting dogs," said the duke; "with these I go on the chase to heaven." "But how many idle, useless persons are among them?" replied the stranger. To whom the prince answered, "It is not my business to scrutinize their breasts. If God should examine me and you minutely, where should we stand? I must regard the poor as a father—not as a judge."

Nor were the nobles generally backward in the same track, though history has to record so many of their names among the number of the oppressors. Innumerable examples were found amongst them of that wise folly which from the sycamore the publican gathered as the fruit of life. It is usual, with many writers, to designate the barbarians who established themselves in the Roman empire as having been but partially converted to Christianity; but the missionaries appeared to have impressed them, at all events, with a due sense of the great commandments of the new law. During the famine which ensued after the wars of succession between the children of Gondioch, king of Burgundy, we read of Erdicie, a prince of the country, who, in the year 472, sent his men with horses and chariots through the whole kingdom of Burgundy, to seek the indigent and sick poor, and had them all brought to his castles and houses, which he filled with them; and when the famine was at an end, he placed them again on the waggons; and each person was conducted to the place from which he had been taken.†

Such effect had the exhortations to almsgiving of St. Elphege, Archbishop of Canterbury, on the rich of that time, that they eagerly sought for objects of its exercise, and we are told left not a man throughout the province subject to want—a sentence which one might deem sufficient to startle the men of Kent at the present day,—at least to render their eloquence more guarded when next they meet

* S. Victor, Tableau de Paris, vol. i. p. 58. † Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, Lib. ii. c. 3.

together, to take counsel against the pope on Penenden Heath. Things are certainly much changed since the thirteenth century in England, when men could think of leaving no poor persons throughout a whole district without a donation. Sir William Vavasour, of Haslewood, who leaves his best horse, with the arms befitting a knight, for his mortuary to the chapel of St. Leonard, bequeathed also one penny to every poor person of the district; adding, that the sum total specified shall be "more if need be." The type of rich and honorable men, in ages of faith, was very different from what it is at present. It may be seen, in the character ascribed hy the monk of Monte Cassino to Richard, prince of Capua—the richest of the rich, the humblest of the humble, the bravest of the brave;* or in that of Robert Guiscard—adorned with the dignity of all virtue—so humble, that amongst his people he appeared not as the seignor, but as one of the knights, from whom there was no poor widow woman or little boy who might not ask advice, and to whom they might relate all their thoughts and poverty; who justly judged all that was brought before him, exercising along with justice forgiveness and pity, well observing the words, "Tant seras plus grant, taut plus te humilieras à touz."†

Guido, son of Gaymere, and brother of the ferocious Gisolfe, furnishes another example. "Devout he was to the church," we read, "and continually befriending the poor and giving them alms—honorable knight, and the bravest of the Longobards; of whom the Normans always said, that amongst that race no one was more precious than he."‡

It was the custom of the rich, in early ages, to give the tenth of their goods expressly to the poor.§ And this practice was by no means confined to the great, for we find many instances of its observance in the middle and lower ranks, comprising the tradesman and the laborer. St. William of Rochester, who was a baker, is expressly recorded to have always given to the poor the tenth loaf of his workmanship. In Burgundy, the growers of vines had the holy custom of giving, from time to time, some portion of their best wine to the poor, in order to obtain the blessing of Heaven upon their vineyards.‖

A writer of the thirteenth century speaks of a certain shoemaker who used to bring whatever remained of his profit, after providing for his food and clothing, every Saturday, to St. Peter's Church at Rome, and give it there to the poor.¶

During three centuries no one carried a sword in time of peace; but the sign of nobility was a long purse hanging from the belt, for containing alms; and the glory of arms yielded to the renown of mercy to the poor; so that Roger, youngest son of Tancred de Hauteville, and one of the bravest knights of the world, derived his surname from his liberality rather than from any other virtue, being styled, "Roger of the purse," because he always had it in his hand, dispensing

* L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. iv. c. 17. † Id. liv. v. c. 1. ‡ Id. liv. viii. c. 2.
§ Germania Sacra, tom. i. 78. ‖ Monteil, Hist. des François. tom. iii. 26.
¶ Vin. Bellov. Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. p. x.

bounty. In fact, men boasted of the great charities of their ancestors as they would in these days of their exploits on the field of battle, or of their rhetorical triumphs in the senate. The noble Roman family of the Frangipani derives its name from the great charities of one of its ancestors, in feeding the poor of Rome, as Philip Villani mentions in his life of Dante.

The Badoarian family at Venice, which had erected the church of St. John the Evangelist, in the year 790, when raising a tomb within it, in the sixteenth century, to Angelo Badoario, deemed it the highest eulogium, when it was made, to testify that he ruled the hospital of the poor with singular charity; and again, when an inscription was to be placed upon the sepulchre of the great admiral Andro Badoario, these noble men were content to say of him, "Qui cum honores omnes esset consecutus, pietatem in pauperes unam coluit."* No blazon was deemed more noble on a monument than the lines which commemorated the almsgiving fervor of the dead: as those over the grave of Martial d'Auvergne, which record that he was the counsellor and nourisher of the poor, and that he patiently rendered up his spirit to Christ;† and those on the tomb of the third Grimoald, duke of Beneventum, which is placed near the sepulchre of his father Arichis, in that basilica, and which end thus:—

"Terrenas gazas nunquam servavit amando,
Sed mox captivis, indigenisque dedit.
Itala, Romana, Illyrica, Hebræa, Afra, Pelasga,
Morte tua, Princeps, jam sine fine dolent.‡

Ah, reader! there is much profit from these tombs. Mark that of Sebastian Ziani, duke of Venice, in the Benedictine Church of St. George, on which you read, "Patriæ lux, spes miserorum MCXXVIII.;" that of John Lando, the senator, in the Church of St. Antonio, with the words, "Ex opibus suis nihil sibi præter jus largiendi indulsit;" that of Duke Nicholas Marcello, the just and pacific, in the Church of St. Marina, with those, "In pauperes piissimus;" that so mouldering with age in the Church of St. Mary of Mercy, of James Morus, a Venetian warrior, with the line,

"Prodiga pauperibus Christi manus extitit ejus:"§

that of Raimund Solimano, an illustrious citizen of Padua, erected with such magnificence in the fourteenth century in the Church of the Hermits in that city, on which you read, "Pauperiem miserans."‖

In the ba ial court, as well as in the yard of every obscure citizen, there was always a distribution of food to the poor, after the family had dined. Giraldus ascribes this custom even to the degenerate Welsh: he says, that "when they ate,

* Splend. Venet. in Thess. Ant. Italiæ, v.
† Gouget, Bibliotheque Françoise, tom. x. 40.
‡ Italia Sacra, tom. viii. 38.
§ Splend. Ven. in Thess. Ant. Ital. v.
‖ Bern. Scard. de Ant. Pat. iii. 13.

the first slice of bread was always given to the poor." The remains of every dish that had been touched at the table of Charles the Bold belonged to the poor.† Owing to the preaching of Eustache de Flay, the pope's legate in the thirteenth century, there was at all great tables in England an eleemosynary dish to receive part of the victuals which they offered to the poor.‡

Incidental notice of these customs occurs in the life of St. Francis of Assisium; for the holy father, being invited to dine with Matthew Rimido, a Roman gentleman, and arriving before the master had entered, the holy father being unknown to the servants, who happened to be but recently hired, we read that he sat down in the court among some poor people, and began to eat with them of the alms given; and the master arriving, and finding his guest so placed, seated himself down also on the ground, and made his dinner thus in common with them all.§

St. Peter Damian, in his treatise on alms dedicated to Mainard, bishop of Urbinum, relates that the marquis Mainfred in the farthest bounds of Liguria on Easter Sunday, prepared a magnificent banquet, and having placed the poor in order at many tables, he himself, with his servants, waited on them, and then partook of what they had left.‖

In the middle ages, when men made a feast, they invited the poor. The monk of Monte Cassino, in his history of the Normans in Italy, after relating the departure of Count Drogo from the pope, and his coming to a castle called Monte Alegro, on the feast of St. Lawrence in the year 1051, proceeds as follows:—"He was accustomed to go to the office on solemn festivals, and to adorn the church, and to invite the poor to dinner, and to make offerings to the poor; and on this occasion Drogo wished to be here, to his delectation, and to celebrate this day with solemnity in honor of St. Lawrence, martyr; and all things necessary for the poor were arranged, and they were invited."¶ This mode of having delectation in the eleventh century, is worthy of being remarked.

In the year 1588, Camillus Gonzaga, a man no less illustrious for his alms than for his noble blood, used to feed every day, during the scarcity, in his house, at Novellara, in the Venetian territory, two hundred poor persons, on whom he waited himself; while they were not only fed, but instructed in the Christian doctrine. In 1590 his bounty was even greater, to meet the difficulties of the time; and it is said that his sweet and affable conversation delighted his poor guests, with whom he used to dine as only one of their company.

Lo! there stands the castle of Loretto, inhabited by Landulph, count of Aquinum, seigneur of Loretto and of Belicastro. The gate is besieged by a crowd of poor persons, for the scarcity which prevails this year has occasioned great and general distress. But who is this boy, with the face of an angel, that seems about

* Girald. Cambrens. Itin. Cambriæ. Lamarche, Estat. de la Maison du Duc de Bourgogne.
‡ Bulæus, Hist. Universit, Paris, tom. iii. 7.
§ Marco Diego de Navarre Sola, les Chrohiques des Mineurs, Lib. i. c. 118.
‖ Annul. Camaldul. Lib. xviii. ¶ L'Ystoire de li Normant, liv. iii. c. 22.

ten years of age, who is distributing alms among them, and speaking to them with such an expression of love? It is the count's son, Thomas, lately returned from school at Monte Cassino, a truly angelic lad, and so devoted to the poor that he gives them part of his own dinner; and it is said the stewart has caught him sometimes taking things without permission to give to them, though when they searched within his clothes they could only find some flowers. * In a chapel at Belicastro, in Calabria, there is a very ancient picture, in which St. Thomas is represented as a boy opening his vest and producing some roses, which had been concealed within it, to a man who seems to interrogate him.†

St. Ambrose of Sienna, of the illustrious family of Sansedoni, when a youth, used to go out in search of poor people through the streets of that city, not thinking it enough to satisfy those who presented themselves at his father's gate. By consent of his pious mother, Justina, he turned part of the house into a kind of hospice, and had permission, on certain days every week, to receive and entertain all poor passengers, on whom he used to wait, serving them at table, persuaded that he was entertaining Christ.‡ This was at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Clement VIII., Benedict XIII., and many other sovereign pontiffs, used on certain days to cause poor persons to be entertained in their own palace, and would wait on them at table. It was a custom that prevailed very widely, to keep a kind of host's table for poor strangers, which was in the very hall where the family of the house dined. St. Gregory of Tours mentions a certain gentleman who would never sit down at table with his wife and children, unless there was some poor man to eat with them; and he describes him, on one occasion, when he could find no beggar in the streets, as going outside the town in the evening, to look from the gate whether he could discern any poor stranger, that he might lead him to his house to supper. Even the dark mysterious men whom history as well as poetry represents as appearing from time to time among the feudal nobility, were not exempt from the influence of the general habit of mercy to the poor. The chief of Lara's wide domain is an instance;

> "For though his lonely habits threw of late
> Gloom o'er his chamber, cheerful was his gate;
> For thence the wretched ne'er unsooth'd withdrew,
> For them, at least, his soul compassion knew.
> Cold to the great, contemptuous to the high,
> The humble pass'd not his unheeding eye;
> Much he would speak not, but beneath his roof
> They found asylum oft, and ne'er reproof."

Although instances of individual bounty might be multiplied without end, for the innumerable friends of God in different ages, dissimilar in many respects, were

* Touron, Vie de St. Thomas d'Aquin, 17. † Gabr. Barii de Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ, lib. iv.
‡ Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. Lib. 5.

all of the same disposition in regard to alms—so that, whenever an occasion of showing mercy occurred, they all resembled each other, and gave convincing proof that one was their common Father—yet I cannot refrain from adding, in this place, a few remarkable examples. Many authors have written histories of alms, as did Valentinus, Leuchtius, and Drexelius. I shall merely produce a few anecdotes relating to them, such as appeared to me most striking in the perusal of our ancient chronicles.

The alms of the rich, in the middle ages, often surpassed the expectations of the poor. "A certain count," says a writer of the thirteenth century, "saw a poor boy half naked asking alms, and gave him adenarium, desiring him to buy a purse with it, and bring it to him, and adding, that he would then put in it what he thought necessary. The boy went, and wishing to save a little, kept back one obol, and with the other bought the purse and came back to the count, who asked him how much he had paid for it; and when the boy disdained to tell a lie, and said, 'One obol, and I bring you back the other,' the count filled the purse with money, saying, 'If you had brought back a larger purse, young man, you would have gone away with more money.' "But another anecdote from the same author is still more beautiful: "A certain man, through infirmity, not being able to fast till a late hour, caused some poor persons to breakfast with him on fasting days, saying in his prayer, 'O Lord, if thou art angry with me for not fasting to-day, I will say to thee hereafter, before thy judgment-seat, Lord, if I did eat before the time, thou didst eat with me!' "*

Thibaud the Great, count of Blois, and fourth of that name, also called the saint, whose religious foundations and presents to churches were so numerous, gave proof of the utmost charity and mercy for the poor. Thomas de Cantimpré relates, that one day he gave everything he had, even to his coat and cloak, in alms; and St. Bernard relates, that during a famine he pledged all that he possessed to assist poor families, not sparing even a certain vase, when he had nothing else left.†

Behold Charles of Blois, living as an equal with nobility, and as a brother with the poor!—equitable and disinterested in his judgments, pious and austere as a monk. His table was frugal, and his repasts were accompanied with holy lessons. He gave even his needful to the indigent; eighty poor persons were always at his table; and on Holy Thursday sat thirteen, on whom he waited with his own hands, and washed their feet.‡ Richard II., duke of Normandy, who built the rich and renowned abbey of Fescamp, caused a stone coffin to be made for himself, in which he was to be buried; and this he used to fill with provisions for the poor every Friday, as long as he lived, to which he added twenty sous of silver.§ The wife of Count Egbert, at the court of Charlemagne, in like manner, caused

* Speculum Mor. Lib. iii. p. x. 22.

† Bernier, Hist. de Blois, 296.

‡ Lobineau, Hist. de Brit. liv. vii.

§ Duchesne, Antiquitez des Villes de France, tom. ii. 382

her coffin to be made many years before her death, which was twice each day filled with provisions that were given to the poor.*

Memorable was the habitual bounty of Fulco, the good count of Anjou; but one act of charity and humility, above all, rendered him celebrated in the middle ages. It was his custom never to disdain any one, however abject. He used to ask each poor man, with the liberal benevolence of humility, respecting his name and country, and circumstances. After relieving many poor, he would only desire them to go to the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, and pray for themselves. Once, as he was journeying through his domains for the purpose of maintaining peace and justice, surrounded by a crowd of nobles, upon coming within view of the church of the blessed Martin the confessor, according to his custom he dismounted from his horse, and, with knees upon the bare ground, prayed for some time. The attendants, out of respect to the count, stood aside. As he rose from prayer he saw on his right hand a man of the most horrible aspect, with hands and feet all corroded, covered with elephantine pustules, and miserably diseased with leprosy, who asked the count to have pity on him. The rest of the nobles and the domestics of the count feared to approach or even to look at him; the count of a sounder mind, put forth his hand to the bier, intending to give him something; but the leper cried out, "No, my Lord I do not mean such indulgence; but because my feet are eaten away with leprosy, and I cannot either walk myself or hold myself on a horse to be carried to the church of the confessor, perchance you could carry me thither; and there I should find some man of God, who, for the redemption of his sins, would order for me what was necessary in the hospital of lepers, where I might be received." The count no sooner heard him, than he carefully wrapped the leper round in his own mantle, and, to the astonishment of the beholders, placed him on his shoulders, and bore that burden for two leagues, till he came to the church of the blessed Martin; and then it is said that the leper disappeared, and the count understood the mystery, but kept silence, and allowed the rest to remain in ignorance of it. He had carried this burden from the gate of Evrerdon to the porch of the blessed Martin.

The young son of the Count of Ebernstein, who became the second general of the Dominican order, under the name of Blessed Jordan of Saxony, had a custom of giving alms every day to the first beggar who presented himself. Having been sent to Paris to pursue his studies, he was so enamored with the ecclesiastical offices, that he never failed to repair by night to the church of our Lady, to assist at matins; and if he arrived before the porter had opened the gates, he used to meditate before them, undismayed by the horror of the darkness. One night, as he was running for this purpose, and fearing that he should not arrive in time to hear the beginning of matins, a stranger accosted him and asked charity. Having no money, he took off his belt and gave it to him; and we are told, that when he

* Drexelius de Eleemos. p. ii. c. 4.

entered the church and knelt before the image of our Saviour, he felt how greatly that act of mercy was agreeable to God.

St. Dominick, when a student at Palencia, having given every thing else that he possessed to the poor in a year of famine, sold even his books that had been glossed, as an ancient writer says, with his own hand, in order that the price might be employed in relieving them. It is said, that this holy youth had been always particularly encouraged to give great alms, by his noble mother. In the old History of Du Guesclin we read that while a youth in his father's house, where, on all other accounts he was but little regarded, he had a custom, that if any poor person asked alms, and he had no money, he would undress himself, and give his clothes, for the love of our Lord; which trait pleased his father far more than any thing else which was in him †—remarkable testimony assuredly to the character of that father, or rather to the spirit of that age, which could recognize and admire the pious love of our Lord in such an act of a truant lad, who was generally accused of forgetting his rank, and conducting himself like the son of a peasant. This love, prompting acts of heroic generosity to the poor, was even a feature of the chivalrous character, as not only the ancient romances which represent its manners, but many of the monastic records, which speak of the early lives of convertites, can attest. Garnier de Mont-morillon, a monk of Maison-Dieu, had been once a distinguished knight in the world. One day, as he returned from a pilrimage to St. James, riding alone with his squire, he met a beggar at the skirts of a forest, and, not having any money to give to this man, who asked alms, he devoutly offered him a pair of precious gloves, which had been given to him by his lady love. This act remained unknown, until at length he himself related simply to some persons how, for the love of Christ, he had once made such an offering to a poor beggar.‡ The charitv of feudal lords did not, however, disdain to flow in a more ordinary channel.

Matthew de Montmorenci, in the year 1302, during the fair of the Landit, destined a certain rent for purchasing clothes and shoes for the poor of Montmorenci, which were distributed by a canon, by the curate, and by one of the townsmen.§ In the year 1205, Matthew de Montmorenci assigned, on his estate of Ecouen, many sums to be given to the poor, and also to monks, ordaining that every year a certain quantity of corn should be applied to making bread, which was to be distributed to the poor every day in Lent, by the canons of the collegiate Church of St. Martin at Montmorenci.‖ In 1588, Abel de la Rochette, Seigneur de Cervon, and his wife Margueritte de Lyonne, made a foundation in the village for supporting a schoolmaster, for marrying every year a certain number of poor maidens, and for clothing yearly six poor persons.¶

The love which many of the great Seigneurs of the middle ages evinced for the

* Touron, Vie de S. Dom. Lib. vi. † Chronique du Guesclin, 40.
‡ Orderic Vital. Hist. Norman. Lib. viii. § Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris. tom. iii. 385.
‖ Id. tom. iv. 293. ¶ Id. tom. xiii. 79.

poor, is certainly not one of the least remarkable features in their history. How forcibly is this indicated in one expression of a letter, written by Father John de Avila, to John of God, of Grenada, where he says, "I thought the duke of Sese had sent you a present. If he do not, remember to ask him, and he will send you something; for he loves you greatly, from knowing that you devote yourself to comfort the poor."* Thecharity and alms of the good Cleberge, at Lyons, during the famine in 1531, render him an historic personage. How admirable was the charity, how prodigious was the alms of the noble and rich Florentines, during the great dearth of 1346 and 1347. Again, in 1496, when famine was added to the political misfortunes which harassed both the city and territory of Florence, how merciful was that conduct of the inhabitants, in not allowing that the entrance into the city should be denied to the wretched, so that great crowds of poor people from a distance wandered about the streets receiving copious alms from the noble and wealthy citizens?

Angelo Acciajoli, Bishop of Florence, and the magistrates of the city, rivalled each other on that occasion in works of mercy. All who fled thither were graciously received, without distinction of friend or enemy, lodged and nourished as long as the famine lasted Troops of poor arrived daily at the gates, and the citizens never grew weary in giving them all the same reception.† Similar effects followed after the preaching of Savonarola in that city. The rich rivalled one another in liberality to the poor. At the end of each sermon, ladies of quality used to give up their rings, their necklaces, parts of their dress, or most precious jewels, to the persons who collected. John Picus, of Mirandola, by advice of Savonarola, having sold his estates, set aside two thousand gold crowns to give in charity to the poor. In vain he besought the friar who had given him the counsel to accept at least four hundred crowns, to form a dower for his two sisters, who, in consequence of the disordered state of their father's affairs, were reduced almost to the necessity of seeking their bread. The ministers of mercy in the ages of faith were not hypocrites. The friar would not permit them to receive one shilling.‡

The magnificence of Cosmo do Medici was universally celebrated, but the full extent and number of his charitable deeds were not known till after his death, when his son, making the inventory of his property, found that there was hardly a citizen of any quality who did not owe him large sums. He used to anticipate their demand, and provide for all their wants. Marsilius Ficinus declares, that he has been moved even to tears at hearing of the prodigious alms and charity of Lorenzo de Medici, during the late holy festivals of the Church. "If it be effeminate to shed tears, Michelocti, I confess myself to be effeminate. Such is my disposition, whether through certain tender joy, or through I know not what strange affection,

* De Avila, Epist. xvii.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. xiii. ‡ Idem. tom. iii. 23.

I weep as often as I consider how pious is our Lorenzo, how merciful to the poor, how beneficent to all men. While he wipes away tears from other eves. he causes, by some marvellous fascination, mine to flow over."*

During the scarcity, when the poor of Rimini, and of the villages around, lay languishing in great distress, brother Francis, a Capuchin friar, went about carrying a large cross on his shoulders, and crying, "O citizens, help Christ, who is famishing." In this manner he collected such a quantity of corn and beans, that he could thenceforth nourish all the poor, to whom, under a certain portico of the city, he daily distributed food with his own hands; and as the supply exceeded the demand, a pious farmer gave part of a field, that the remainder of the beans might be sown in it for the use of the poor, which produced a most abundant harvest.†

In 1577, when a great sickness was prevalent at Verona, for which the physicians prescribed the use of old wine, there was scarcely any one in the city who could furnish it but a nobleman of the family of Vilmercati, and though the almoner of the Capuchins felt shame on being obliged to apply so often for a supply, that gentleman would never allow his servants to refuse giving it; so that a report went through all Verona, that his casks had become inexhaustible.‡

So much was seen in the last book respecting the charitable works of the devout female sex in ages of faith, that we need hardly seek farther illustrations of such mercy, though it may be well to remark, in a few instances, the holy and benevolent idea which inspired it, as well as the ingenious and affectionate manner in which it was reduced to practice. Indeed the rule was the same for all. Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself; "that is to say," adds Guy de Roye, "thou shalt love and desire that he should love and serve God, and do good works, and arrive at Paradise, as thou wishest for thyself:"§ and there was no provision in the middle ages to check the alms of a Ruberto of Padua, who when canon of that cathedral, used every morning to give a piece of silver to each poor mendicant that he found in the cathedral when he first entered it:‖ an example showing a type which had many imitators among both men and women, although the mercy of the latter does not seem to have been more avowedly in all instances directed by this supernatural motive: so that it is peculiarly well expressed in that symbolic image of a young widow holding in one hand the model of a church, and with the other giving alms to a poor cripple, which, under the name of St. Elizabeth, stands against a pillar in the beautiful church, under her invocation, at Marbourg. Some anxiety to promote the spiritual welfare of the poor, was generally at the bottom in all their deeds of mercy; as when Madame de Chantal visits an unhappy victim of vice, tends her through a long sickness, and at length succeeds in effecting the cure of her soul. while she only seemed occupied in admin-

* Mars. Ficinus, Epist. Lib. i. † Annales Capucinorum, an. 1599. ‡ Id. an. 1577.
§ Guy de Roye le Doctrinal de Sapience. ‖ Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patav. Lib. ii. 6

istering relief to the body. To honor God in his saints was another object generally associated with their benevolence to the poor. At Lisbon, on St. Anthony's day, an English traveller describes his meeting the Prior of Avis, a most benign prelate, who has been passing it in consoling the sick and indigent, climbing up to their miserable chambers to afford assistance in the name of the saint whose festival was celebrating, and whose fame for every charitable act has been handed down by the inhabitants of that city from father to child, through a long series of generations. It was with the alms of devout women, given with similar intentions, that such visitors were often provided. Some view to facilitate the attendance of the poor at the divine offices, or to render them sensible of the connection between the bounty which relieved them, and the love of Jesus Christ, was sure to be discernible in the mode of dispensation. The holy seasons of the Church were therefore those on which their alms were chiefly distributed. The days which are selected by princes and nobles of the reformed creed to throw open heir brilliant palaces to the rich, and to furnish forth their tables with the most sumptuous fare, were those on which the Catholic nobility sat by the side of beggars, hearing the preacher, who explained the parable of Dives and Lazarus. Queen Blanche, mother of St. Louis, left seventy acres of land in the parish of Louvre, near Paris, to furnish bread, which was to be given to all poor persons who should apply for it on the day of Midlent.

These alms of Lent were always accompanied with an intimation that they were given through devotion for that holy season, as may be witnessed in the letter of her son concerning them.† The mode in which women dispensed charity to the poor in the middle ages, furnishes a striking example of what we remarked in the beginning, respecting the recognized incompatibility between the manners of a dissipated and irreligious life with the grace of the blessed merciful; for their generosity is always shown as the result of deep religious impressions, and generally in connection with personal abnegation and austerity. The duchess, say the old writers of the life of St. Elizabeth, would often command for herself a dinner such as that of the poor, in order that she might know by experience what kind of food they partook of. The castle of Bouchet belonged at one time to the Lady Anne Martinozzi, sister of Cardinal Mazarine, Princess of Conty, whose epitaph in the church of St. Andre des Arcs, at Paris, attested that, disgusted with the world at the age of nineteen years, she sold her jewels to nourish the poor of Berry, Champagne, and Picardy, during the famine of 1662, remaining a widow at the age of twenty-nine.‡

In the thirteenth century, Hedwige, Princess of Poland, used to nourish daily thirteen beggars, as if Christ and his Apostles, and wherever she travelled she took them along with her; but for other poor she had a separate kitchen, and servants apart to wait on them.§ No mother ever showed greater love to her own

* Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocése de Paris, tom. v. 476.
† Ap. Duchesne, tom. v.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocése de Paris, tom. xi. 67.
§ Drexelius de Eleemos. p. ii. c. 4.

children, than was evinced for the poor by Leonora of Austria, sister of the Emperor Rodolph II. She used to give them the gems from her robes, and to prepare the food for them with her own hands. She often rose secretly in the dead of the night, to visit the sick, and sometimes remained with them during three or four entire days. The only complaint that she ever uttered, when unable to leave her apartment through illness, was, that she could not visit the poor. Catherine Ciboa, Duchess of Camerino, nearly related to three sovereign pontiffs, a woman no less distinguished by piety and greatness of mind, than by learning, having a perfect knowledge of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and being skilled in theology, philosophy, and nearly all arts, is commemorated in the annals of the Capuchins, whom she loved and protected from their commencement, as being still more illustrious, on account of her eminent disposition to exercise mercy. Her house was always filled with a crowd of indigent persons; and no one ever departed from her gate empty handed or sorrowful. But above all works of love, we are told that she preferred those which tended to promote the salvation of others.*

The details respecting the alms of devout women, which occur in all representations of the ancient feudal life, show not only the fervor which inspired them in relieving the poor, but the prodigies of good which they effected. During a year of scarcity Madame de Chantal, the blessed foundress of the order of the Visitation, nourished not only all the poor on the baron's estates, but also those of the surrounding country for seven leagues round; and though some persons used to come occasionally twice in the day, she would never refuse them.† The common saying on the tongue of all the poor in Poland used to be, that there would be no poor in that kingdom if the blessed Grimislava, mother of King Boleslaus the Chaste, had been still alive.‡ St. Vincent de Paul was enabled to perform his great works of charity by means of devout women of the first rank, such as the Duchess d'Aiguillon, the Princess of Mantua, afterwards Queen of Poland, the Marchioness of Magnelais, and others. When the lady of the manor was dying, the poor of the surrounding country used often to demand and obtain permission to approach her bed-side, as we read of the lady of Chevreux d'Esturville.§ What an affecting picture might be placed upon this tomb, which opens to receive the Queen of Naples. On one side you might see an altar, from which a priest is turning, as if having celebrated the holy mass; and fronting it, on the other, a bed, on which the young queen is represented in the act of giving a book to one in kindly guise, who receives it on his knees. There need be added no inscription; tradition would supply the comment, and record, that in that book were written the names of all the indigent families who had long been receiving her secret alms, without knowing from whose mercy the relief had come.

Madame de Pollalion, we read, when a child in her parents' house, being un-

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1528. † Marsollier, Vie de Mde. Chantal. i. 55.

‡ Wadd. ann. Minorum, tom. iv. 1258.

§ Vie de Elizabeth Rauquet, dame d'Esturville, Paris, 1660.

der the direction of father Lebrun, a Dominican friar, had no greater pleasure than in comforting and assisting the poor. She used to give them her pocket-money, and even what was given for her own dinner. On one occasion, having found a poor sick child, she begged permission to have him taken care of in her father's house, and then attended him like a little sister till he died.*

We have already seen that these Catholic ladies used to visit the cottages of the peasants, and teach them how to assist the sick, and give them clothes, and tend them in their illness, and serve them on their knees. Many interesting and highly poetic scenes resulted from the charitable works of women in the middle ages, which even profane history does not disdain to exhibit. O how did the burning words of Christ dissolve the hearts of those, who in the gentleness of their sweet youth had never trodden on a worm, or bruised a living flower, but they had pitied it with needless tears! Madame de Chantal meeting three poor young men in great distress, and having no money, gave them her diamond ring off her finger, though it had belonged to her revered husband; and it is said, that she felt such joy at making this sacrifice, that she resolved from that hour never to refuse any person who asked alms for the love of God.

On a certain Thursday, say the ancient chronicles of St. Elizabeth, the duchess was descending from the castle of Wartbourg into the town, richly attired, and having given all her silver to a crowd of poor persons, when her charity was again invoked, having no money left, she took one of her gloves, which was adorned with jewels, and gave it to the beggar. A young knight who was in her train, observing what she had done, went back and purchased the glove from the beggar, which he fastened to his helmet as a pledge of divine protection. Subsequently, he assisted at many tournaments, and went to join the crusaders. On returning home, and on his death-bed, he declared that he had always ascribed his escapes to having worn that memorial of the dear St. Elizabeth.†

Indeed the magnificence of alms was a point on which we should have dwelt. Berta, wife of the emperor Henry IV., having been presented with a skein of very find thread by a poor rustic maiden who had spun it, and taken occasion of the emperor's visit to Padua to send it to her, and hearing that for holy manners she was a model to the whole village of Montagnono, where she resided, gave the thread to her steward, and ordered him to repair to that village, and to give her as many acres from the land of the state as could be comprised by the thread. To this donation the noble family of Montagnono traced the origin of its greatness !‡

But it would be endless to multiply these instances. It may only be remarked, in concluding, that it was not so much by what Catholic women performed

* Vie de Madame de Pollalion, Paris, 1754.

† Ct. de Montalembert, l'Hist. de S. Eliz. chap. 8.

‡ Bern. Scardeono de Antiq. Pat. Lib. iii. 15.

themselves, however great their services may have been, as by what they disposed others to perform, that they contributed to the reign of mercy upon earth. What was it, in fact, which determined the will of men to take the direction of blessed mercy? Faith and divine grace, undoubtedly, as we observed in the beginning; but it is evident, also, that there were two other powers, distinct, though intimately associated with impulse divine, in constant co-operation to promote the same effect; namely, the instructions of the clergy, and, under their influence, the angel-like perfection of the woman's heart; for it was the sweet look, or the image raised by memory of the gentle wife or maiden, making all things else beauteous and dear, that killed the fiend within remorseless breasts, and made them pitiful. The virtues of the maiden made other ladies fair, says the poet of the Nibelungen; and he might have added, the beauty of the maiden left in the world none but the virtuous—none who had not, at least in ruins, the elements of an angelic nature—none but objects of the deepest, holiest sympathy; for in man communion with this pure being kindled intense zeal to serve and comfort all whose hopes and tears had been studied in one face, that to a youthful mind had always reflected heaven. Ah! what sudden tears and what immense pity would not the thought alone inspire, that she too might have suffered this calamity—that she might have had her bright innocent fancies thus dissipated! What kind of relief, think you, would be extended to the destitute, while such images passed through the heart? When, as Marsilius Ficinus says, all women under one idea would be one woman? It would be impossible, therefore, to understand the manners of Catholic ages, in regard to tenderness and merey, without taking into account this great, though subordinate motive; to appreciate which, it is necessary to have formed an adequate idea of the graces that encompassed young Catholic women like St. Elizabeth; and there can never be wanting to the Church some that resemble her; so that you perhaps, reader, like myself, have no occasion to recur to books for illustration, when it is a question of the exquisite justice and truly divine compassion of a woman's heart in which youth and faith are joined.

Hitherto we have seen, as it were, shadows of the blessed merciful pass separately, one by one. But it is perhaps from a general view of the manners of a Catholic population, and the spirit of its municipal laws, that we can form the most correct idea of the compassionate principle which predominated in society during the middle ages: though indeed, without pursuing our researches any farther, methinks we must already know how to estimate the merit of those modern writers who would persuade us that the people, then in a state of infancy like children, were cruel and insensible to the sufferings of others. But in the face of such witnesses it will be desirable to present direct proof that the interests of the people were always paramount in the estimation of both magistrates and citizens; while in respect to provision for every description of human misery, their institutions were such as no former legislators could have conceived, and such also as no

community in modern times, without the aid of Catholicism, can hope to imitate with the slightest chance of success.

"Greatly have we exulted, on hearing of your faith and constancy," says St. Bernard, writing to the citizens of Toulouse. "Our visit to you was short, but, as it appears, not fruitless. The corruptors of your faith are detected, and your manners are no longer in danger of being contaminated by them; so stand, I beseech you, in the Lord. Practise hospitality, receive the stranger, feed the hungry, clothe the naked, visit the sick, redeem the captives, and prove by your works of mercy that you have profited by our admonitions."*

You perceive, reader, with what weapons he had armed them against heresy, with what spirit he had inspired a whole city. Of the confraternities, which were one of the immediate results of the direction given to the public mind, I have repeatedly had occasion to speak; and it was not possible to mention them, in reference to any subject, without remarking at the same time their prodigious efforts in administering consolation of every kind to the poor and miserable of every description. At Vicenza there was a confraternity of laics, under the name of St. Jerome, assiduous in pious exercises, while living free in their respective houses. Every week twelve of these men used to go about to visit the sick and prepare them for the sacraments, and comfort them with food and clothing. "There is no merchant," says Ughelli, "citizen or noble, to whom they do not apply, asking alms at every door. Seventy laymen are thus inflamed with the love of God: so that no one in Vicenza need despair of relief."† In the city of Treviso, one of these lay confraternities used every year to enable twenty-five poor maidens to marry.‡

A Parma, in the year 1493, we find mention of a confraternity like that of the Minerva at Rome, which was instituted with a view of enabling poor and virtuous maidens and young men to marry. To this was attached an oratory, which in course of time became a magnificent church, under the title of the Madonna de la Steccata.

Herbordi, a Hungarian Dominican, and bishop of Bergamo, completed, in 1261, the establishment of the society of mercy, which had been commenced by Pinamons de Brembati, a nobleman of that city, the members of which were engaged to provide for the necessities of poor families, and for the education of their children.§

In Catana, De Grossis enumerates twenty-six pious confraternities of laymen, instituted in order to exercise mercy in various ways to the suffering, all of which had a separate church within the precincts of the city; and their offices are well expressed by many of their titles, as the brethren of St. Mary of Mercy—of St. Mary of Consolations—and the brethren of Peace. Those of St. Euplus bound

* Epist. ccxlii. † Italia Sacra, tom. v. 1029. ‡ Id. tom. v. 487.
§ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. Lib. 6

themselves to perform all the charitable offices that are discharged by the Capuchin friars.*

At Padua, in the sixteenth century, there were twenty-eight spiritual colliges of secular men of all ranks of life, to all of which were annexed vast halls and beautiful chapels, in which sacred ceremonies were religiously performed on stated days. Scardeoneo says, that of these, four are chiefly eminent—those of St. Antony, of St. James, of St. Mary of the Arena, and the School of Charity ; the vast revenues of which fraternities, amounting to five thousand gold pieces, are expended religiously by devout laics, in feeding the poor, clothing the indigent, giving marriage portions to maidens, and alms, to poor priests. There is also, he adds, "the chamber of the poor, in the episcopal palace, the funds of which, resulting from fines and contributions of the clergy, have been conducted and dispensed gratuitously and studiously for more than thirty years, by Bartholomew Caligarius.† But the most celebrated of the confraternities of the middle age was that of the brethren of the Misericordia at Florence, which a recent traveller describes as one of the earliest institutions of charity, and perhaps the only national trait of ancient Florence which now remains. "A pure and primitive simplicity," saith he, "marks every feature and act of these brothers, who in silence and in solitude fulfil their sacred and unostentatious offices. The origin of this fraternity is connected with the great plague in 1348. During its continuance a few individuals, firm in purpose and strong in piety, self-devoted, attended on the sick and dying; and the survivors of these chosen few afterwards, taking the monastic habit and order of brethren of Misericordia, assumed for life the performance of these services, which in the hour of sorrow they had voluntarily fulfilled. A black dress, in which the brethren are attired from head to foot, entirely covers the person and conceals the face. The brother, whether of noble or of lowly birth, is equally undistinguished and unknown ; and their duties are performed, and charities dispensed, to the noble or beggar with the same indiscriminating ceremonies. Six of the brethren watch continually, and medical aid is always in readiness. Mass is said every morning, and vespers are sung in the evening. On the floor are ranged biers, palls, torches, and dresses. They are summoned to their duties by the solemn tolling of their deep-toned bell, which, when heard in the dead and silent hour of the night, falls on the ear with dismal and appalling sound. The sick are taken to the hospitals, the dead are conveyed to their last homes, and the unclaimed brought to their church on a bier covered with a pall.

Cresolius treats of the burial of the dead as amongst the blessed works of the merciful; and we have elsewhere seen with what solemnity this was performed by the early Christians ; so that St. Gregory Nyssen compares the long train of lighted tapers at the funeral procession of Meletius to a river of fire.‡

* Catanens. Decachord. ii. 15, in Thes. Antiq. Siciliæ, x.

† Bern.Scard. de Antiquit. Patavii, Lib. ii. chap. 5. ‡ Ap. Cres. Anth. Sac. 585.

"Another office of the brethren of Misericordia," continues the same writer, "is to visit the prisons and prepare the condemned to death. In this institution the numbers are unlimited; they are not of necessity individually known to each other, but can render themselves intelligible by certain signs and words in any circumstances requiring communication. Their vows enjoin them to be ready, night or day, at the call of sudden calamity, to attend those overtaken by sickness, accident, or as-ault. A certain number of them are in rotation employed in asking charity—a service which they are obliged to perform barefooted, and in a silent appeal, the rules strictly forbidding the use of speech when engaged on any duty. This call is never left unanswered, every individual making an offering, were it only of the smallest coin. No fixed period is enjoined for the fulfilment of the vow taken by this order. Many in the highest sphere have sought expiation of sins by assuming it for a longer or shorter time."*

Similar confraternities existed in most cities of Europe. At Evreux, for instance, those brethren who were chiefly employed in burying the dead were bound to assemble in the church of St. James, at the tolling of that bell, and thence proceed, two by two, to carry the body from the house to the grave.

There was a confraternity in the church of Santa Maria de Latina, at Messana, of the date of 1178, consisting of eighty brothers and fifty sisters, who were bound to succor each other, and in case of sickness to administer relief; and each member should have four to watch by him with a lighted lamp, and when dead he should have masses said and alms for his soul.† The fraternity of this kind, at Catana, was called that of St. Ursual, and of Death, or of the Black Brethren.‡

The present benefit societies in England are but the offspring of the ancient Catholic guilds, which existed ever since the time of the Saxons. By the rules of one established at Atterbury, the brethren bound themselves to find fifteen men who should bring home any member who should fall sick within sixty miles; and if he should die first, to send thirty men to convey him to the place in which he desired to be buried, attending the corpse in an honorable manner, having masses said, and praying devoutly for his soul.

But it is during an interval of public calamity that we can best discern what were the resources of mercy in Catholic ages; and that we may be able to form this estimate, let us hear Paradin, in his simple but graphic style, describe the charity of the citizens of Lyons in the year 1531, when a famine had desolated that country. It is a passage which furnishes a fine illustration of the remark of St. Augustin: "Si angustiantur vasa carnis dilatentur spatia charitatis.§ "During this famine," saith he, "every inhabitant of Lyons, poor as well as rich, did more than his duty; and the citizens seemed inspired with a spirit different from what had ever been seen before. You would have seen the poor give

* Bell's Observations on Italy.

† Sicilia Sacra, notit. ii. 398.

‡ Catanens. Decachord.

§ Serm. x.

to the poor, and as it were take from his own mouth to put into that of another; so that actually more died from eating to excess, than from hunger: for those who had long borne the famine, on coming into the city, devoured too greedily what they received, and died in consequence The magistrates met at the convent of St. Bonaventura, and decreed that the poor, both without and within the city, should be conducted to four or five great hospitals provided for them, and that alms should be collected for their support from the devotion of others, who were to be put in mind of what Jesus Christ has recommended to the rich; and for this purpose eight persons were deputed to go about teaching through the city, and saying that to be merciful to the poor was to have pity on one's self, as without charity no one could please God. Great were the alms collected. One good, holy German merchant, who chose that his name should only be written in the book of life, in which the blessed are enregistered, gave five hundred livres; and in three years and a half there were given two thousand three hundred and forty-four livres—a memorable alms. The bishops and abbots would have sold their jewels, and even their chalices, rather than fail the people in this extremity. In fine, the indigence ceased, and the lamentable and lugubrious voice was heard no more. By previous agreement, at the sound of the great bell of the convent of St. Bonaventura, the poor assembled before its gates, to the number of eight thousand persons; and the distribution of bread, soup, and meat, to each one, occupied the persons employed from six in the morning till two in the afternoon. A little wine was added to the strangers, for whom cabins were erected expressly round the abbey of Æsnay: and an altar was constructed, at which mass was said for them daily. There they were nourished, from Friday, the 19th of May, 1531, to Sunday, the 9th of July, when the crops began to be cut. Then alms were given to each, and they were dismissed, to go wherever they chose. The poor sweetly obeyed; and after rendering thanks to God, expressed their gratitude to the magistrates of the city. On the 18th of January it was determined, at a general assembly, in the convent of St. Bonaventura, to perpetuate the divine and holy work of assisting the poor, and that eight of the chief persons of the city should be deputed every year on the feast of St. Thomas, before Christmas, to conduct the distribution of the alms without having any other salary but what they would receive from God. Hospices were then built, and a mill added, called the mill of alms, on the Rhone, to grind corn for the poor; and every Sunday afternoon the officers were to sit at the convent, to receive the petitions of the poor. The orphan children were there lodged and educated.

All the sick poor, when dismissed from the Hotel Dieu, receive alms to help them on their journey. Every Sunday, in five different places of the city, alms are distributed; and on the vigils of Easter, Christmas, and the Epiphany, the alms are doubled to each. At the convent, a loaf of bread is given to every passenger. Trunks were placed in the churches, before which an orphan sat during the offices to beseech charity; and similarly on the bridge over the Saone, boxes

were placed, and a rector sat by it to remind the passengers. The almoner of the poor strangers was to see that they passed on after being relieved, unless in case of sickness. The poor of the town were all registered; and if any one were found begging who had been relieved, he was to be confined in prison, on bread and water. The merchant of alms, who had to purchase the corn, wood, and other provisions for the poor, and to render his accounts every month, and to deliver the proper portions to the respective hospitals, and to be present in his office every Sunday, was to have no other wages but the grace of God. Similarly, the bakers and millers were to have no other wages. All the poor, being registered, were required, to be present at the general procession every year, which proceeded in order from the convent of St. Bonaventura. First walked the four criers of the confraternities, sounding bells; then a poor orphan, carrying a wooden crucifix; afterwards the rest of the orphan children, two by two, the boys singing Fili-Dei miserere nobis, and the orphan maidens singing, Sancta Maria, mater Dei, ora pro nobis: then the poor men and women follow, saying their Hours, and praying for their benefactors; after whom walk the four mendicant orders, chanting the litany, followed by the officers of justice, the counsellors, and sheriffs, and rectors, and finally by those who are induced through devotion to accompany the procession. When they arrive at the archbishop's palace, each of the poor receives, besides their ordinary alms, three pence tournois. At the end, there is a sermon in the church of St. John, where the people are exhorted to persevere in works of charity. Before this institution, the plague had reigned more or less, without any interruption, during fourteen years in Lyons; whereas now it has wholly disappeared."*

The plague, which so often desolated the cities of Europe in the middle ages, was an occasion to call forth all the energies of the blessed merciful; and their conduct, under such circumstances, constituted a most remarkable fact in the history of mankind. An early example is furnished in the Roman martyrology, which commemorates the holy priests, deacons, and many others, who in the time of the emperor Valerian, during a most cruel pestilence, willingly offered themselves to death to serve the sick, whom the religious faith of the pious is accustomed to venerate as martyrs :† and the annals of the middle age furnish a series of records, attesting the same devotion whenever there was an opportunity for its exercise. Some of these are in a most especial degree remarkable.

At Avignon, the plague of 1348, which is described by Petrarch, called forth the pastoral solicitude and truly pontifical munificence of Clement VI. It was on this occasion that Sienna owed a debt of eternal gratitude to her archbishop, Michael Tolomei,‡ whose personal service was unremitting. Then, too, appeared. to assist and console the afflicted, people, St. Catherine of Sienna, as an

* Paradin, Hist. de Lyons, Lib. iii. c. 18.

† Sub Die, 28 Feb.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. liv. 12

angel of mercy, by whose careful tendence the lives of many persons were preserved; amongst whom historians mention a certain pious hermit, whom she placed in the hospital of mercy, and two Dominican friars, who had devoted themselves to the service of the sick. St. Bernardine, at that time a secular youth, served them in the hospital of the Blessed Virgin. At Florence, the mercy of the citizens in general, who supplied the food, medicines, and service, and whatever could comfort the afflicted, in abundance, was ever memorable. Such an effusion of charity might seem inexplicable, if we were to credit the historians who represent that people in unfavorable colors; but we are prepared to witness it, from discovering the one fact, that they placed all their confidence in their bishop, Angelo Acciajoli, who in so eminent a degree possessed the spirit of Jesus Christ.* During the three years while this fearful Asiatic pestilence lasted, it would be impossible to enumerate all the illustrious members of the different monastic orders who became true martyrs in the exercise of mercy. Simon de Langres, general of the Dominicans, had ordered all the provincials to make choice, in each house, of the monks who were most qualified to render succor to the sick. When the plague began to ravage the territory of Bologna, the blessed Conradin of Brescia, then superior of the Dominican convent of that city, while taking care to preserve the brethren of his house, spared not his own person, but devoted himself to the service of the sick. When it broke out again after the war, he terminated his course in the exercise of the same charity, in 1429. It was in 1448 when the plague again ravaged the city and territory of Florence, that the zeal and charity of St. Antoninus, the archbishop, exhorted the admiration of all men. After setting the example in his own personal service, he procured for his imitators and companions in that work the Dominicans of his convent of St. Mark, those of the convent of Fiesedi, and of Santa Maria Novella; the greatest part of whom died in the exercise of this heroic mercy to the afflicted people.

In 1538, a pestilence breaking out in Venice, which swept away great numbers, brother Angelo and another Capuchin friar of the province of Bologa, obtained permission from the provincial to repair thither, where they exercised that ministry of mercy during many months, until the disappearance of the contagion. It was said that the Saviour appeared to these frairs while they were at prayer, thanked them for their kindness to the sick poor, and desired them to return to their province to receive their reward. They left Venice immediately, repaired to the provincial, received his benediction, and on the fifteenth day after the vision, as it was foretold to them, rendered their souls to Christ.†

During the ravages of the plague in Rome, in 1522, Silvester Mozolini de Prierio, master of the sacred palace, published a treatise, entitled, On the Care of the Sick and Dying. To add his example to instruction, he tended many persons; and it was in the exercise of this mercy that he died. Notwithstanding the malady

* Touron, tom. ii. liv .13.

† Annales Capucinorum, an 1538.

to which he had fallen a victim, he was buried in the church of the Minerva.* Yves Mayeuc, bishop of Rennes, in the same century, used to go about from one infected house to another, consoling and administering to the sick when the plague raged in that city.†

Peter Paul was an octogenarian friar, in the convent of Dominicans at St. Maximin in Provence, when a pestilence was raging in the neighborhood. The village of St. Zacharia had just lost its curate, and the inhabitants were dying in great numbers. This holy man prevailed on the superior to permit him to visit it, on condition of his finding some other priest of the house willing to accompany him, which was instantly fulfilled; but when the two friars were seen proceeding to the gate of the town, the people suspected their intention; and as they ascribed their own exemption from the malady to the presence of that holy man among them, they absolutely refused to let them pass, and they were constrained to abandon their intention.‡

In the plague which ravaged Italy in 1528, Mathieu de Bassio and twelve other Capuchins of Camerino applied to Ludovicus, the superior of the convent in that city, for permission to serve the sick. That holy friar addressed them in these words: "Dearest brethren in Christ, there is nothing which more convinces men of the excellence of the Christian religion, than when they see us lay down our lives for them, and hasten to give them succor in their last moments, when destitute of all things else; moreover, by so doing, we are made imitators of Christ, who excites us to mercy, saying, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you love one another. Those who despise death for the salvation of others and the charity of Christ, differ not from those who lay down their lives for the faith. Therefore I am filled with joy on beholding you thus excited to win the crown of martyrdom. Lo! the axe is laid at the root of the tree. Pallida mors æquo pede pulsat pauperum tabernas, regumque turres. But if death should find us intent on these offices of charity, it will only transmit us to the possession of a better life, and of an eternal kingdom." The superior then reminded them of certain rules which, on a similar occasion in 1523, he had found most useful to himself and others; which prescribed that they should cast all thought of their lives on God, and seek nothing but his honor and the spiritual and corporal good of the sufferers, that they should not neglect their own spiritual exercises, that they should be mindful ever of the presence of God, that they should devote part of the night to the divine praises, and each morning, before the rising of the sun, commend their sick to the divine mercy in the sacrifice of the altar, that no friar should go forth alone, and that on no account any trust or deposit or promise should be accepted from the sick persons or their friends. Then, having received his benediction, there friars repaired in the first instance to the duchess Catherine Ciboa, and acquainted her with their intention; and

* Touron, tom. iii. liv. 24. † Id. tom. iv. 25. ‡ Id. tom. v. liv. 40.

when that illustrious princess, who had been sunk in consternation at the general calamity, beheld their countenances and heard them speak, she began, we are told, to revive, and seemed to breathe again. The effect which their presence and ministry wrought upon the people was truly divine: the city seemed to rise from the grave; the poor were relieved with the abundance of the rich; no sick person was left without attendance and consolation, and the blessed mysteries, no dying man without a friendly hand to close his eyes, no dead body without a minister to wash and adorn it with decency, and commit it to a holy grave. Who could enumerate the conversions that were then made, the ill-acquired goods that were restored, the debts that were for ever cancelled? And amidst all this continued danger, not one of these hooded men of mercy perished; so that the crown was wanting to the soul, though the soul was not wanting to the crown.*

Bartholomew de Martyribus, archbishop of Bragua, during the plague of 1568, received letters from the young king, Don Sebastian, conjuring him to leave that city while it lasted, and adding that his life was necessary for the welfare of the whole kingdom; but he replied, that as pastor he was bound to offer his life for his flock; and accordingly there he remained, encouraging the magistrates, directing the police, and administering almost incessantly with his own hands to the sick.† The exertions of the Dominicans in Lisbon, on that occasion, corresponded with the highest expectations that could have been formed of their mercy.

During the great pestilence of Italy, which first broke out in Rome in 1575, the bishop of Imola, Vincent Herculani, distinguished himself in the same manner as St. Charles Borromeo at Milan; his presence was said even to console the dying. The whole diocese, as well as the city of Imola, beheld his personal exertions; for he went to seek the peasant or the shepherd in his cabin, as well as the rich noble in his palace. It was in the following year that St. Charles, a Milan, gave to his flock that example of mercy which is so celebrated. The holy prelate had a peculiar esteem for the order of Capuchins; and by his directions, Francis, vicar of the province, and James, father guardian of the city, sent letters through all the Milanese states, exciting the friars to that pious labor, who were not slow to obey or wanting in voluntary zeal; for the letter was hardly read in each convent, when nearly all the brethren pressed forward to offer their lives; so that it was necessary to limit the number of elected from each house to twelve; and the names of all these devoted men, many of whom were distinguished preachers, may be read in the annals of their order. Father Philip, of Milan, was appointed to govern the great lazaret without the city, in which there were about one thousand men devoted to serve the sick; and as he rendered his soul to God within a month, Father Paul Salodiensis succeeded him. The friars spared not themselves, night and day, preparing the beds, giving food, and administering the sacraments, and intrepidly discharging every office of fraternal charity to the sick,

* Annales Cupucinorum, 105—8.

† Touron, tom. iv. liv. 31

the dying, and the dead, until the cessation of the plague after twenty months.*

In the year 1580, in the space of four months about sixty thousand persons perished by pestilence in Paris. At that time, Father Peter, guardian of the convent of Capuchins in that city, and five of the friars, consecrated themselves to assist the sick; and of these, three fell in the discharge of their ministry. The friars were joined in this work by the most religious fathers of the society of Jesus. of whom some passed to Christ with the same praise.†

At Lyons Cardinal du Plessis de Richelieu, the archbishop, when the plague ravaged that city in 1635, daily exposed his life for his flock, like a good shepherd visiting the sick and administering the sacraments.‡

Peter de Tapia, in 1649, refused the archbishopric of Valentia, and shortly after consented to be translated from Segovia to the see of Cordova, for the reason that the plague was raging in the latter diocese at the time. Before setting out to it, he told all his domestics and officers that he would send them to their respective homes if they had not courage to follow him, and they all with one voice replied that they were ready to follow him to death. On arriving at Cordova, after taking possession of the cathedral, his first visit was to the hospital of St. Lazarus; and twice every week he visited the other hospitals of the city.§

In fact, every country and almost every city had traditions respecting the heroic charity of some of its great men, during similar days of visitation. The city of Villefranche commemorated her illustrious magistrate, John de Pomairole, and her Father Ambrose, of the Franciscan order, Marseilles her compassionate and intrepid bishop, at the head of Capuchins, Observantines, Jesuits, Carmelites, Augustinians, Dominicans, and Trinitarians—all affectionate in the discharge of their duty,—as having profited by these afflictions to win the beatitude of the merciful. At Marseilles the bishop was every day in the streets, traversing all quarters, visiting the highest and lowest classes with the tenderest devotion; and and in a few weeks, the sum he distributed amounted to twenty-five thousand crowns.

But it would be endless to multiply such records. I shall only remind thee, reader, in conclusion, that here, again, we have been traversing a soil which owes its riches and its fruits exclusively to Catholicism. If any one should doubt this proposition, let him refer to the history of the plague in London, in the year 1665, and the spectacle there presented will oblige him to admit it; for nothing was wanting, on that occasion, that human wisdom or virtue could supply, neither the courage of magistrates, nor the liberal donations of the absent; but there was not the charity of the blessed merciful to inspire the public arrangements to meet the calamity; there was no friar to console the dying; there was no bishop to revive the courage of the people, and to distribute amongst them the wealth of an

* Annales Capucinorum, 793—5.
† Id. 852.
‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. i.
§ Touron, tom. v. liv. 36.

affluent see; there were no sisters of charity to tend the sick, no brothers of mercy to give the dead burial; but in their place men heard of acts of "charitable relief," in pursuance of which every house in which any person was attacked by the plague was immediately shut up and converted to a prison, where the sound and the sick were left to perish together; and if any person would have visited one of the sick, or enter into any infected house, the house which he inhabited was to be, in like manner, shut up; which contemporary writers inform us "was counted a very cruel and unchristian method," as many people perished in these miserable confinements, shrieking out dismally and in vain for assistance, who might otherwise have escaped. And, indeed, the details which are given on this head exceed all that can be imagined of despotism on the part of government, and of cool barbarity on the part of those who were its agents, many of whom were slain by the exasperated people. Instead of hearing of the tender and heroic solicitude of nuns, innumerable frightful stories, we are assured, went about of the cruel behavior of nurses and watchmen, and of their hastening on the fate of those they tended or guarded in their sickness, by starving or smothering them. Instead of the friar's sermon, pathetic yet inspiring, so as to make men forget their danger and embrace the cross with confidence, and believe that the sufferings of that moment were not worthy to be compared with the joy which was reserved for them, dismal discourses were heard, filling the people with despair, and not guiding them to cry for mercy, ministers and preachers of all professions erecting altar against altar, whilst, on the one hand, fanatics ran naked through the streets, crying out in a manner horrible, so as to terrify the people to the last degree, and, on the other, blasphemy was echoing from houses of assembly, and diabolic language addressed to passengers in the street, men talking atheistically, and making a jest at the word judgment of God, and insulting the mourners, who lamented the fate of friends. Instead of the constancy and affection of Catholic families, we hear of all servants being turned off in these days of calamity, and left friendless and helpless, without employment and without habitation, so as to augment the number of the poor to an extent most fearful and horrible, De Foe expressly saying, that this was a time when no one had room to pity the distresses of others, that all compassion was gone, self preservation appearing to be the first law, children flying from their parents, and parents doing the like to their children. Instead of the asylums opened for all the indigent by monks and prelates, we read of only two pest-houses, to which no one was admitted unless money was given, or security for money. Finally, instead of the solemn processions in thanksgiving to God, on the cessation of the pestilence, and churches built, as at Venice, to be served by the friars who survived, we behold the triumphant entry of the ministers who had fled during the danger, and who now returned, ejected the unlicensed preachers, who had taken possession of their pulpits in their absence, and harassed them with their penal laws; while, for holy melody and devout emblazonment, we are told to listen to the scornful taunts of

the people against their clergy, and to mark the verses and scandalous reflections upon them, which are placed upon the church doors, setting forth "Here is a pulpit to be let or sold."*

A recent biographer of Luther observes, that although he acted himself after other maxims, his words form a disagreeable contrast with the charity and devotion of the Catholic clergy Truly, he might well make the remark ; for, hear the reformer instructing one of his pastors—" It is sufficient if the people go to communion thrice or four times a year publicly. The communion given separately to individuals would become a burden too heavy upon the ministers, especially in time of pestilence. Besides, one ought not to render the Church, with her sacraments, the slave of every one ; above all, of those who despise her, and yet who desire that on every occasion she should be always ready for them who do nothing ever for her." What is most remarkable in this passage, perhaps, is its conformity with the language which has continued to be uttered under similar circumstances by those who still advocate the general principles of that revolution. But, assuredly, however great and afflicting the contrast might be, there was no ground for surprise for those who took a philosophic view of the two sides, and who considered how every part of Catholicism was jointed in, as it were, and cemented together. That new form which death had assumed, and that spirit of penance which we beheld in the fourth book, were elements which entered largely into the composition of the blessed merciful ; and with these the self-styled reformers were not well provided, as they confessed themselves : for, on occasion of the plague being at Magdebourg, we find Luther writing as follows to one of his friends :—"I had experience some years past of the terror which you describe as prevailing at present ; and I am astonished to see that the more we preach life in Jesus Christ, the more does the fear of death increase amongst the people. Whether it be that before, under the reign of the pope, a false hope of life diminished for them the fear of death, and that now the true hope of life being placed before their eyes, they feel how weak is nature to believe in the conqueror of death ; or, whether it be that God tempts us by this weakness, and permits Satan amidst this terror to take more force and courage, while we lived in the faith of the pope, we were like drunken men, asleep or mad, taking death for life, not knowing what death was, or the wrath of God. But, now that the light has shone, and that the wrath of God is better known, nature hath awakened from sleep and folly. That is the reason why they fear death more than formerly."† Unfortunately, however, for the plausibility of this explanation, it appears that the guides were not exempt from the general influence in this respect, as their chief admitted in answer to the Doctor Jonas, who had exclaimed on one occasion, Ah, how magnificently does St. Paul speak of his death ! adding, I cannot, however, believe him. When he replied, It seemed to me, also, that St. Paul himself could not think on this

* De Foe's Hist. of the Plague

† Michelet. Mem. de Luth. ii. 68.

subject with as much force as he could speak ; I myself, unhappily, cannot on this article believe as strongly as I can preach, or speak and write as strongly as other men imagine I can believe !*

You perceive, reader, what a space retrograde had been already passed by these men. Alas ! alas ! whether more they spoke on this head, or afterwards were mute, I know not : they had gone already so far back ; yet thus much I read, and in remembrance treasured it. Let us return to the men of faith and mercy,—to the people that were in a state of childhood, as we are now told, who, according to the remarkable expression of the chief apostate, "knew not what death was nor the wrath of God."

I have purposely avoided detaining the reader with evidence drawn from the ancient testamentary records connected with the charity of men to the poor in ages of faith ; for, though on many accounts the information which may be derived from an examination of wills and charters of foundation is highly curious and worthy of an historian's attention, documents of this kind demonstrating what were the opinions of men in the middle ages, respecting the manner in which the poor might be best assisted, and clearly indicating by what works they believed their own merit could be increased, and the greatest benefit conferred on their posterity, yet the principle of posthumous charity was of so little comparative importance, when living manners were under the influence of faith and love, that our attention need not be formally directed to examine its action and effects. The holy fathers, as well as the scholastic and mystic philosophers of the middle ages, had warned men from being deluded by the opinion that they might fulfil their obligations to the poor without showing mercy during their lives.

"I will leave my riches to the poor after my death." That is, adds St. Basil, you will become charitable when you shall be no longer among men. When with the dead, you will be the friend of your brethren. While alive, devoted to pleasure, you hardly deigned to regard the poor. After death, what actions can you perform ? There can be no more good works after life. You engage to be beneficent, by writing and on a tablet ; but how can you be sure that even this power will be left to you ? or if you should have made a will, that the transposition of a letter may not suffice to have it set aside after your death ? Your conduct is as absurd as it is criminal. While you lived you preferred yourself to the precepts of God, and now you will leave what you cannot retain to God ! Had you been immortal, you would never have had regard to his precepts. Be not deceived, God is not to be mocked. A dead man is not led to the altar at the offering.†

"Note well," says Guy de Roye, in his Doctrinal de Sapience, "that it is better for you to give during your life one penny for the honor of God than a mountain of gold after your death. On a dark road you do not place the lantern behind your back. There are persons who if they have corn, wine, cheese, fruits, or

* Id. ii. 165

† St. Basil Hom. Cont. Disc.

other provisions, or old vestments or shoes, will leave them there to rot rather than give them to their poor neighbors, or to the poor for God. It is avarice and grievious sin to keep things till they can serve no one. Delay not to give till your dying day, when you can carry away nothing.' The great Christian orators of later times have only therefore expressed in language more artificial, though perhaps less effective, the truth on this head universally taught in the middle ages. Bourdaloue said nothing new when he asked, "Has this man given much at his death?" and added, in reply, "Nay, he has given nothing, but he has left somewhat; and he has left nothing but what he could not retain: he has kept it till the last moment; and if he could carry it away with him, neither God nor the poor would have had any part in it. What profit is there in such alms? For it is of faith, Christians, that all your alms after death have no virtue to save you. They may affect the condition of your soul in purgatory, but as for salvation, these works after life are barren works, because the affair of salvation is already decided, and the sentence is without appeal."*

This chapter hath exceeded the due limits, but how important are the disclosures which we have derived from it! Here we have seen whole generations impressed with a practical conviction, that neither fortune hath any thing better than the power, nor nature than the will to show mercy to as many men as possible, —and, what should move a true lover of wisdom still more, whole generations taught to consider and understand profoundly all the deep mysteries of Providence in the order of rich and poor, and all the secrets of evangelic grace in the salvation of both by charity. Perhaps some hapless wanderer through the wastes of modern speculation may be awakened by these memorials of ancient faith to a sense of the position in which the propagators of error have placed him; for here he has seen enough to be convinced, if he do not act treacherously towards himself, that the spirit of men in Catholic ages was to acknowledge no other religion as true and undefiled before God, but what the Apostle describes, "to visit the fatherless and the widow in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world;" which is only expressed in more detail in that rule of St. Benedict, to the influence of which so many hearts under a secular habit, were daily subjected, as in the instances expressly recorded of Lewis the Emperor, and Cosmo de Medicis, and which commands all subject to it, pauperes recreare, nudum vestire, infirmum visitare, mortuum sepelire, in tribulatione subvenire dolentem consolari a sæculi actibus se facere alienum.† Such was the code of the middle ages.

Ah, where is the reader now with breast so steeled against all stings of conscience and salutary fear of God's terrific judgment, as to feel any longer uppermost in his thoughts the phrases of men, who talk of dark ages, superstition, and ignorance, when alluding to Catholic states, to generations which feared nothing but

* Bourdaloue Serm. sur l'Aumône.

† Reg. S. Ben. c. 4

that judgment, and which sought with such acuteness to avert it by charity to the poor! Fearful, though sublime and admirable task, would that it had been in abler hands, to expose a history comprising sixteen centuries, of which the most pervading and striking phenomenon must remain for ever inexplicable to human genius, however penetrating, without one key to render it intelligible, and that the parable of Dives, and the words read in the Gospel, with which Christ will judge those on his right hand and those on his left, in presence of the hosts of heaven!

CHAPTER IX.

TO describe all the various institutions of mercy which existed during the middle ages, would be an endless task; and to impart an adequate idea of their merits, by citing didactive pieces, without, as it were, a local and minute inspection of what was established, is impossible; for it is in such works that one perceives the truth of what an ancient French writer remarks, that the heart is more ingenious than the understanding. Charity rendered the rich man and the poor like Ulysses, πολυμήχανος,* fertile and subtle inexpedients; not indeed like the Homeric hero, to extricate himself from the perils of life, but to remove or alleviate the multiplied wants and calamities of his fellow-creatures. Amor Jesu nobilis, ad magna operanda impellit, et ad desideranda semper perfectiora excitat. In cities, therefore, in deserts, amidst which cloistered brethren dwelt in happier days, wherever we direct our steps, within the realms that faith once illumined, Catholicism has left some memorial, by which we know that the blessed merciful have passed,—some monument, vital with mind, attesting the subtle action of a most loving heart, which, to an ordinary traveller, may seem only some rude wall, perhaps, or broken trophy, but on which a poet, with the tender penetration of a Wordsworth, may describe his fastening "an eye tearglazed." Johnson used to say, that the real criterion of civilization consisted in the degree of provision made for the happiness of the poor; and if that proposition be admitted, we must conclude that the middle ages were more entitled to the praise to which the modern communities lay claim, than any other period in the history of man. To win the beatitude of the merciful, there were, it must be remembered, other virtues re-

* Od. i. 285.

quired in regard to the poor besides ministering to their corporal necessities; and truly, in fulfilling the spiritual works of mercy towards them, the devotion of men in the middle ages was admirable, and such as can never be sufficiently praised; but having already had occasion to witness their respect for the poor, their meekness in relation to them, their readiness to console, their assiduity to counsel and instruct them, it will not be necessary to give any further illustrations; though, were time and space allowed, it would not be an unpleasant field for reminiscences. Poets who sing so often the interceding grace of a St. Elmo, to whose prayers the Spanish and Portuguese sailors commend their bark in tempests, would not be ungrateful to an historian who should remind them that this saint was known in history as St. Peter Goncalez, who had exchanged the honors and pleasures of a court for the privilege of teaching the Catechism to the poor children of the fishermen and sailors on the coasts of the Peninsula.* One might write a large book upon the education which was given to the poor in the middle ages by the charity of the rich. The parents of the celebrated Lewis of Grenada were indigent, obscure persons, but the marquis de Mondejar supplied them with means for educating their son.† Similar instances are innumerable.

In the sixteenth century, in the public grammar school of Padua, founded by Annibal Rugerio, the boys and youths of the city were taught gratuitously both Greek and Latin.‡ But there yet remains unnoticed an order of facts more striking still, as attesting the passage of the blessed merciful upon earth, to the examination of which we must now proceed. If we open the annals of any city, and examine the rise and progress of its charitable foundations, we cannot but feel surprise and admiration at the prodigious and persevering activity of the principle which has produced such effects. What a series of institutions, directed to some purpose of love and mercy, is presented in the history of Paris alone; and what a multitude of all ranks and estates of men co-operated with one heart and mind to conceive, establish, and perpetuate them! Kings and queens, princes, nobles, bishops, priests, magistrates, citizens, tradesmen, and even mendicants, all conspired in the same direction, and with such comprehensive and subtle skill, that no kind of misery was forgotten, or left unprovided with the fitting means to remove or alleviate it. De Bourgueville, speaking of the charitable foundations at Caen, observes, that posterity will be able easily to judge that their predecessors were very faithful to God, charitable to the poor, and firm in their hope in his mercy, when it will remark the foundations which they have left to the value every year of three thousand livres.

No ancient legislator ever proposed a hospital for the poor and infirm, or a hospice for the stranger and destitute. When peasants, or any wanderers from the country, came into Rome, if they did not leave it after the market, they had no resource but to pass the night in the arcades, and about the forum, or in the

* Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. † Id. tom. iv. liv. 30.
‡ Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patavii, Lib. ii. 5.

porches before the temples. The Greeks were ignorant even of the name of an hospital; the word "nosocomium" was first employed by St. Jerome and St. Isidore. It is true, in the Prytaneus at Athens there was provided subsistence for the wives and children of those who had suffered for their country, but there was no asylum in sickness. The infirm and sick are wholly overlooked in the institutions of Lycurgus, as in those of all other legislators of Greece, although the father of medicine, Hippocrates, with a solemn oath swears, that he will visit all his life the poor gratuitously. In ancient Rome there was the same neglect and indifference in regard to the poor. Numa made no provision for them; and during the republic the bounties of the state were given only to those who were in health. The emperors were not more humane, though it is true certain baths, or thermes, were consecrated to the use of the people. The rich used to give daily to their poor clients the sportula, of which Juvenal so often speaks; but there was no public asylum for the poor, and in sickness they were left to expire under their own miserable tiles, which afforded no shelter from sun or rain. The slaves were left unburied; so that Horace speaks of the Esquiline hill as whitened with the number of bones collected by carnivorous birds. Cato, whom Plutarch praises for living familiarly with his slaves as if his companions in the labors of husbandry, never thought of providing for them in sickness or old age; and in his book of instructions, De Re Rusticâ, he prescribes, as an important point of domestic economy, to sell off old slaves, in order not to nourish, he says, useless persons. Neither the religion nor the philosophy of Greece and Rome tended to comfort the poor. The divinities were cruel; the stoic affected to despise the sufferings of the indigent; the Epicurean took no thought of them. In this respect Paganism was everywhere the same. Throughout the vast regions of Mogul, India, and China, the use of hospitals is unknown to this day. In no country did Christianity find such institutions existing. It seems incredible, though it is most true, that it was only in the thirteenth century the custom of putting to death old infirm persons was abolished in Poland by Albert the Great, who was sent there as legate of the Holy See, so little prepared were those nations for constructing vast palaces expressly for the aged and infirm.

In respect to institutions of mercy, all countries which had not beheld the light of faith were equally destitute. It seems unaccountable, therefore, that so grave an historian as Niebuhr should seize the occasion, when speaking of building the Lateran hospital, in the twelfth century, to denominate that epoch, the midnight of barbarism at Rome. Truly it was a blessed night which beheld such foundations, even though their walls may have been built with fragments of statues, and other works of Grecian art! The history of their rise and progress can be traced in few words. In the year 380 the first hospital in the West was founded by Fabiola, a devout Roman lady, without the walls of Rome. St. Jerome says expressly "that this was the first of all."* And he adds, "that it was a country

* Ad Oceanum de Fabiolâ

house, destined to receive the sick and infirm, who before used to lie stretched on the public ways." The Pilgrim's hospital at Rome, built by Pammachius, became also celebrated. In 330, the priest Zotichus, who had followed Constantine to Byzantium, established in that city, under his protection, a hospital for strangers and pilgrims. This house was built on the plan of the hospice at Jerusalem, which Hircan had erected there one hundred and fifty years before Christ, in expiation for having opened and plundered the tomb of David, and in order to convert the riches he had found there to a benevolent purpose ; but it is supposed by Mongez that this hospice was only opened during the feast of the passover. St. Isidore says, in his Etymologies, "that this was the first ξενοδοκεῖον, or hospice for strangers." St. Basil, who founded the first hospitals of Asia, mentions a house for the reception of the sick and of travellers, built on a spot formerly uninhabited, near the city of Cesarea, which became afterwards the ornament of the country, and like a second city. St. Basil used frequently to visit it, in order to instruct and console the poor. St. Chrysostom built several hospitals at Constantinople. Justinian, in the year 350, erected at Jerusalem the famous hospital of St. John ; and his example was followed by his successors with such zeal, that according to Ducange, in his Commentary, on the Byzantine History, there were thirty-five establishments of charity in that city alone : there was the Nosocomium, or asylum for the sick ; the Xenodochium, for pilgrims and strangers ; the Ptochium, or hospice for the poor ; the Brephotrophium, or house of education for poor children ; the Orphanotrophium, or house for orphans ; the Gerocomium, or asylum for the aged ; the Pandochreum, or gratuitous inn ; and the Morotrophium, or house for lunatics.

St. Augustin says, " that hospitals have their origin in the truth of religion." In a material sense, too, they owed their existence to the ministers of religion; for, in fact, the first hospitals were the bishops' houses.* But as the episcopal resources proved insufficient, the Church decreed, that the canons should give the tenths of their revenues and oblations to maintain the sick poor. In early times the hospitals were always under the direction of priests : thus St. Isidore presided over that at Alexandria, in the time of the Patriarch Theophilus. It was determined by Charlemagne, in 816, that at each see one of the canons should always govern the hospital ; and that this asylum should be everywhere near the cathedral, in order that the clergy might easily visit it. The consequence of this early discipline can be seen at Paris, where the Hotel Dieu is in the place before the cathedral, and at Brussels, where the great hospital adjoins the church of St. John, which is one of the oldest in that city. Lanfranc, and many other great English prelates, are recorded to have signalized the first year of their episcopacy by erecting houses for the reception of the sick. However, in subsequent times, it became often necessary to change this locality, for in consequence of the con-

* Sainte-Foix, Essais Historiques sur Paris, tom. ii. Jaillot, Recherches sur Paris, i. 103.

fined space which resulted, and the increase of cities, the physical disadvantages in consequence were found to be great.

Tenon, in his elaborate work on the hospitals of Paris, proves that, in consequence of the circumstances resulting from its position, the mortality in the Hotel Dieu at Paris, in the last century, was greater than in any other hospital. In a very early age, however, hospitals were not exposed to this inconvenience of locality, for churches being rarely built within the walls of cities, their site was, consequently, in every respect advantageous. Most Basilicas, as we before remarked, were raised over the tombs of martyrs, which were always without the walls, and it was formerly forbidden to bury bodies within their enclosure.* The clergy, however, were not the sole authors of these monuments of mercy: many hospitals owed their foundations to lay persons. Pammachius established, at his own expense, a hospital at Porto; and St. Gallican, a Roman patrician and consul, who suffered martyrdom under Julian, after enjoying the honors of a triumph, and the friendship of the great Constantine, might be seen serving the sick poor, and washing the pilgrims' feet, in the hospital which he had built at Ostia,† to which place he retired, along with Hilarion, in consequence of hearing that there were collected there many thousand miserable persons without assistance.

It was by similar establishments that the piety of the first French kings became distinguished. Still the religious connection was always seen. Thus, though Paris was become the seat of empire, yet in consequence of the antiquity of the church of Lyons, Childebert erected the first hospital in that city. The fifth Council of Orleans, in the middle of the sixth century, speaks of this hospital as surpassing all others in extent and salubrity. Rheims and Autun pretend that their hospitals are of equal antiquity, but it is thought, without sufficient ground. Soon after these three foundations, about the year 638, Paris enjoyed a similar advantage. The statutes of this hospital, composed in 1220, are still extant, from which it appears, that great attention was paid to the morals of the persons who served it. The capitularies of succeeding monarchs bear testimony to their zeal in multiplying these great establishments.

The eighth and ninth centuries were particularly distinguished in the west for the number of hospitals and other institutions of mercy, which were founded. At that time every monastery had a house adjoining it for the poor and the stranger.‡ Thus, in the ninth century, St. Anselm, Abbot of Nonantula, built a Xenodochium, with a chapel served by monks, where the poor were daily nourished, and where every person that presented himself was received to hospitality, and fed; and on all the kalends, two hundred poor people used to be entertained.§ The sick were even frequently lodged in a building adjoining, for whom the

* Gallia Christiaua, tom. ii. 230. † Clavareau. Mém. sur les Hôpit. 29.
‡ Joan. Devoti Instit. Canonic. Lib. ii. tit. xii. §. 1.
§ Vita ejus apud Mabil. acta S. Ord. S. Bened. iv. 1.

monks prepared medicines, as we find in Italy at the present day, where the dispensary is always in a monastery. The Senior, who explains to a disciple the rule of St. Antony, reminds him that it is the duty of monastic superiors to receive old sick men, blind and paralytic, and to love them, although they can render no other service to the house but what is spiritual.* And that the western monks in later times were anxious to relieve and console the sick and infirm, is proved by many records. Orderic Vitalis says, "that originally the abbey of Ouches nourished seven lepers, each of whom received daily a portion equal to that of a monk."† Walafried Strabo mentions, in his life of St. Othmar, abbot of St. Gall, that this holy man built a hospital for lepers near the monastery, and that at night he used often to walk to it, in order to comfort and tend these poor creatures. Frequently when he went abroad he used to return without a tunic or cap, having given what he wore to the poor. In 1377 there was founded a hospital for the sick near the great abbey of Auriliac, in the diocese of Clermont.‡ During the Pontificate of Innocent III. the Count of Blankenburg founded, adjoining the Cistercian abbey of St. Michael, in the diocese of Halberstad, a hospital for the sick and poor, in honor of the Holy Ghost; and the pope, in his letter to the Abbot, says, "our dear son, the noble count, in giving a portion of his best land for this purpose, and one hundred marks of silver, desires that the hospital should be constructed not in his, but in our name."§ At the abbey of Monte Cassino also there was a hospital in ancient times, the support of which was one of the works of piety for which that monastery had been celebrated.‖

About the year 1240 there was erected, in front of the Benedictine monastery of St. Maximinus, in the suburbs of Treves, under the Abbot Henry a Broich, and with the unanimous consent of the whole convent, a vast hospital, which was dedicated under the invocation of St. Elizabeth, to which the said abbot and convent granted the third part of all the revenues and goods of the abbey at that time, which was thenceforth for ever to be devoted to the sole use of the poor, the weak, and the sick; which foundation was, at their petition, confirmed by pontifical diploma of Innocent IV. and enriched to an incredible extent by letters of indulgence from Henry and Arnold, Archbishop of Treves, granted to all the faithful who, through Christian charity, should make donations to the hospital.¶ The rector was always chosen from the bosom of the convent, but the Counts of Manderscheid were the temporal advocates and patrons. The abbatial constitutions, during the fourteenth and two succeeding centuries, evince the greatest zeal to provide against the possibility of any abuse in the employment of its funds: the words are, "We beseech and exhort our successors, the abbots and brethren in the bowels of Christ and of his holy Mother, to take care that the goods of this hospital, magnificently endowed, shall be always applied according to the foundation to the use of the poor and sick, and never alienated for any other

* Exposit. Sent. S. Antonii. Ab. † Hist. Nor. liv. iii. ‡ Gallia Christ. tom. ii. 499.
§ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xi. 69. ‖ Id. Epist. Lib. xii. 182. ¶ Hist. Hospit S. Elisab. Trev.

purpose : but if the contrary should ever take place, we execrate the perpetrators, and desire that they may be struck with anathema and excommunication." In 1442, when the monastery was obliged to yield some of its possessions on pledge, the letters expressly except the revenues due from them to the hospital ; and in 1610, when Attilius, the apostolic nuncio, visited it, the charter of his visitation provides, that the hospital should continue to be well governed, and its goods applied, as before, to the use of the poor and sick. Later in the seventeenth century, however, abuse crept in, so that the Abbot, Alexander Henn, styled in the Chronologia of the Abbots, the ornament of his order, who was elected in 1672, lamented bitterly the neglected state of the hospital, and ascribed to it all the calamities which had befallen the abbey during the forty years preceding. " Christ our Lord," he says, " will send to eternal fire those who have neglected to feed him hungry, to clothe him naked, and to visit him in sickness. The bread of the indigent is their life, and he who defraudeth the poor is a man of blood. I also, during many years, converted to the use and utility of the monastery certain annual returns and emoluments of the hospital of St. Elizabeth, including its tithes in many places, which it would be tedious to mention : sed O Deus, Deus meus, ignosce mihi, quia ignorans hæc ego feci." Such are the words of this holy abbot, addressed to his successors, written in his own hand, in a book entitled " Calamitates Monasterii S. Maximini ;" and concluding thus : " Auxiliare et exhortare ad succurrendum." Of such abuse, indeed, we find notice in earlier times ; for there is a letter of St. Bernard to the Abbess of Faverney, in the diocese of Besançon, exhorting her to pay diligent attention to the support and defence of the hospital house of God, which is served by the brethren of the monastery under her government, and to restore whatever funds may have been at any time alienated from it by preceding abesses.*

It appears that in ancient times even the secular clergy used to give medicinal advice to the poor ; for at Paris they used to receive patients, we are told, at the entrance of the cathedral below the tower, on the right hand.† We observed before, that as physicians, however, the clergy could not generally act, consistent with the observance of ecclesiastical discipline. Pope Martin IV. prohibited all monks, excepting Carthusians, from studying medicine, though it was still permitted them to supply medicines ; and sometimes even in respect to giving advice there were exceptions made in favor of certain individuals. Dom Nicolas Alexandre Benedictine, of the congregation of St. Maur, published two works on Medicine ; but, as is remarked, his only object in so doing was to benefit the poor.‡ Clerks and monks giving advice and medicine gratuitously to indigent persons for the love of God, were subject, however, at no time, to ecclesiastical penalties.§

* Epist. cccxci.

† Lebeuf. Hist. du Diocése de Paris, i. 1.

‡ Bibliothéque Hist. et Crit. des Auteurs de la Cong. de St. Maur.

§ Novarii Tract. de Privileg. Miserab. Person. 162

From the reign of Charles-le-Chauve, the distinction is made between royal hospitals and those that were of other origin. In 1274 there was an ordinance which prescribed that, every day during the travels of the king, the tenth part of the bread supplied to the court should be given to the nearest hospital. St. Louis, by this decree, only confirmed the immemorial custom of his predecessors.*

The civil power co-operated with the founders of these houses of mercy, and granted them privileges and exemptions. Novario says, that when it was proposed in a certain university to erect a hospital to receive sick poor, and to shelter wretched strangers, he gave his judgment, that a certain citizen could be compelled to sell his house for that purpose, as it was a pious work, in favor of the miserable, and consequently to be preferred not only to private but also to public utility."† In our day the revolted citizens of Lyons, who had been wounded in the church of St. Nicaise, were dragged out of the Hôtel Dieu by the hands of the police; but in the middle ages, hospitals as well as churches enjoyed the right of sanctuary. The Holy See, yielding to pious vows and just prayers, was accustomed to receive under its protection the hospitals of the sick in all parts of the world.‡ We have the letters of Pope Innocent III. acceding to the prayer of the master and brethren of the hospital of St. Sanson, at Constantinople, who had presented a petition for this purpose;§ and conferring the same privilege on the hospital of St. Thomas Martyr, and St. Antony at Caen.‖

In point of historic interest the hospital of every city ranked in third degree after the church and monastery, to which, as we have seen, its origin might generally be traced. Like them, also, it had even its chronicle and its records, from which one might derive many beautiful and affecting narratives connected with the mercy and tenderness of the ancient Catholic manners. The origin of the great hospital for lepers at Paris was a collection of little cabins, in which they were lodged between Paris and St. Denis. Odo de Dueil, a monk of St. Denis, relates, as an eye-witness, that in the year 1147, when King Louis-le-Jeune came to St. Denis to take up the standard before going to the crusade, he stopped on his way, entered into these cabins, and visited all the lepers, attended only by two persons.¶

In the history of such foundations there are many details worthy of remark. The condition and character of the founders, the cause which first inspired them with the idea, the object they had in view, the means with which they were provided, are all circumstances that can furnish matter for interesting investigation Let us take a glance at the records of some houses of this kind.

Historians are in general agreed, that the Hôtel Dieu of Paris was founded about the year 660, by St. Landry, Bishop of Paris: and that Erchinvald, Count

* Mongez, Dissertation sur l'Antiquité des Hôpitaux.
† Novarii Tractat, de Priv. Miserab. Person. 36.
‡ Innocent III. Epist. Lib. xiii. 22.
§ Epist. Lib. xi. 123.
‖ Epist. Lib. xiii. 51
¶ Lebeuf, Hist. tom. ii. chap. iii.

of Paris, took part in this good work, and gave up his own palace to form it.* Philip Augustus is the first of the kings whose generosity towards it is mentioned by history. In 1227 St. Louis bestowed such favors upon it, that he has been regarded as its second founder ; but persons in every rank of society have always been among its benefactors. The hospice of St. Mery, in the same city, was established by Viennet, the curate of that parish ; that of St. André des Arcs, by Desbois de Rochefort, curate of St. Andrew's parish ; the Cochin Hospital, in the suburb of St. James, is so called after its founder, who was curate of St. Jacques du-Haut-Pas, who devoted all his means to the work, and was assisted by his pious relations.† The Hôtel Dieu, in the town of St. Denis, was founded by Clovis II. in the seventh century. The Hospital and Church of St. Julian, in Paris, surnamed "Des Ménétriers," was founded, in 1330, by two minstrels, Jacques Grave and Hugue de Lorrain, who were excited by witnessing the misery of a poor woman in the streets. On the portal was carved the figure of a jongleur holding his rebec.‡ It was Robert Montri, a seller of wine, noted for his piety, that founded the Hospital and Convent of the Magdalen, in 1618, on being moved by the situation of two penitent women, who made known to him their distress, prompted by his celebrated character for devotion and mercy.§

The Hospital of St. Gervais, at Paris, had been constructed at the expense and by the care of a mason, named Gavin, and of his son, who was a priest : this was in 1171.‖ The hospital of the Charity of our Lady, in Paris, was founded by a young woman of the lower ranks of life, who had neither means nor birth that seems adequate to such an undertaking : Frances de la Croix, or Simonne Gauguin, was the foundress, in 1624. In this institution young women consecrated their lives to serve and console the sick poor.¶ In 1576, the Hospital de l'Oursine, for poor orphans, was founded by Nicolas Houel, an apothecary and druggist. He desired that they should prepare medicine for other poor, and supply them gratis.** In the year 1171 Jocius de Londonna, on his return from Jerusalem, going into the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, saw there a chamber, in which, de toute ancienneté were lodged some poor scholars : he left money to supply these poor scholars with beds, and to give them besides twelve ecus per month engaging them each in turn to carry the cross and holy water before the bodies of such as should die in the hospital, and that they should recite the penitential psalms, and the prayers for the dead, every night.†† The hospice of Jesus, in the suburb of St. Laurent, was founded by St. Vincent of Paul, to whom a rich man gave the means, on the express condition that his name should never be made known. This furnished a retreat for old men, for whose use there was a chapel adjoining.‡‡ In the same capital there was a separate house of charity to receive sick boys and mai-

* Notice Historique sur l'Hôtel Dieu de Paris. † Tenor, Clavareau, Mem. sur les. Hôpit.
‡ St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. iii. 600. § St Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. ii. 710.
‖ Id. ii. 847. ¶ Id. ii. 1244. ** Tom. iii. 514. †† Id. iii. ii. 707.
‡‡ Clavareau, Mém. sur les. Hôpit.

dens of a tender age. In other Catholic cities the history of similar institutions presents the same features. At Catana, Bartholomew Altavilla, a great magistrate, gave his own house, in 1396, to form a hospital, which bore the title of the Ascension; and that of the incurables, in the same city, was founded in the house of Baron Militelli.* Padua reckons amongst her most illustrious women Sibylla, the wife of Baldo Boniface, who completed and richly endowed the great hospital of St. Francis, in that city, of which her husband had laid the foundation. In Venice there were many hospitals and houses of mercy, founded by Venetian families, so early as in the eighth century, the patronage of which was still in the hands of the same race down to late times.†

Some institutions of this kind furnish interesting evidence in regard to the history of diseases. The Counts Donat and William Von Toggenburgh, in the fourteenth century, gave a house and land to the brethren of St. Anthony, to form a hospital at Utznach, for persons afflicted with St. Anthony's fire, or morbus sacer, an order founded by a French nobleman at Vienne, in Dauphiny. They also gave funds for their support, under the obligation that they should say two masses, and make a distribution of bread for their parents, Frederick and Kunigund, on their anniversary, and maintain a burning light by their grave.‡

To the preaching of the clergy many celebrated institutions of mercy owe their immediate origin. Thus, in the annals of the Capuchins, we read of brother Archangelo, of Palermo, having persuaded by his eloquent sermons several noble women to construct a hospital for the comfort of the convalescent,§ and of Jerome, of Pistoia, another celebrated preacher, having by one sermon at Florence induced Marieta, a pious lady of the noble house of Gondi, to found with her own purse a hospital of refuge for the support of poor maidens.‖ Sometimes hospitals were founded and served by penitents, in expiation of their former errors. Durandus de Osca, and William of St. Antoninus, on renouncing the heresy of the Waldenses desired to evince their penitence and Catholicity by serving God in the poor, for which purpose they proposed to found two separate convents, one for men and the other for women, having a hospital in common, where the poor, and the stranger, and the sick might be received, with a church under the invocation of St. Mary, and to this there were to be attached funds for clothing the poor in winter; and Pope Innocent III. gave letters approving of their intention.¶

At other times hospitals owed their origin to an association of pious laymen. Thus that of St. Margarite, at Bologna, which became so great an ornament to the city, was founded, in 1336, by the brethren of St. Mary, of Death, who were merely charitable citizens, friends of the poor.**

The number of hospitals in great cities during the middle ages was prodigious,

* J. B. de Grossis Catanens. Decachord. c. ii. M. 16. in Thes. Antiq. Siciliæ. x.
† Splend. Venet. in Thes. Antiq. Italiæ, v.
‡ Ildefons von Arx Geschichte S. Gallens, ii. 208. § An. 1577. ‖ An. 1570.
¶ Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xv. 82. ** Sigonii, Ep. Bonon. Lib. iii.

for the system of centralization in relation to such institutions would have been deemed pernicious, and utility was preferred to vain parade. In Rome, in the eighth century, under Pope Zacharia, there were four hospitals; and Stephen II., his successor, founded a fifth for a hundred poor; but in subsequent times their number greatly increased, so that there were reckoned there twenty-five rich and vast hospitals for the sick, for the poor, and for strangers.* In Florence in the sixteenth century, there were three hundred and five houses of charity, of which some were on a magnificent scale.† In Antwerp, there were thirty-three houses of charity endowed by the citizens.‡ Paris alone contained forty-eight hospitals.§ In Besançon, which is a small city, there were five hospitals of charity. The incidental evidence of their number in the Gallia Christiana, is certainly calculated to excite surprise. In fact, before the revolution, France contained more than seven hundred hospitals ;‖ and yet their multiplication did not prevent the establishment of hospitals on a great scale : that of the Holy Ghost at Rome received eighteen hundred patients ; and those of Vienna and Naples admitted as many as three thousand.¶ The smallest towns and villages had then some house of mercy to receive the poor, which often supplied the means of transmitting to posterity the names of great men. The parish of Brie-Comte-Robert, in the diocese of Paris, is so called from Count Robert, grandson of King Lewis-le-Gros, who is known to have been the founder of the Hôtel Dieu, and of the church in that place, which contained so few inhabitants. Even to parish churches there were foundations attached for the relief of poor persons. Thus Audrand, Abbot of St. Fuscien, near Amiens, made a foundation in the church of St. Sulpice, at Paris, in 1570, leaving eight hundred livres to form a marriage portion every year for eight orphans, and twenty francs for four scholars, each of whom, during five years, was to have a hundred sols to purchase books and other articles, on condition of celebrating his anniversary in that church.** In the church of St. Cosma, at Paris, there was a place where many surgeons used to assemble, on the first Monday of every month, to give advice and medicine to all poor sick people, a custom established by their confraternity in the time of St. Louis, when the clergy of Nôtre Dame ceased to perform that office. In 1555, Nicholas Langlois, one of the provosts of surgeons, left a rent of fifty louis for the continuation of these offices. The canons of St. Peter, of Troyes, having founded the hospital of St. Nicholas in that city, in addition, in the year 1205, gave each a portion of their prebend, as an indemnity for their not being able to attend to the poor as they wished, from being obliged to be present in the church for the canonical office.†† At Milan the Prince Antonio Tolomeo Trivulzi changed his palace into a hospi-

* Bocium de Signis Eccles. l. x. c. 9.
‡ Scribanius in suâ Antwerp. tit. Liberalitas.
‖ De la Motte, Essai Hist. 17.
** Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris, l. ii. 2.
†† Desguerrois, Hist. du Diocése de Troyes, 328.
† Leandri Alberti Descript. Italiæ, 67.
§ Tenon, Mém. sur les Hôpitaux.
¶ Clavareau, Mém. sur les Hôpit.

tal for the poor. In the same city, Francis Sforza IV. duke of Milan, and his wife Blanca Maria Visconti, gave up one of his palaces, with its gardens, to form the vast hospital, which is still the admiration of all who visit Milan. This was in 1456. Cosmo de Medicis caused to be constructed at Jerusalem a hospital for poor sick pilgrims.

The charitable works of individuals in the middle age were truly prodigious, and might be deemed incredible, if they were not commemorated by incontrovertible records. No pen, we are assured, could describe the mercy and devotion of Henry the Liberal, Count of Troyes, in the twelfth century. His alms enriched not only the diocese of Troyes, but those of Chalons and Langres, as well as the archiepiscopal province of Rheims. He founded thirteen hospitals, and thirteen churches of canons. Amongst these the Hôtel Dieu-le-Comte, which was built close to his palace, served by canons of St. Augustin, was on such a scale of grandeur, that William of Tyre styles him on that account, "Virum magnificum." Frodsard, in his History of the Church of Rheims, speaks of a distinguished man, named Attole, of whom the epitaph attests, that he founded twelve hospitals, through love for St. Remi, who was his contemporary. He is buried, with his son and his daughter, behind the altar in the church of St. Julian, in that city.* Jane, countess of Flanders, daughter of Baldwin, emperor of Constantinople, who died in 1244, and whose tomb might be seen in the abbey of Marquelte, in Flanders, founded hospitals in Ghent, Ipres, Valenciennes, Bruges, and Lille.† So great was the number of hospitals built in Poland, Russia, Lithuania, and other distant regions of the north, by James Crescenti, when Provincial of the Dominicans, that it is said no one could tell them.‡ The prodigious number of hospitals built in Prussia by Winrich Von Kuiprode, grand master of the Teutonic Order in the fourteenth century, is mentioned with astonishment even by profane historians. In every town he erected a hospital for the sick, and for the poor and helpless. He was styled the father of widows and orphans; and we are told that his chief object of solicitude, during the last days of his life, was to reform the arrangement of the great hospital of the Holy Ghost at Marienburg.§

We observe, however, that it was not merely to persons invested with distinguished offices in the state, that society was indebted for these immense benefits. The tradesman, or the artist, or the obscure citizen of the middle ages, effected more than could now be accomplished by the exertions of a whole city where the work of division had taken place. The founder of one house of mercy is now considered to have immortalized his name; but what would have been his title in the middle ages? Guercino, who with his own hand painted one hundred and six altar pieces, and who bestowed the great riches which he had acquired by his profession, in acts of charity, built and endowed not merely one, but many hospitals

* Liv. i. c. 23.

† Les Delices des Païs bas, l.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. liv. 3.

§ Voight, Geschichte Preussens, b. v. 392.

and chapels, without appearing eminent in regard to such works. The celebrated Nicholas Flamel, whose tomb was in the church of St. Jacques de la Boucherie, at Paris, who was suspected of practising the occult sciences, on account of his immense riches, for which his contemporaries could not otherwise account, gave no other proof of his success in the trade of a scrivener, than by contributing to promote religious and charitable institutions. The Abbé Villain, in his history of that parish, has demonstrated, however, that it is easy to explain how he acquired such riches without recurring to charges of that nature, for, that his trade, before the invention of printing, was sufficiently lucrative to furnish him with the means of accomplishing all his works, particularly when we take into account the industry of the man, and also the piety and austerity of his life. He and his wife founded and endowed fourteen hospitals,* to many of which were attached beautiful chapels. The whole life of this curious citizen, after the death of his wife, was past in seclusion with his servant Marguerite La-Quesnel and her daughter Collette, who used to contribute their mite to the prodigious alms of their master. Besides the great monuments of his charity, it is recorded, that he purchased, near the street of St. Martin, some old buildings, on the site of which he constructed several alms houses, to lodge poor people gratuitously, and here he placed an inscription to remind those who entered it, that he required in return from all whom he lodged, that they should say every day a Pater-noster and an Ave-Maria; and on the walls were sculptured many images kneeling; so that his guests had always the law before them written and represented.

To a traveller of the middle ages, the monuments of charity in each city and village, independent even of their religious interest, must have been often amongst the most curious objects for observation. Poets celebrate them as may be witnessed in the works of Facius Ubertus, who mentions the vast hospital of Sienna, served by the brothers of a poor house.† The beautiful and superb hospital of Beaune resembled a palace rather than a retreat for the poor. It was founded by Rolin, a knight of Duke Philip the Good, of Burgundy.‡ At Caen, the hospital for the lepers had a park attached to it, enclosed within walls. A Duke of Normandy is said to have given this park in alms, which contains as much square land as a powerful archer could comprise within the range of his arrows.§

The hospitalers of St. Mandé at Paris occupied a space of about sixty acres, in a healthy and isolated spot. The Hôtel Dieu, which covers four acres with its original structure, extends in reality, by comprising its seven dependent buildings, over a space of forty acres. The Hôtel Dieu at Lyons, to which we alluded in the beginning, is described by a late eminent surgeon in his travels, as one of the most magnificent hospitals in Europe. It was founded, as we have seen, in the middle of the sixth century, by Childebert, son of Clovis, and his wife, queen of

* Histoire Critique de Nicholas Flamel, et de Pernille, sa Femme. † Cat. viii.

‡ Duchesne, Antiquités des Villes de France, tom. ii. 316.

§ De Bourgueville, les Recherches at Antiquités de Normandie, liv. ii. 22.

the Ostragoths. The body of the building, which is of vast extent, is in the form of a Greek cross. The grand infirmary measures nearly five hundred feet in length. In the centre of the cross stands a high altar, which can be seen from the extremity of the most distant wards. There are two large and lofty halls, styled chambers of the convalescent, the patients of which are received at meals in the refectory. An order of nuns, one hundred and fifty in number, performs the duty of nurses, watches over and tends the sick, administers the medicines, and prepares the diet. The hospital can receive three thousand patients ; the number now exceeds one thousand.*

Howard is filled with admiration at beholding the Roman hospitals of San Spirito, of the Benfratelli, of the Florentines, and of Santa Maria della Consolazione. The first was constructed by Pope Innocent III. on the site of a church and hospice, built by the Anglo-Saxon king Ina in the eighth century. No city in the world can boast of a more magnificent institution ; its yearly expenditure exceeds one hundred thousand crowns.† Howard says that the hospital of Sancta Maria-de-Vita, at Bologna, inspires satisfaction in every humane person who beholds it. On the noble hospital for the sick at Genoa he bestows unqualified praise. Indeed, he prefaces his remarks on Italy by observing that this country affords great instruction respecting hospitals as well as prisons ; yet when he visited other Catholic countries he found the same active and enlightened charity in equal operation. He says that nothing can surpass the houses of mercy at Vienna for the poor, the aged, and the sick ; he observes, that at Strasburg a sort of generous munificence reigns in regard to all the miserable ; and when he has seen Spain, he could only say, in general, that it abounds in charitable institutions.‡

What a delightful object is that great hospital of San Juan-Baptista, placed in such a beautiful situation, at a short distance from the city of Toledo ! This house was built by an archbishop in a style of royal magnificence, having vast corridores, noble staircases, and halls, accommodated for the seasons of winter and summer. The hospital of mercy at Lisbon is so richly supported by the charity of pious men, that the number of persons annually relieved seems almost incredible. It is depending wholly on fortuitous alms, and served by the brothers of mercy. Here portions are given to young maidens to enable them to marry ; persons of decayed fortune are assisted according to their wants, and whatever money is collected must always be expended within the year. More than twenty-four thousand gold ducats are annually given to the poor, and in some years the alms have exceeded forty thousand ducats. Here too, the sick and infirm are received, as also foundlings. The whole is under the invocation of All Saints : it is built in a magnificent style, divided into four cloisters, with sweet gardens and thirty-

* Bell's Observations on Italy.

† Hurter, Geschichte Innocenz III., book 2.

‡ Howard on the State of Hospitals, &c.

four porches. The sick, on their recovery, are each pre-ented with money sufficient to support them during many days after leaving the hospital. The benignity of all who serve in it is such as cannot be exceeded.* Speaking of the king's hospital at Burgos, a French writer remarks, that the Spaniards could give lessons to the most civilized nations on these monuments of charity. A cruel foresight, he says, does not render them afraid, lest the unhappy should find themselves so well treated as to view, without repugnance, these asylums opened to their misery.† The same traveller observes, that the establishments of charity at Madrid are sufficient to entitle it to a first rank among the capitals of Europe. The hospitals and confraternities are all on the most generous scale. He does not inform his reader of the origin of the great hospital at Burgos, the history of which, however can throw some light upon the mystery of the difference which he remarks between the mercy of former ages and the beneficence of the present day; for this hospital, as also the convent of Holgis, had wholly a religious origin, being founded by Alfonso VIII. after his defeat at Alarcos, who desired in this manner to acknowledge his sins, and testify his repentance; to which pious works the great and renowned victory of the Navas de Tolosa, which was gained shortly after, has been ascribed by the Spanish writers. In the great hospital of Toledo are six vast noble pictures of the school of Rubens. The Hospital of Charity, at Seville, contains ten of the finest paiutings of Murillo, which are the admiration of all connoisseurs. The hospital of Cadiz is another magnificent establishment enriched with works of art. "I have been astonished," says Bourgoign, "and edified at the cleanness and order which distinguish all these institutions in Spain; and I have often admired how this devotion, this Christian charity, which in our age we imagine we treat within dulgence, when we only cover it with ridicule; how, I say, this principle can render men different from themselves, and take from them their most inveterate defects. In the pious foundations of the Spaniards there is no trace of apathy, or indolence, or filth."‡

We can learn the state of the Italian hospitals in the sixteenth century from the mouth of a great adversary. "In Italy," says Luther, "the hospitals are well provided, well built; the best food is given; there are attentive servants, and skilful physicians; the beds and the clothes are very clean; the interior of the building is adorned with fine pictures. When a sick person is brought in, his own clothes are taken from him, in presence of a notary, who writes down an exact description, that they may be restored to him. He is clad in a white dress, and placed in a well made bed, in white sheets. Two physicians visit him, and the servants wait upon him with the food prescribed. Then come to him also ladies and honorable matrons, who take the veil during some days to serve the poor; so that no one knows who they are, and then they return home. At Florence

* Damiani a Goez Olisopcnis Descriptio.

† Bourgoign, Tableau de l'Espagne, i. 40

‡ Tableau de l'Espagne, tom. iii. 17.

also I have seen the hospitals well served with all care. In like manner the houses for foundlings, where the little children have the best nourishment, instruction, and education."* The care even to adorn with magnificence the asylums of the poor and wretched was conspicuous from the first. If it were not for the name of the Albergo Dei Poveri, one might suppose that this vast institution at Genoa, which was founded by a member of the Brignoli family, to serve as an asylum for upwards of a thousand persons, from old age or other causes reduced to want, had been intended to serve as a palace for princes. It is impossible to behold this vast edifice, magnificent as a royal residence, without being forcibly struck with the splendor of Catholic charity. The church attached to it is vast and beautiful, and contains an exquisit work by Michael Angelo. In the entrance hall are colossal statues, in marble, of the charitable nobles and ladies who have endowed the Albergo at different times: the figure of the founder receiving a poor boy, whose ragged clothes are represented in the marble, though certainly not a masterpiece of art, is enough to draw tears, such an expression of mercy and Christian tenderness characterizes the whole group. The figure of a noble dame of the Palavicini family pouring forth her money into the treasury of the hospital, is another striking piece of art in this hall. There is also at Genoa an institution supported and conducted by the Fiesco family, in which eight hundred female children are lodged, and taught to work at some trade, and each receives a thousand francs when she marries. It was Bartholomew Bosco who, in the year 1423, founded the great hospital De Pammatone, in the same city. Here are seventy-five statues of benefactors. Hector Vernassa founded another on a scale of almost equal magnificence. Superb and numerous as are the private palaces of the Genoese, the asylums of the indigent strike the imagination of a stranger, whose eyes, though bent on view of novel sights, cannot refuse to turn to their allurement. The people have not to penetrate into the houses of the Dorias, the Brigniolis, and Durazzas, to behold the noblest works of art; they will find the sublimest paintings and imagery in sculpture, the master-pieces of Michael Angelo himself, where think you? in the hostel of the poor. Among the gifts of Pope Innocent III. to the hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome we read of precious treasures, ornaments, and books.† Again, at Florence, the façade of the vast hospital of Santa Maria Novella, which was founded in 1287 by Folco Portinari, father of the Beatrice immortalized by Dante, was designed by no less distinguished an artist than Buontalenti, and is the admiration of all beholders. In the same city the hospital founded by Bonifacio Lupi contains paintings by the first artists. In the great hospital at Sienna you find ancient paintings of various saints, patriarchs, and prophets, so full of merit that Pinturicchio and Raffaello did not disdain to study them.

At Venice you have the same union of mercy and magnificence. One might

* Michelet, Mém. de Luth. ii.

† Gesta, Inn. III. 144.

suppose in this city that it was pity and love of the poor which had inspired and nourished the arts. If you wish to see paintings by Piloti, Palma, and Bellino, you must repair to the hospice of St. Job and of St. John the Baptist. Are you attracted by Peranda, Mazzenio, and Carlo Lotti? You must visit the hospital for poor foundlings. If you follow Caelesti, Stroifi, Reinerio, Mazza, Ruschi, and Perugino, you must pass to the hospital of Saints John and Paul, where are received the sick, and the orphan, and the stranger. To see the picture of Liberi, representing the seven works of mercy, and innumerable master-pieces, or, on festivals, to hear the celebrated music, which attracts all Venice, you must condescend to enter the house of St. Lazarus, for beggars, where five hundred of these poor persons are nourished, whose daughters are the musicians that will perform it. If you ask for the painting of St. Ursula, by Tintoreti, or that of the Wise and Foolish Virgins, by Varori, or many others of the first artists, you are referred to the hospital of Incurables, or to the hospice of poor maidens or to the house of convertites for penitent women.*

Nor is this munificence in pity confined to Italy. The hospital of St. John the Evangelist at Bruges, which faces the portal of the church of our Lady in the street of St. Catharine, is an edifice of no less beauty than antiquity. In the chapel is the shrine of St. Ursula, adorned with miniature pictures, representing the history of the saint, and scenes from the Apocalypse, exquisitely painted by Hemmelink, the disciple of Van Eyck, whose colors remain as pure and brilliant as if they had been laid on but yesterday. In the council-chamber of the hospital is a large picture of St. John, painted by the same artist.

The magnificence of the hospital at Quenoy, in Flanders, used to be a theme of admiration with all travellers in that country This house was founded by a chaplain of Baldwin the Brave, tenth Count of Flanders; and it was rebuilt on the present scale in 1233 by Jane, Countess of Hainaut, and richly endowed by her sister and heiress, the Countess Marguerite, who placed in it nuns of the order of St. Augustin.†

Notwithstanding the splendor and beauty of these great institutions, it is important to remark that in no instance could one discover, in their plan or administration, a sacrifice of utility to vanity or caprice. They were always so constituted as to present the most prompt and efficacious relief that the case required; whereas, in the foundations of later times, the true order of charity is far from being preserved with the same uniformity St. Victor remarks, that the hospital of the Invalides at Paris, constructed by Louis XIV., was more pompous than useful. At half the expense the soldiers could have been rendered much more happy, each in his native village.‡

But what was still more worthy of attention than any thing yet noticed in the

* Splend. Venet. in Thes. Antiq. Italæ, tom. v. † Les Delices des Païs bas, tom. i.
‡ Tableau de Paris, tom. iv. 80.

hospitals and other institutions of mercy, in the middle ages, was the singular ingenuity evinced by their founders and benefactors in their plans and modes of administration, and in the art with which they proposed to meet all possible circumstances of human misery, and to further the great end of yielding both corporal and spiritual assistance.

To consider, in the first instance, a case which presented the greatest difficulty, let us pause a moment to view the hospitals for lepers, of which we have already had occasion to speak. These were generally built at the entrance of cities and towns, totally separated from places inhabited, and each city and even village was bound to take charge of its own lepers. At Paris there were three hospitals or these unhappy persons. Matthew Paris says, that there were in his time nineteen thousand houses of that kind in Christendom, which is not incredible, since we read of Louis VIII., in 1225, bequeathing a hundred sous to each of the two thousand lazarettos in his kingdom.*

In England there was large provision made for lepers. There was an hospital for women afflicted with that disease in the diocese of Lincoln, a noble one near Durham, three in London, and perhaps many more near our great cities.

In the year 789, Charlemagne had expressly prohibited lepers from holding any communication with the people, and during 907 years the police subsisted in France. In 1693, when the disease disappeared, Louis XIV. ordered that the leproseries should be in future united with the other hospitals.

Hospitals for foundlings cannot be traced to such an early period, and the explanation of this fact might lead to many very important reflections. Infanticide and exposition of children, which had been sanctioned in all the ancient states, were in a gradual but no less miraculous manner abolished by the Catholic religion in ages of faith. In early times the Christian women offered themselves as nurses to preserve the abandoned infants of the pagans, while the fathers of the Church denounced the inhumanity of such parents with an admirable eloquence.† By degrees, the principle which they inculcated produced its effect upon the civil government; though the number of expositions only diminished in proportion to the propagation of the faith. Constantine, by his remarkable and greatly misrepresented law, permitting parents to sell their new-born children, which was a revocation of the edicts of Diocletian and Maximian, provided against the greater evil of infanticide by sanctioning the lesser, which, in fact, only amounted to the consignment of children to a domestic servitude.‡ Succeeding emperors secured the lot of foundlings, by permitting those who had nourished them to use them as their servants. But Justinian declared that in future such children should enjoy the whole rights of free citizens, concluding with this admirable sentence, "Man ought not to fulfil a duty of charity because he reckons upon a salary." By this time, however, the Christian Church had established a great empire in

* De la Motte, Essai Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu. † Tertul. Apolog. c. ix ‡ Lallier, du Pauperi[illegible].

the minds of men, so that from day to day the number of expositions became sensibly less and less. Pious foundations were made, manners were reformed, chastity was honored, and the emperors had abolished the penalties against celibacy, by which blind paganism had hoped to favor population. Christianity had partly dried up the two great sources of evil in society—immorality and misery; so that from the sixth to the fifteenth century there is scarcely a question raised respecting foundlings. One discovers only here and there the trace of some rare public establishment in their favor,—as when Pope Innocent III. is related to have been moved to build and endow a hospital for foundlings on hearing that a fisherman of the Tiber had found three drowned children in his net. Private charity was sufficient to provide for the wants of society. Scarcely in the whole body of canon law do we find a single passage concerning foundlings. In regard to their baptism there is an allusion to them in the decrees of the council of York, held in 1197, under Pope Celestin III., and by the council of Arles in 389; as also in two capitularies, the one of Childeric III., in 744, and the other of Charlemagne: the limits of time are fixed after which no one must reclaim a foundling. Besides these, Lallier, in his Essay on Pauperism, declares that he knows of no other instance. In the eleventh century, there is mention, however, of some persons too poor to nourish their children, who used to place them at the doors of the church, with the expectation of their being taken up by the clergy, and nourished in a hospital for the purpose, where they would be educated.* In the twelfth century, poor people in Prussia, in extreme necessity, used sometimes to place their infants at the doors of the hospitals of the Teutonic order, and these foundlings were then baptized and provided with nurses. In later times, by bulls of many popes, the institution of hospitals for this express purpose was recommended.† At Naples foundlings used to be received and adopted voluntarily, even by poor people, and were then called children of our Lady, figli della Madonna. The place for their reception at Padua in the sixteenth century, was called "The House of God."‡ In the foundling hospital at Lisbon Howard found ninety children, but still most of them were of Moorish parents. Albert the Great, when Legate of the Holy See in Poland, abolished the inhuman custom which had prevailed in those barbarous regions, of killing all children that were born with any defect, or that their parents could not nourish. Howard mentions, that at the time when he writes, infanticide is common in Denmark, though he neglects to remark that the preventive had been removed with the Catholic faith. From the year 1180 infants exposed were received into the hospital of the Holy Ghost at Montpellier. The foundling hospitals at Paris date from 1638, and owe their origin to the indefatigable zeal of St. Vincent de Paul. Before that year we find this work of mercy devolving upon devout widows, whose means in early times

* Landulph. Mediolanens. Hist. Lib. ii. cap. 35.

† Voight Geschichte Preussens, ii. 117. Muratori, Antiq. Ital. iii. 592.

‡ Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Pat. ii. 5.

had proved adequate to the task. But the new measures had now been heard of in most lands. When Tenon wrote his Memoirs, the founding hospital at Paris contained three hundred and ninety-six cradles, and annually received in the country fifteen thousand. In the space of one hundred and seventeen years the hospital received two hundred and fifty-three thousand, three hundred children. It is a remarkable fact that the number has successively increased, and particularly from the year 1741, in which year alone the number received amounted to three thousand, nine hundred and eighty, which was nearly the same as had been admitted during the ten preceding years. At the present day, the great problem of the social science is to determine the method of diminishing the increasing number of exposed children. The fact of society is so profound that no one could credit it, if it were not attested by official documents. Such has been the result of renouncing the faith and manners of Catholicism, which had surrounded human society with such admirable succor during so many ages, appearing to have punished the murmurs of philosophers that the evils of the ancient world were extirpated for ever.

The need of other institutions, which the crimes and unbridled miseries of men have added in later times, to the heavy list of social woes, had then been experienced but in slight measure. A single tower would formerly suffice to enclose the madmen of a whole country; and so little did the discipline mentioned above resemble that which has so long disgraced the great asylums, as they are denominated, of modern states, that those who apprehended it at the evening hour might hear the bell which called the maniacs to vespers. Insanity was a rare phenomenon in the ages which we survey. Modern writers acknowledge the alarming truth, that what they term "the progress of civilization and the growing complication of human affairs," phrases which every Catholic, generally wise, will easily understand, have added largely to the numbers of the insane in any given population. There was, therefore, almost a new field thrown open to the blessed mercifuls; and at Caen, and in many other cities, we may behold the happy results of their fortitude in our times, their shameless patience, and ingenious care to make it fruitful.

But, to return to the middle ages, and survey the general foundations which then existed. Besides the great institutions for common wants, there were numberless hospitals designed with some charity for some less prominent object. Thus there were hospitals richly endowed for the sustenance alone, who had left the houses of the sick. At Paris we met with legacies of pious persons to support a hospital of this kind, in which women, on leaving the Hôtel Dieu, might be received during at least three days and nights.*

Amyot, in his youth being confined with a sickness in the Hôtel Dieu at Orleans, received from it an entire cure and a sum of money to enable him to continue his

* Tenon, Mém. sur les Hôpitaux.

journey, in consideration of which he left by his testament twelve hundred crowns to that hospital. In the hospital of convalescents at Paris workmen and artisans were received during eight days, and had liberty to go out each day in search of employment. In that capital there were no less than twenty hospitals for the poor who were in health, for old men, for widows, for orphans, for strangers, and for wandering youth. Similar establishments were in other cities.

Part of the convent of St. Joseph at Florence is inhabited by the children of refuge of St. Philip Neri, instituted in 1650 by Philip Franci, to receive and educate boys of bad manners, from the age of sixteen years, where they are taught some useful art by which they may maintain themselves. At Bologna there was erected, in 1355, a house of charity, to receive men converted from a spirit of blasphemy, the origin of which is thus related:—A certain man having lost money at play, uttered imprecations against the Blessed Virgin, before whose image in Porta, which is in the centre of the city, he had been playing. Immediately he was seized with spasms in all his limbs, and blindness, and in that state carried to the hospital; on hearing of which event fifteen young men, conscious of having often sinned in the same manner, resolved to amend their lives, and, renouncing all earthly things, obtained permission from the Bishop, John de Naso, to build this house for themselves and others who might join them, where they assumed a monastic habit.* In Florence the institution for women converted was entitled Malmaritate. It was the custom to oblige persons of dissolute lives to assist in the cathedral at a sermon, on the Thursday of the fifth week in Lent, in which the horror of their state was represented. In order to receive such as were converted, this charitable institution was founded under the invocation of St. Mary Magdalen.

Monteil acknowledges the admirable conversions which were made in the great institutions of the middle ages for the support of penitent women. Religion, he says, had purified their soul and their heart. I read with delight this article of the expense of the Provost—"Aux pauvres filles pénitentes, dix livres parisis, en pitié et aumosne, pour avoir du pain, dont elles ont grand nécessité et souffrette."† The description which Bernardine Scardeoneo, in the sixteenth century, gives of the similar institution at Padua, is affecting. This house, saith he, styled "Of the Illuminated and Converted Women," was instituted by a holy priest, Francis Zaghio. It adjoins the church of St. Sophia, and is conducted by devout nuns. Here there are at present forty of these poor penitents, acknowledging their error, who have fled here of their own accord, as if to an asylum; here they live by the labor of their hands, and by the alms of the pious; they are taught to read, and to sing diurnal and nocturnal offices, which they perform with such piety that I do not believe any monks of the strictest observance can surpass them: so

* Sigonii, De Ep. Bonon. Lib. iii.

† Antiq. de Paris, par Sauval. Comptes de la Prévote, année 1513 et 1510

that here we behold verified what is said in the Gospel, that the harlots shall enter into the kingdom of God, while Scribes and Pharisees are cast out.* At Bologna, also, it was in consequence of hearing that a number of such victims would, of their own accord, take refuge in a house of penitence, if such an asylum were provided for them, that the Bishop, John Campegius, persuaded the citizens to erect one in 1551.†

It was Henry III., the king of simple life and plain, as Dante styles him, who founded the hospital or religious house of converts, in Chancery-lane, in London, which is now known by the name of the Rolles, "ad sustentationem Fratrum conversorum, et convertendorum de Judaismo ad fidem Catholicam." There was a similar house at Rome, founded by Pius V., and also a college, founded by Gregory XIII. for the express purpose of receiving such Jews as desired to be instructed in the Christian religion. At Venice, also, the piety of the state had provided a church and hospice, to receive Jews on their conversion, as also converts from the Turks.‡ The Jews, on their conversion, were not only to be watered with the dew of doctrine, as Pope Innocent III. said, but also to be nourished with temporal benefits.§ Lest the shame of poverty, which they are not accustomed to bear with equanimity, should compel them to look back, all the faithful, he says, must bear assistance to them ; and there is a grand letter of the same pontiff to the Bishop of Autun, who had neglected to relieve the wants of a certain converted Jew and his daughter, and for having neglected or despised attending to the apostolic mandate to that effect.‖ By the persuasion of a nobleman, a certain Jew in Leicester had been induced to renounce all the riches which he possessed, and receive baptism to follow Christ. As long as this nobleman lived the convert was well supported, but, after his death, he was left without means of subsistence ; whereupon the same pontiff wrote to the abbot and convent of St. Mary of the Fields, at Leicester, commanding them for the sake of Him by whom he received the light of truth, to supply him in future with all things necessary.¶ In later times there was occasion to provide for convertites of another description, and accordingly there was an establishment in Gex, founded by St. Francis de Sales, and another in Paris, founded by a virtuous ecclesiastic, to receive persons from the ranks of false reform, who were newly converted to the Catholic faith, and whose Protestant relations and friends had abandoned them on their conversion.** To lead weak mortals from temptation, and to deliver them from moral danger, while assisting their corporal necessities, there were institutions expressly established. For this purpose at Rheims, there was the hospital of St. Catherine, to give lodging and bread during one night to all women who should present themselves at the gate.†† At Paris, in the hospital of St. Catherine, in the street of St. Denis,

* Bern. Scard. de Antiq. Patavii, Lib. ii. cap. 5
† Sigonii De Epis. Bonon. Lib. v.
‡ Spend. Venet. in Thes. Antiq. Ital. v.
§ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. xvi. 84.
‖ Id. Lib. ii. Epist. 206.
¶ Inn. III. Lib. ii. Epist. 234.
** St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. ii. 525.
†† Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv. iv. 266.

at the corner of that of Lombards, the nuns of St. Augustin used to give hospitality with the same intention during three nights, to poor women who were in search of service, and to such as came from the country about business. This house could receive as many as sixty-nine guests.*

But it would be in vain to think of enumerating all the cunningly devised and generously supported institutions, to which blessed mercy gave birth. If we desired to visit all that existed in one city alone, we should be at a loss to determine whither we should direct our steps. Witness, for example, the city of Milan, in which were constantly open such a multitude of doors to receive not merely the poor, and sick, and miserable, but even all who might have been in danger of becoming such, to whom every kind of assistance was supplied by noble laics, under the guidance of priests.† Who could describe the houses of choice mercy in any great Catholic city in the middle ages? And yet, after all, men were not satisfied with these. Every private door was open to the stranger poor. At Ghent, before the revolution, there was a house in which half an ox was boiled every day, and given to all who came. This was called the Pot of St. Peter, and the idea of the founder was evident enough. No doubt, said he, within his own mind, there are hospitals and monasteries innumerable, where my poor fellow Christians can be relieved ; yet, still, as it is possible that there may be some wandering wretch, whom peculiar circumstances may prevent from applying to them, let there be a feast daily to which all may come, and a dish to which every hungry man may stretch a hand. At Madrid there was a charitable brotherhood called La Hermandad del Refugio, the members of which used to repair every morning to a chamber in the hospital of San Antonio, whence they set out to perambulate the streets of the city, announcing their passage by striking the pavement with a stick loaded with iron. All the poor and wretched persons that they met were conducted by them to this hospital, where they were given soup and eggs, a bed for the night, and a breakfast next morning of bread and dried grapes.‡ There were at Paris and Rouen twenty-four chambers, entitled "Of Francs Bourgeois," where the poor were lodged gratis, and presented with thirteen farthings on entering, and one farthing each week, with permission to beg through the city.§ There were also the chambers of the twenty-five poor of St. Eustache, and those of the poor beadsmen, and that of the poor man of St. Martin.‖ This last foundation was in the Abbatial chapter of St. Martin at Tours. He was fed, and clothed, and lodged, and had a place in all solemn processions. At Paris, by the church of Nôtre Dame, there was al-

* St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, i. 572.

† Italia Sacra, tom. iv. 26.

‡ Howard, State of Hospitals.

§ Monteil, Hist. des François. Amiot, Hist. de Rouen, tom. i. chap. des Cordeliers. Antiq. de Paris, par Sauval, liv. ii.

‖ Lettres des Rois Mars, 1472, relative to the foundation du pauvre de Saint-Maria de Tours.

ways a long bench, on which charitable people used to deposit the garments that they wished to give to the poor.*

There were donations, as we have seen, with the sole view of contributing to the pleasures and solace of the convalescent poor, and the generous spirit in which these were conceived is very remarkable. In the grant of Adam, who gave two houses to the hospital of the cathedral of Nôtre Dame at Paris, in 1199, there is a condition enjoined, that on his anniversary, such persons as are sick in the house shall be provided with whatever kind of food they may please to ask for, provided it can be procured anywhere. " Ea conditione, quod ægrotantibus quicquid cibariorum in eorum venerit desiderio, si tamen posset inveniri, de totali proventu domorum in die anniversarii ejus detur."†

In the twelfth century the statutes of the merchant silversmiths ordained, that they should give a dinner on Easter-day to the patients of the same hospital ; and it is related, that at this banquet the service was always performed by their wives, who were to repair to the hospital pompously dressed.‡ In this hospital there are certain lesser wards contiguous to the greater, which are reserved for the accommodation of such persons as fall sick in the service of the poor, and also of individuals in a distressed state, to whom a peculiar respect is due, and who can thus feel themselves isolated and unobserved, a delicate contrivance of Catholic charity that should not be passed by unnoticed.§ There is a class of persons unwilling to have recourse to a public hospital, and yet without sufficient means to procure assistance in their own homes, and for those there is a house of health in the suburb of St. Lawrence in the same capital.‖ At Florence the hospital of St. Paul was destined exclusively to receive and entertain, during four days, the convalescent who came there from other hospitals before resuming their occupations. Hugh de Trottescline, abbot of St. Austin at Canterbury, in the reign of Henry I. founded a hospital near his own abbey, to the honor of Christ and St. Lawrence, for the reception of sick monks ; and also, he adds, if it should so happen that the father, mother, sister, or brother of any monk of this monastery should come to such great want as that, to the reproach of any of these brethren, he or she be forced to ask at the gates the alms of the fraternity, that then such of them so asking should be provided for in this asylum. The superb hospital of Ciudad Real was built by an archbishop of Toledo, to receive such of his poor diocesans as might be scattered through la Mancha. At Paris, the hospital for the support of three hundred blind men, dates from the year 1260.

All these triumphs of intelligence in the service of charity, which excite so much admiration at present, can be traced to the spirit, and often to the instrumentality, of the holy inhabitants of cloisters, who still continue, as they have ever been, at the head of every work that can alleviate human sorrows, as may be wit-

* Lebeuf, Hist. de la Ville et du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. chap. 1.

† Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, i. c. i.

‡ Notice. Hist. sur l'Hôtel. Dieu.

§ Id. 23.

‖ Clavareau, Mém. sur les Hôpitaux.

nessed in that learned and humble monk Octavius Assarotti, who founded the institution of the deaf and dumb at Genoa. The union of hospitality and mercy which reigned in those hospices of the middle age, which we before visited in company with the pilgrims, formed a delightful feature in the ancient manners, on which I cannot refrain from dwelling a little. These also had their commencement in the bishop's house, as we may infer from these lines of Fortunatus, describing St. Magnericus, Archbishop of Treves :—

Te panem esuriens, tectum hospes, nudus amictum
Te fessus requiem, spem peregrinus habet.

The bishop's house was adjoining the church, but we may learn what was its simplicity in early times from the word "tuguriolum," used by the African fathers in describing it.* With what mercy the stranger was received in these humble dwellings may be conceived from the character which the same poet ascribes to Leontius, II. Archbishop of Bourdeaux, of whom he says :—

Susceptor peregrum distribuendo cibum.
Longius extremo si quis properasset ab orbe
Advena mox vidit, hunc ait esse patrem.

Accordingly in the commencement there was no distinction of separate houses for the pilgrim and the sick, but as at Paris, the one house of God was established for both. The motto of the Hôtel Dieu was "Medicus et hospes." At any hour of the day and night pilgrims and other persons who asked hospitality were received there, and all these individuals might remain till they chose to leave it to pursue their journey ; nor was there any rule to oblige the patients to depart on their recovery.† Pope Innocent III. subjected his great hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome to the same obligation.‡ The hostels exclusively for hospitality, which were so multiplied in the middle ages, exhibited generally some image or painting of St. Julian, for this celebrated convertite had renounced the world with his wife, and built a hut in a forest, where they gave lodging and food to all strangers, only asking them in return to pray for the souls of his father and mother, whom he had slain in an access of fury, supposing that he had surprised an adulterer on finding them one night as he returned from hunting, in his own bed, where they had been placed by his wife during his absence, their arrival being unknown to him. The kind, old, unpretending hospice is certainly a most interesting monument of those ages of mercy.

" Here comes a pilgrim," says a citizen, whom Shakespeare represents standing at his door ; " I know he will lie at my house ; thither they send one another. God save you, pilgrim ; whither are you bound? To St. Jacques-le-Grand. Where do the palmers lodge, I do beseech you ?" You perceive there was generally a place especially provided for them. Thus at Evreux was the hospital of

* Gallia Christiana. † Notice Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu, 10. ‡ Inn. III. Epist. liv. x. 179.

St. James for pilgrims to Compostello. There were similar hospices at Bourdeaux, and in most cities of Europe. That at Blois was founded by the charitable Louis de Chastillon, count of Blois, and by some private persons who had compassion on the pilgrims of St. James. In Paris the hospice of St. James, which we before visited, was particularly celebrated ; but other poor men, strangers and passengers in that capital, had their rendezvous at the hospice of St. Gervais in the old street of the Temple, served by nuns of St. Augustin, who gave them lodging and supper during three nights ; and one hundred strangers, on an average, were lodged here.* In Brussels similarly there were many small hospices for pilgrims and travellers, which gave them lodging and entertainment during three days.† At Catana the senate deemed it a matter of public importance that ample provision should be made for giving hospitality to every poor stranger in the Xenodochium in the house of St. Euplus.‡ Bernardine Scardeoneo says, that before the sixteenth century, when the number of penitents was greater, there was in Padua, as in other cities, two hospices at each of the gates, one within, the other without the walls, so that the number at Padua amounted to twenty-four, of which none remained when he wrote, but those of St. Leoline, of the Holy Cross, of St. James, and of St. Anthony, all which were religiously conducted by a confraternity of devout laics : the swine belonging to the hospice of St. Anthony were marked, and allowed to run about the city.§

Vincent de Beauvais, in treating upon architecture, as adapted to the different kinds of houses, alludes to the Xenodochium, to receive strangers and poor people from the roads :‖ these were thickly scattered far and wide over Europe. Malta first of all the regions of the earth had the honor to give a hospitable reception to the poor of Christ in the person of St. Paul and his companions when shipwrecked, and its prince, Publius, was their first benefactor ; here consequently, in early times, arose a great convent and house of hospitality for pilgrims.¶ But on the wildest and most inhospitable borders were similar institutions found. Thus in Orderic Vitalis we read. that there was on the frontier of the territories of Bavaria and the Huns an honorable hospital which faithful and powerful Christians of the neighboring provinces had founded, to receive the poor and pilgrims. A Norman, named Angot, was their chief: he had borne arms under Richard and Robert, dukes of Normandy ; but, moved by the fear of God, he abandoned the world, and preferred, for the love of Christ, pilgrimage and voluntary poverty all his life. Here all travellers were entertained for some days.** Celebrated in England were the foundations of William of Wyckam, of which the hospice of the Holy Cross at Winchester remains a solitary vestige. The Maison Dieu, at Dover, was

* Tenon, Mém. sur les Hôpitaux ; et Duchesne, Antiquités des Villes de France, tom. i. 82.
† Les Delices des Païs bas.
‡ De Grossis Catanens. Decachord. ii. 16. Thes. Antiq. Siciliæ, x.
§ Bern. Scard. de Antiquit. Patavii, Lib. ii. cap. 5. ‖ Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. x. 20.
¶ Sicilia Sacra, tom. ii. 903 ** Hist. Norman. Lib..iii.

also a magnificent institution, in which pilgrims and all poor strangers arriving from the continent were lodged and entertained gratuitously. To this house was attached a fine park, the grey mouldering walls of which can still be traced, and a noble church. The interior of this venerable pile has lately undergone a total change, in order to receive henceforth prisoners condemned to solitary confinement, for whom have been constructed lightsome cells, such as are seen in the garden of the king at Paris, where wild and savage animals are kept for show ; a different hospitality in sooth from what was once established here. At Lille, too, there were hospitals in which all the poor who passed by were fed, warmed, and lodged during three days ; and when there were not sufficient beds, there were great coverings called bayards, which served to warm several together. Monteil cites the act of the foundation of the hospital of St. Julien, in 1321, which ordains that in the said house there shall be perpetually sixteen beds well stuffed, and two great beds called bayards. Poor modest citizens had prebends of this hospital. which entitled them to receive corn and money every week.

The celebrated hospital of the Holy Ghost at Dijon is the subject of a curious and elaborate history, illustrated by miniatures, and divided into centuries. In the fifteenth century it is said, that there are seventy beds for the sick in the entrance hall, that the other apartments were full of beds and cradles for poor travellers and old people and children, that endless alms used to be distributed by hand at the gates, and that in 1434, in consequence of the public calamities, there were fifteen thousand people received there. It was served by nuns habited in black, and bearing a white cross on the breast. Celebrated among these was sister Angèle who died in 1459, in the odor of sanctity. Monteil describes the vast number of hospices for the poor and for strangers, which existed in France down to the eighteenth century. In each of these houses the poor were received at least for a day, so that they travelled free of expense. This historian refers to the ancient coutumes of Tours, and to various chronicles of towns.*

These houses acquired often a great interest from the eminent sanctity of the guests whom they had received. Thus the hospice of Genoa became so venerable for having sheltered St. Lawrence on his way from Spain, that soon after his martyrdom it was converted into a church ; and at Florence the hospice near the church of St. Lucia, on the banks of the Arno, was distinguished for having been the house in which, at different times, St. Francis of Assisi, and St. Dominick, on their coming to that city, had been received to hospitality. The images of these blessed saints were placed over the door of this house, as a memorial of the fact ; and as this old sculpture represented them in the habit which they really wore, it was considered peculiarly precious.†

Cardinal Peter, in 1213, seeing the immense multitude of people that resorted

* Antiq. d'Anjou, par Jean Hiret ; l'Hist. d'Amiens, par le Père d'Aire; l'Hist. de Rouen, par Amiot.

† Wadding, Annales Minorum, an. 1211.

to the cathedral of St. Andrew, at Amalphi, erected and endowed a hospice near it, to receive the pilgrims.* With a similar intention Lanfranc built houses in Canterbury, for the reception and entertainment of the stranger poor.

The great hospice for pilgrims of St. Michael, of Mount Gargano, at Siponti, is a monument of the charity of Cardinal Orsini, during his government of that Church. This great man, when translated to Beneventum, twice rebuilt, after its destruction by earthquakes, and furnished with every necessary, a similar house in that city, in which all poor strangers were lodged and nourished, during three days. This holy Cardinal and Archbishop, who afterwards ruled the universal Church, as Benedict XIII., used, on certain days every week, to visit this hospice and serve these poor guests at table.†

About the year 1120, Alard, viscount of Flanders, built in Auvergne a hospice and monastery, on a high mountain, which is covered with snow and clouds during eight months of the year. Here the monks were to receive all travellers. Similar houses existed on the passes of the Alps, by the great and little St. Bernard and St. Gothard.

The Emperor Frederick, in the year 1160, speaks as follows: "Since we are bound to render an account before the tribunal of Christ, if by the improvidence of our government any men should perish, and there is no greater benefit in this world than to erect fountains and hospitals in desert places, and especially on Alps, where the servants of God are in the habit of passing; therefore let all the faithful of Christ know that, for the love of Jesus Christ and for the safety of our souls, we have taken the Benedictine Abbey of St. Mary de Crispino, under our especial protection, to be independent of all states and nobles."‡ Similar hospices were on the passes of the Pyrenees. The Cardinal of Bourbon, returning from, conducting the unfortunate Elizabeth into Spain, stopped at the hospice of Ronceveaux. He sat down at table with three hundred travellers, to each of whom he gave three reals, to assist them in continuing their journey.

The poet Spenser flourished so shortly after the change of religion in England, that he must have been able to paint from memory when he represents the hospice by the way:—

> "Eftsoones unto an holy hospitall
> That was foreby the way, she did him bring,
> In which seven bead-men, that had vowed all
> Their life to service of high heaven's King,
> Did spend their daies in doing godly thing:
> Their gates to all were open ever more,
> That by the wearie way were traveiling,
> And one sate wayting ever them before,
> To call in commers-by, that needy were and pore."§

* Italia Sacra, tom. xii. 216.

† Touron, Hist. des. Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. vi. liv. 43.

‡ I. 10. § Italia Sacra, tom. i. 498.

There were in many cities hospices for the gratuitous entertainment of persons of particular nations. Thus the Anglo-Saxons had their hospice in Rome, the inhabitants of Lyons theirs in Avignon, and the Austrians theirs at Madrid; for the hospital of San Antonio, in that city, was originally destined to lodge and nourish during three days, poor travellers of that country.

It was not, however, merely in the foundation of hospices on the roads, that the action of mercy, in regard to travellers in the middle age, was seen. The erection and maintenance of bridges and causeways, to avoid desperate passes, full of danger, must be ascribed to the same principle, as the details respecting them in our ancient histories will demonstrate

Accordingly, Reginbert, bishop of Passau, in 1144, for the remedy of his soul, desiring to benefit the community in the most efficacious manner possible, builds a bridge over the river Oen, whose impetuous flood had often endangered men and goods; and as the toll of the ferry belonged to the canons regular of St. Nicholas there, fearing to incur sin by injuring them, he gives in compensation for the toll, a church of Hartkirch, that the bridge may be free to every one. Near that bridge he builds also, for the love of heaven, an asylum for the poor, a hostel for pilgrims, including a church in honor of the victorious cross of Christ, and he appoints Udalricus, a priest, to superintend the bridge and hostel, and to all who give alms in furtherance of the work he grants an indulgence.* In the monastery of Burton, there was a prior named John of Streton, a man of great authority and of eminent learning. He obtained leave from the abbot to employ all the property of his father and mother on their death, for the benefit of their souls, in building the bridge of Egenton over the waters of the Done, which he did, and mercifully sustained the said bridge for a long time. After his death, the inhabitants of Egenton, in 1255, pretending not to know that all this had been done through charity, asserted that the Abbot of Burton ought to repair the bridge for ever; thus converting grace and alms into obligation. Therefore, Abbot Lawrence, who was then head of the monastery, sent letters to the king's courts, and an inquisition was instituted before chosen men of Staffordshire, who gave their verdict that the bridge had always been maintained through charity, by alms, and not by obligation of law.†

Portuguese writers attest that the bridge over the Minho, between Rivadaria and Orense, of which the passage had been always very dangerous, was built either by St. Peter Gonçalez or by the blessed Gonçalez d'Amaranthe.‡ The latter was a holy man, who from being a curate, became a pilgrim to the holy land, on his return, a hermit, and finally a Dominican friar; but so great were the services which he had rendered to the rustics while inhabiting his hermitage, in instructing and exhorting them to gain heaven, that the fathers, after admitting him into

* Germania Sacra, tom i. 307.

† Annales Monast. Burton, Rer. Anglic. Scriptorum, tom. i. 303.

‡ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i

the order, charged him to resume his apostolic labors in that wild and sequestered valley. At first a few huts were thrown up round his cell, but by degrees so many were added, that a village was the result, which was the origin of the present town of Amarantha. The passage of the river Tamaga, which flowed by it, was very dangerous in winter, being wild and wide in some places, and very deep and rapid in others. Nevertheless the peasants on the opposite side were continually in habits of risking their lives, both through desire of hearing the hermit, and also of transacting other affairs. Notwithstanding the difficulty of the undertaking, and the assurances of prudent persons that it could not be accomplished, the holy man resolved to construct a bridge across this great river; and such confidence did he inspire in the people, that he persuaded them to cut down timber, and carry stones, with which he succeeded in constructing a solid bridge, a work which they ever afterwards continued to ascribe to the efficacy of his devout prayers.* Peter d'Alamon, bishop of Sisteron, in the thirteenth century, is recorded to have employed most of his revenues in constructing bridges and hospices throughout his diocese.†

In 1240 it was charity and faith which enabled a poor youth, acting under the prelates of the Church, to raise bridges over the Rhone at Lyons and Avignon, which was a work that had baffled the might of three of the greatest emperors of the world,—Julius Cæsar, Augustus, and Charlemagne. At Avignon may still be seen in the midst of the flood of the Rhone, three arches of the bridge which was raised in so mysterious a manner. On one of them might be distinguished a little chapel. In more ancient times the passage was very dangerous. Kings of France, and many men of genius, had vainly attempted to lay the foundations of a bridge here. It was only St. Bénézet who could succeed. The old legend says it was a boy twelve years old, guarding his mother's sheep, in the fields at Almillat, in 1242, who was commissioned, and finally instructed by an Angel, to make this bridge, which neither Cæsar, Augustus, nor Charlemagne had ventured to attempt. Mocked at first, and ejected from the city as a young Antichrist, he returned three weeks later, crying, for the love of Jesus, give me stones, that I may begin building the bridge. In fine, he built it, and added a hospital at the foot of it, and then the child went to Rome and obtained indulgences from the holy father for the benefactors of the bridge and hospital. Afterwards he built a similar bridge and hospital at Lyons.‡ Finally, a society of hospitallers took charge of the work and of its repairs, though others say they had the merit of first completing what the child had only begun. The difficulty to the incredulous moderns will remain the same, whichever tradition you follow, whether you ascribe the work to a hermit or to a child; but historical facts are not, on that account, to be set aside; and it is incontestably true, that the constructors of innumerable bridges

* Touron, Hist. des hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. † Id. i. liv. 6.

‡ Paradin, Hist. de Lyons, liv. ii. c. 43.

of great solidity, having hospices annexed to them, were religious men, monks, and anchorites.* In the twelfth century there was a society of laics, on the same plan as that of the clerks Pontifices, whose object was to facilitate the passages of rivers by boats and bridges, and their chief central place was the great hospital of St. Jacques, in the diocese of Lucca, in Italy.

But to return to the hospital, the door of charity which opens to the sick poor, as the words inscribed over that at Ferrara, define it. We have seen that, in point of magnificence and beauty, it might generally be taken for the palace of a prince, and it remains to show that, in regard to the internal administration, to the manners of those who served it, and, in short, to the whole spirit which reigned within its walls, it was, strictly speaking, a religious house, according to the definition in early times, "Domus religiosa," exhibiting and propagating not alone the mercy of the good Samaritan, and the assiduity of Martha, but the sanctity of the cloister, and the contemplative grace of Mary.

Hospitals like churches were placed under the invocation of saints, as that of St. Eloy, at Montpellier, of St. James, at Toulouse, of St. Andrew, at Bordeaux; and were consecrated to God in especial reference to some mystery of faith, as that of the Holy Cross at Joinville, and those at Marseilles and at Rouen, which are denominated of the Holy Ghost. Nothing of a profane or pagan character could be discerned in anything belonging to them. Their very aspect was religious: as might be witnessed in the picturesque Gothic front and portal of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, built in 1280 by Oudard Macreux, a pious citizen, for which only in late times a Grecian portico has been substituted. In fact, the ancient entry of that hospital led also to the church of St. Christopher. It was usual over the gates to represent in sculpture the Saviour holding a book, as might be seen over the Hôtel Dieu at Lagny. Howard found inscribed at the entrance of the Hôtel Dieu, at Paris, these words, "This is the house of God and the gate of heaven:" the application of which he rashly ridicules, by referring to the material order of the house at that time, which was deplorable. Of this singular obliquity of vision, which more or less is evinced by all persons void of Catholic belief, when they are presented with religious truth in a form or combination new to them, the same authorf urnishes another instance, in styling "pompously devout" the inscription over the portal of the great hospital at Warsaw, which consists in these words—"Regi sæculorum immortali et invisibili soli Deo honor et gloria," than which it would be hard to conceive any more appropriate at the moment when suffering mortals are about to seek human aid for the remedy of their pains. At the entrance of the Hôtel Dieu of Paris stood an image of St. Landry, the founder, carved in very ancient times. In general some devout and solemn figure was sure to meet your eye as you advanced; so that you were prepared from the beginning for what followed; and in fact I know of nothing more im-

* D. Vaissette, Hist. du Languedoc, tom. iii. liv. 19. 46.

pressive, more soothing, and delightful, than to visit one of these great Catholic institutions. The moment after passing the threshold, one perceives that it is a different world which exists within—that every thing has changed—that time stands still—that the manners of the middle ages, the manners of the blessed merciful, are here in all their freshness ; and then such a sense of peace rises up in the heart, that one almost envies the sick, who have permission to remain here awhile ; for, alas ! how many young men in full strength and health, how many aged persons without a positive visitation, must wish in vain to hear addressed to them such sweet voices as here whisper to the diseased? to see turned upon them such compassionate eyes as here are fixed upon the poor ?

There are some, the poet saith, by nature proud, who, patient in all else, demand but this—to love and be beloved with gentleness ; and being scorned, what wonder, he adds, if they die some living death ? Oh, how many would rejoice to lie down this moment upon the bed of suffering, if they could but hope to see for once such proof that there were some of human kind who loved them thus, who pitied them thus ? And what a rich compensation for a wound or malady in the body, to feel this wondrous balm, cheering and invigorating the intelligence, descending with the oil of gladness into the very heart's core ! And have you now seen sickness, and are these the pre-eminent sufferings of humanity ? Who need be told that, contrasted with the fate of many of these victims, while treading life's dismaying wilderness, without one smile to cheer, one voice to bless,—amid the snares and scoffs of human kind, contrasted with their condition in the world, and with what they have left behind them, when they were carried hither from the tents of sinners, this is nothing else but to breath the air of Paradise, and to feel the peace of heaven.

The pride of learning and art may be wounded at the recollection that Camoens should have ended his days in a house of charity, and that Buonamico Buffalmacco whose pencil left immortal traces on the Campo Santo at Pisa, should have found his grave with the poor in the cemetery of the hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, in Florence, in which house he died, an object himself of that mercy which he had dispensed to others, as member of the association which bears its name ; but the thoughts of the sufferers may have been different from our thoughts, and their last moments sweetened by the very circumstance which we now deplore.

Independent of higher consolation, this novelty of being thus served for love must have imparted strange delight to minds like theirs, acute and profound. Such service must always impress those worn down on the way of life with a feeling as if they were brought back to the state of youth and boyhood, when their smile was taken for sufficient payment. Alas ! with what precise account has every mite of service been extended to them throughout the intervening years, till this port received them ! In the world the hand that was to close their eyes would have required its due remuneration. Payment would have been asked for the last morsel that was placed within their lips, and there were persons, perhaps,

who would expect some profit from them after they were in their coffins. What a miraculous change must it seem now, when troops of strangers are pressing forward to render them all kinds of service, without any view to gain in ministering to their wants!

Imagine not, reader, that I am indulging in any mere ideal picture, unsupported by facts; for be assured that the scene of many affecting episodes, worthy of being by poets sung, of many beautiful and sublime conversations, religious and philosophical, that would not be unworthy of the noblest pen, might with strict regard to historic truth be laid in the hospital of the middle ages. Modern writers of imaginary conversations need not go back to the Tusculan villa for a proper locality: they will find it nearer hand, in the hospice of the poor.

A great French physician, the Baron d'Alibert, speaks of a mysterious patient in the hospital of St. Louis, at Paris, who bore the name of Poor Peter, but whose real origin was known to no one, though it was evident from his language that he had received a finished education. He used to repeat by heart fragments of the Iliad and the Odyssey; and, having travelled over a great portion of the globe, it was his amusement to compare himself to Ulysses. His countenance was noble, his manner full of dignity, and the charm of his conversation attracted every one. He had been a soldier in his youth, and after his return from Africa, he used to live in the most obscure quarters of Paris, teaching arithmetic to poor children, and accepting hospitality wherever it was offered him. His clothes were in tatters, and he always carried a pilgrim's staff. The hospital of St. Louis at that time was an asylum in which many men of letters had taken refuge. This poor Peter, attended by a dog, which never left his side, being received here, soon attracted general attention; and the Baron describes the interesting discourses which he used to deliver under the porches of the hospital. Among the sufferers whom he used to console were the translator of Bacon's works, a jurisconsult, some Neapolitan exiles, a poet, a painter, and some other artists. D'Alibert says that his countenance wore that venerable air which the habit of meditation gives, and that, after some days, he took such an ascendancy over all the patients, that they used to regard him with a sentiment of fear and respect. The courts of the hospital are planted with trees, and it was under their shade that this old stranger used to hold, as it were, his school, inspiring his fellow-sufferers with resignation and courage. No one was tired listening to him; the old, the blind, the paralytic, the lepers, used to gather around him; and from about sunset, when his rhapsodies generally began, they used to remain seated on the grass till a late hour of the night. Once I glided in amongst them, says this physician, and I shall never forget the scene which presented itself to me. The heavens were sown with stars, the moon cast its silver light over the buildings around; the old man happened to be more than usually inspired— I could have fancied myself under the porch of Athens. It was delightful to hear the high sentences of wisdom from the mouth of an old man bowed down by the weight of years. A profound calm

reigned through the hospital. The patients were permitted to remain listening to him, although the statutes required that they should retire to rest at determined hours. After fifteen months this venerable stranger died in the hospital, with all the sentiments of a devout Catholic. He bequeathed his dog to the poor leper, who had been always one of his most ardent disciples. His memory remained in great veneration, and as often as any patient evinced extraordinary resignation and courage, the usual remark was, he is like Poor Peter.*

From a consideration alone of the spectacle of sickness and death which a hospital presented, philosophers of the middle ages would apply to it the words of St. Gregory Nyssen, in allusion to the cemetery—*Φύσεως ἡμῶν μυστήρια*. They regarded it as one of the great schools to explain the mysteries of our nature, and the secrets of human weakness ; from which, as St. Chrysostom says, every one must return with a philosophic mind.

But let us enter, and judge from our own observation respecting the character of all within.

In regard to the material arrangement, we find that the wards of the sick were contrived with the utmost attention to the delicacy which the most susceptible mind could desire. In each was an image of the saint under whose invocation it was immediately placed, before which a lamp was constantly burning. Thus in the Hôtel Dieu, at Paris, we read of the halls of Our Lady, of St. Nicholas, of St. Paul, of St. Louis, of St. Augustin, of St. Raphael, of St. John, of St. Michael, of St. Charles, of St. Antony, of St. Roch ; and one may remark the tender and profound thought of those who destined those of Our Lady and of St. Raphael, for the purpose of receiving persons who were to suffer surgical operations.† In the two great hospitals at Munich, which excited the admiration of Howard, the Italian custom is observed of inscribing a passage from the Bible at the foot of each bed.‡ In most hospitals of Italy Howard remarks that the wards of the sick are as lofty as churches. There was the utmost care exercised to prevent noise and disturbance. In front of the hospital of Santa Maria della Consolazione at Rome, there were always two chains drawn across the street every night, according to the command of Pope Alexander VII., as an inscription states —Ne prætereunte strepitu quies amica silentii omnino ab ægrotantibus exularet.

To hospitals were also generally attached spacious gardens, for the recreation of those that were recovering, and beautiful cloisters, in which they could take exercise, when the weather would not permit them to go abroad. Paradin says, that in the hospital of Lyons there is a vast hall with a huge chimney, in which the poor warm themselves, the men on one side, and the women on the other.

We have already been told of the splendor of the chapel which was annexed to these houses of mercy.

* D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions, tom. i.

† Tenon, Mêm. sur. les. Hôpitaux de Paris.

‡ Howard, State of Hospitals.

Among the officers and servants of the Hôtel Dieu, at Paris, we find enumerated the spiritual superior, who is the dean of the cathedral, chaplain of the choir, confessors, priests for the dying, master of the choristers, sacristan, organist, children of the choir, servant for the bell, and porter of the church.* The church was under the invocation of St. Christopher, and the form of dress, as well as the religious practices, used in the abbey of St. Victor, were established here. Ancient documents attest that in the hospital of St. Elizabeth, at Treves, there were celebrated annually eleven hundred and forty one masses or anniversaries.† The wards of the sick were generally so contrived, that the patients from their beds, without seeing each other, could all see the altar in the great church; so that during their sickness they enjoyed the inestimable consolation of being able to assist daily at the celebration of the divine mysteries.

It was a custom in the middle ages, observed by many great princes of the state and of the church, through humility and affection for the poor, to choose the chapel or cemetery of hospitals for their place of sepulture. This was the case at Lyons, where Cardinal Alphonso Du Plessis de Richelieu, archbishop of that see, desired that his body should be borne without pomp to the hospital of the poor, and there buried in a plain tomb, on which were to be inscribed these lines, which he wrote on his death-bed with his own hand—"Pauper natus sum, paupertatem vovi, pauper morior, inter pauperes sepeliri volo.‡

In like manner, John Gaschier, Seigneur of Fontgieve, who had held a high office in the judicial court of Clermont, and his wife, Anne de Fredefont, of pious memory, were buried in the hospital in that city, which had been their own dwelling-house till the year 1682, when they gave it up to the brethren of charity, to be converted into a hospital for the sick poor, whom they constituted heirs of all their property at his death.§ So, also, the great heroic minister and pacificator, Lopez de Barrientos, bishop of Cuença, confessor of King John II., and grand chancellor of Castille, having founded a hospital for the sick poor in the city of Cuença, and another in his native town of Medina del Campo, in the kingdom of Leon, after a laborious life of eighty-seven years, desired to be buried in the chapel of the latter hospital among the poor, of whom he had always been the father and protector, and whom he constituted his heirs. In the archives of this hospital there was an ancient manuscript recording that such was his desire.‖

It is in the hospice of St. Lazarus at Venice, which receives the mendicants, that you find the tomb of the illustrious senator and warrior, Lorenzo Dolphino, and also that of Aloisius Mocenicus, admiral of the Venetian fleet, whose body was borne thither, as the epitaph attests, amidst the tears and lamentations of the citizens.¶

The same acts were repeated in the new world by the holy missionaries of

* Mém sur les Hôpitaux. † Hist. Hospit. S. Elis. Trev. 8. ‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. 338.
§ Id. i; 302. ‖ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. iii. 21.
¶ Splend. Venet. in Thes. Antiq. Ital. v.

Spain. Jerome de Loaysa, who first ruled the see of Lima, having founded in that city the great hospital of St. Anne, to which he left a yearly revenue of sixteen thousand crowns, chose to be interred within it among the poor.* In fact there were occasions when the prince and the noble might wish in vain to be buried like them; for, during a general interdict, the body of the beggar or of the stranger pilgrim might be committed to a holy grave in consecrated ground, while that of the knight would have to remain in the mortuary hall of his own good castle, though it were to lie unburied till devoured by rats, like that of Raymond VI., Count of Toulouse.†

The administration of hospitals in ages of faith is a theme that would admit of many and most interesting illustrations. Paradin says, that every one on being first admitted into the hospital at Lyons, is confessed, and then mercifully absolved.‡ The statutes of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, drawn up in the thirteenth century, declare as follows: "A patient on being received shall make his confession and communion; after which he is to be placed in a bed, and treated as the master of the house, and served every day before the brethren."§ From this attention to religious duties, the moderns must not infer that any diminution of mercy took place when the persons admitted were found to be of a false belief. Moors, or heretics, were received in common with the faithful; and the only difference observed was in exempting them from such parts of the interior discipline as necessarily implied faith in the observers. When Howard was examining the hospital at Bruges, the nuns indeed asked him if he were a Catholic, but on his replying that he loved good persons of all religions, they only replied, with a smile, "Well, we hope that you may die a Catholic."

In the Hôtel Dieu at Paris it was strictly obligatory on the governors to have in the house one priest who understood the German, and another the Irish language, and it was desired to supply similar advantages to strangers of other nations, on the ground that otherwise hospitality was but imperfectly exercised.‖ The chaplains never gave pain to patients who were not of the household of faith;¶ but their ingenuity and prudence were often evinced in a most remarkable manner in their endeavors, by sweetness and all ways of blessed charity, soothing the thorny pillow of unhappy crime, to convert obstinate sinners, or to win to the Church persons who had never heard her voice or seen her represented, except by enemies. I remember in one of the great hospitals of Paris, having been shown an old priest, who spent his days in going about the wards, making little presents to the sick, in order to win their attention; and I was assured that many who had entered the hospital with souls more distempered than bodies, in consequence of his gracious ministry were enabled to leave it Christians and new men. De la Motte, relating that the Hôtel Dieu is open to all persons, whatever may be their

* Touron, tom. iv. liv. 29. † Hurter, Gesch. Inn. III. i. 352. ‡ Hist. de Lyons, liv. iii. 18.
§ De la Motte, 49. ‖ Tenon, Mém. sur les Hôpit. De la Motte. ¶ De la Motte, 94.

religion, observes, that it has had the consolation of never having witnessed the death of a Turk or heretic, who had not previously been moved by the force of example and charity, aided by the grace of heaven, to abjure his errors.* Asylums of this kind might almost have been termed houses of convertites, as well as of the sick; insomuch, that Pope Innocent III., in his epistle to the rector and brethren of the hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome, institutes a solemnity to be observed there on the Sunday, when the Church reads the Gospel relating the presence of Jesus at the marriage in Cana of Galilee, and assigning a reason for the choice of the day, says that "this house is constantly witness to the salutary marriag which is morally celebrated in the conversion of sinners between the spirit of man and the grace of his Creator."†

The persons who served the sick, as we have already observed, were not hirelings who studied only to maintain a just proportion between their wages and their merit, but religious persons who had chosen to devote their lives to their office for the love of Christ; and who seemed, as Dante says of saintly lights in paradise, happier made at each new ministering. Howard relates, that as soon as a patient is brought to one of the hospitals of Lille, a nun is deputed to receive him, who brings water, washes his feet, and kisses one of them, after which he is placed in a bed covered with the whitest linen. We can judge of the consolation provided for the sick by merely observing the number of these devout attendants. In the hospital of St. Méry, at Paris, there were eight sisters of charity to wait upon fourteen sick persons. In that of St. André-des-Arcs, where were only six beds, there were five sisters. In the hospital of La Roquette twenty-four nuns had the care of twenty sick. In the hospital of Saint-Mandé there were thirty-four nuns for the service of sixteen sick persons. In the hospital of incurables there were seventy-four persons to attend the patients, four ecclesiastics, four officers, forty-three sisters of charity, and twenty-two domestics which was allowing one attendant to five patients. In the Hôtel Dieu, which might receive more than three thousand four hundred sick, the number of religious ladies did not exceed one hundred and fifty, besides seventy novices: there were in its service twenty-four priests. In the Hôtel Dieu at Lyons there were one hundred and twenty sisters, and sixty domestics, brothers of the cross. In the hospital of charity at Paris, which was the chief house of the hospitalers in France, the proportion of persons assisting to the sick was one to two. There were fifty professed brethren and novices, but these brethren were charged with the affairs of numerous other hospitals of their order in the provinces. We may remark also, that when the number of sisters was more than sufficient, they held a school for children, to which they devoted their vacant hours. The great physicians who have treated upon the discipline of hospitals are unanimous in their expressions of admiration at the conduct of these devoted servants of the sick poor; and Howard, though a Prot-

* Essai Hist. sur l'Hôtel, 127.

† Innoc. III. Epist. liv. x. 179.

estant, bore the same testimony to them. Describing the great hospital of Warsaw, he says, "that the nuns are attentive and charitable, and full of tender care for the sick, as they are every where. The superior is affectionate in discharging her duties; and the looks of the inmates announce the love and respect which they entertain for her. At Ghent," he says, "that the attentive humanity of the nuns to the sick, the aged, and the mad patients, moves and edifies every beholder."

After visiting the hospital of St. John at Bruges, and witnessing the nuns who there devote their lives to console the sick poor, an ingenious traveller of the present day concludes her description with these words: "I could almost say that my idea of heaven was a place filled with sisters of charity." In allusion to the same hospital, Howard had remarked in general, that "it is to the nuns we are indebted for the vigilant care with which the sick are treated in all hospitals in Catholic countries." But to what do we owe the nuns? to the Church, which alone had the secret of creating them; to the Church, in which this great miracle was wrought of producing a constant succession of persons, who devoted their lives to serve and help others, from motives wholly disinterested; to the Church, which moreover, with great practical wisdom, superintended all administrations of mercy, and provided against abuse. Indeed with such care did the ecclesiastical authority provide for the proper discharge of these offices of mercy, that we find, in the thirteenth century, the celebrated Dominican, Vincent de Beauvais, commissioned by the Cardinal Eude de Chateauroux, apostolic legate in France, to superintend the reform of the brethren and sisters of the hospital of Beauvais,* and Robert Kilwarbi, Archbishop of Canterbury, among the very first acts of his government at the commencement of the reign of king Edward I. visiting the hospitals, and taking measures to have them better administered, and to correct abuses which had arisen during the vacancy of the see.† Even the domestics employed in works requiring mere strength of frame, were, in some respects, invested with a religious character. In the hospital of Lyons they wore a cross upon their habit, and none were admitted to the class of brethren until they had given sure proofs of virtue and attachment to the poor. Tenon remarks, what an emulation this cross excited among them, and what important advantages from it resulted to the institution.‡

In all these hospitals the religious superior was bound to teach the young servants their Catechism during Lent and Advent, and to deliver instruction on other days. All responsible offices were, however, discharged by the professed brethren and sisters, to whom were confided the gate, the kitchen, and the hall for medicines. In the hospital of St. John of God at Naples, Howard remarked over the table to receive provisions this inscription, "I was hungry, and ye gave me to

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. i. † Id. tom. i. liv. 4.
‡ Mém. sur les Hôpitaux.

eat." In the great hospital of Sancta Maria-Nova at Florence, Howard remarked, that the repast is always blest by a Capuchin friar before it is served by the nuns, twenty of whom reside in the house, which is opposite to their convent. In the very kitchen you found the order of a monastery, and the silence which was only interrupted by the rosary or the salutation of blessed Mary, while in whatever direction you turned your eyes you beheld images of saints, or some emblems of heaven's mercy. In many places monks undertook the service of the sick in hospitals. Nothing, in fact, is more ancient in the monastic order than a zeal to assist them. "Rising each morning, repair to the sick that are with you," says the great St. Anthony, in his Rule; and again, "Visit the sick, and fill their vessels with water."* We have already seen that the hospital of the monastery was often designed to receive all sick persons.

St. Nicholas's hospital, which was in a place under the castle of Pontefract in Yorkshire, was governed by the monks of Pontefract. In founding the Hôtel Dieu at Rheims, the halls of which hospital are regarded as the most ancient of the existing buildings in that city, Hincmar, in order to provide for the spiritual as well as temporal wants of the poor, placed in it four canons to serve them, who continued always to be monks.†

In the great hospital at Caen, in which was a fine church founded by a prior, and certain number of brethren, the sick were served by monks, who wore the habit of canons regular of St. Augustin.‡ Howard says that the convent or hospital of San Francisco at Madrid justifies the observation that one can make in all Catholic countries, that the hospitals which are in convents are the cleanest, and most distinguished for order and calm. When the Capuchin friars were first received in Rome, they established a certain number of their brethren in the hospital of St. James, that they might tend the sick in that house, who were always such as suffered under incurable maladies. There men might witness a zeal comparable to that of the blessed Macharius, who, in the ninetieth year of his age did not hesitate to make a most painful journey to Alexandria three times, in order to procure fresh bread for a sick monk, whom he was tending with a father's love. With such devotion did these holy men minister night and day in this work of charity, that the institution which had been in a state of decay before their arrival, became very shortly one of the best conducted and efficient hospitals in the whole city. The cheerfulness and alacrity with which these venerable men discharged the most disagreeable offices, made such an impression upon all beholders, that many persons of a superior condition, on falling sick, chose to be removed into that sacred house in order that they too might experience the love of these brethren. The charities of the people being now directed to it, the revenues in a short time were tripled, so that the hospital which before could scarcely

* Anton. ab Reg. † Anquetil, Hist. de Rheims, liv i, 116.

‡ De Bourgueville, les Recherches et Antiquités de Normandie, ii. 33.

maintain a very small number of patients, was able shortly to admit a multitude from all quarters.*

Francis Titelman, who passed from the fathers of the observance to the Capuchins in 1535, though one of the most learned men in Europe, insomuch that Erasmus, whose writings he attacked publicly, used to say that he was afraid of no one but him, devoted himself with such assiduity to serve the sick in that hospital, that, if possible, he made himself the least of all the brethren. Whatever office was most repugnant to sense, obtained his preference. Nothing was too laborious or too ignoble for him. It was an admirable spectacle to behold this man, renowned throughout the whole Christian world for his erudition, making the beds of the sick and administering their medicines. Some secular persons, who had been his disciples at Louvain, asked him why he did not give lectures at Rome, or at least engage in some literary work,—to whom he replied, pointing at the sick men with his finger, "Lo, you see my books before you; these are my editions of Ambrose, Augustin, and Chrysostom, which I must study day and night." † This devotion of the Capuchins was not confined to Rome. On the first arrival of these friars at Genoa, they were placed in a certain building adjoining the church of St. Columban, in the neighborhood of the hospital of incurables, where they served the sick during many years. The protectors of that hospital were so grateful, that they purchased ground, and built the convent of St. Barnabas, into which they were removed, but without causing any interruption to their former exercise of mercy.‡

The order of Hospitallers originated in the charity of the devoted knights, who sought to protect the Christians in the Holy Land. About the time when Jerusalem was first recovered from the Sarassins, Gerhard of Provence arrived in the holy city, and determined to devote himself to the service of his fellow Christians, in the hospital of St. John. So perfect was his charity, that he extended it also to unbelievers, and every tongue spoke the praises of his incomparable benevolence. In fact, the formula of the Bethlemite brethren was this, "I, brother, make a vow of poverty, charity, and hospitality; and I bind myself to serve the poor on their recovery, though they should be infidels, and suffering from contagious maladies.§ These Knights of St. John of Jerusalem, or Hospitallers, like all the other military orders, had their origin from the black monks of St. Benedict. They were at first but lay brethren, under the abbot of St. Mary of the Latin in Jerusalem, and from their example the other orders arose. Elsewhere we had occasion to notice the wonderful phenomenon presented in the charity and self-devotion of these brave heroic men, who distinguished themselves as much in the wards of the hospitals as on the field of battle. In the twelfth century that brave and pious knight Henry Walpot Von Bassenheim, from the banks of the Rhine, was elected grand master of the Teutonic order, because his boldness and valor were

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1530. † Id. an. 1537. ‡ Id. an. 1538. § Héliot, tom. iii. 366.

equalled by his love and tenderness for the unhappy pilgrims. The Christians of the west mourned for the sufferings of the devout pilgrims to the holy sepulchre, and presently the order of the Hospitallers of St. John, and that of St. Mary's Hospital, were instituted to protect and console them: wonderful spectacle did the world then behold in the multitudes of German nobles, who felt themselves called to renounce the ordinary pleasures and honors of life, in order to employ themselves in serving the poor pilgrims in hospitals for the love of God.*

The hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome was the head house of an order of monks called from it, brethren of the hospital of the Holy Ghost, who had hospitals in various countries, in which they served the sick poor. Guido founded a house of this description at Montpellier, and there is a letter of Pope Innocent III. to the brethren who serve it, reminding them that the rector of the order must always be in Rome, to whom the brethren in all countries owe obedience and reverence, and according to whose advice the rectors of all other hospitals of the order must be chosen.† There is mention also of a hospital of this order in the diocese of Halberstad in Germany.‡ Spain, two centuries later, beheld the rise of a similar association, that was destined, however, to accomplish greater things.

Now comes before us, in most bright effulgence, another of these men of violence who, by works of mercy, sought heaven. His history we must briefly note, as he passeth on. St. John of God, born of poor and humble parents, in the city of Grenada, in the year 1495, became the founder of the brethren of charity, who were soon spread all over Europe. This holy man was at first a soldier and a traveller, though when but a youth he gave himself up as a servant to the hospital at Medino Campi, in order that he might exercise his charity in serving the sick poor. Subsequently he appeared to have lost the grace of piety, and commenced a reckless course of adventures and wanderings; but being reconverted to a religious life by the sermons of St. Avila, he finally devoted himself to the assistance and comfort of the poor in hospitals. He entered Grenada as a poor man, only earning enough each day for his subsistence by selling wood, which he used to pick up in the forests; he was without credit, and yet he formed the resolution of founding a hospital. Walking through the city, he saw written upon a wall "House to let, to lodge the poor." Immediately he applied to the proprietor, who, without examining whether he had sufficient means, agreed to let him have it for a certain sum. Thus a poor man without a shilling, hired a house to receive the poor, and that was the origin of the great hospital at Grenada. The first thing he did was to call in the poor and the infirm; then he went out to beg alms for them, and from the first day he received enough to supply the most urgent wants of the institution. A chaplain of the king sent him three hundred and twelve reals, which were employed in purchasing beds. Many devout persons, nobles and others, gave him furniture and money. In this infant hospital, the sick poor were attended with the utmost care and tenderness.

* Voight, Geschichte Preussens, ii. 12. † Inn. Epist. Lib. xi. 104. ‡ Id. Lib. xi. 69.

The founder made it an essential part of his plan, to instruct and convert the souls of the poor whom he received, and he rejected no person however vile. Many priests, of their own accord, came to assist him, so that there was no want of attendance. Every night he used to go out to beg through the city, heedless of wind or rain, and cry out, "Do good to yourselves, my brethren." This mysterious sentence was drawn from that divine text which saith, "Benefacit animæ suæ vir misericors." In receiving every one without any scrutiny, he only imitated St. John the Almoner, whose charity was conformable to the maxims of all the holy fathers. "Deus nom cui detur, sed quo animo detur attendit." The Archbishop of Grenada, however, remonstrated with him on the danger, and spoke of what he heard respecting his receiving dissolute persons; but, he replied, "if my illustrious prelate and superior will condescend to visit the hospital, he will find no abuse, and he will be convinced that there is no one in it who deserves to be driven out but myself. Were I to receive only the just, our infirmary would be soon empty, and how should I be able to convert sinners? I confess that I do not acquit myself as I ought of such a ministry, and that I do not correspond to the grace of my vocation, and therefore I say to your grandeur, that I deserve to be driven out from this holy house." The supplies continued to be furnished with liberality. Dom Pedro Enriquez de Ribera, Marquis of Tarifa, besides giving one hundred and fifty gold crowns, ordered, that every day while he was in Grenada, there should be sent to the poor of that hospital, one hundred and fifty loaves, four sheep, and eight hens. When the holy founder was seized with his last illness, he could only be persuaded to accept a more commodious lodging, by an order from the archbishop, who required him, on his obedience to remove to the house of a noble lady, who wished to nurse him. Many of the brethren who succeeded him in the hospital which he established, were of illustrious origin, and had served in the wars. Such were Pedro Velasco, Antony Martin, and Rodriguo de Siguença; the latter was a noble knight of the kingdom of Arragon, who after serving twenty years in the army of the king of Spain, coming to his country, where he found his parents dead, and his fortune ruined, turned his heart to God, came to Grenada, frequented the hospital of John of God, and became so enamored of the poor, that he finally embraced the order. Such was also Sebastian Arias, who became superior of that holy family. The propagation of this holy brotherhood was rapid: in the reign of Phillip II. when it took rise, many hospitals were established in different cities of Spain. Philip III. gave public testimony of his affection for it, by going frequently with queen Marguerite, his wife, to visit the hospital of Madrid. All the grandees of the kingdom used to do so likewise, and leave great alms to the hospitals, which were soon, to the number of fifty, divided into the two provinces, called of Andalusia and of Castile. The order also made great progress in the West Indies; so that it was divided into the four provinces of Peru, New Spain, Terra Firma, and the Philippines. Portugal also received the benefit of its establishment as did Rome, under Gregory

XIII., who sent brethren to found similar hospitals in Flanders, Sicily, and Savoy.

At Naples, Milan, and Florence they established magnificent hospitals. Shortly after they were called into Germany and Poland, and lastly France received them : they were invited to Paris, by Mary de Medicis, the wife of Henry IV., who founded for their use, in 1602, the hospital of charity in the Fauxbourg St. Germain ; and some years after they possessed twenty-four houses in the different provinces of that kingdom. According to their rules, no exceptions were to be made, but all persons were to be received, whether Moors or other infidels. The health of the soul was to be attended to with the utmost care, while that of the body was consulted : the patients were to be instructed and won from the false maxims of the world to those of Jesus Christ. The brethren of the hospital were to read to them, and to assist them to pray, and perform other spiritual exercises ; so that these houses were true hospitals for souls as well as for bodies. Howard, speaking of the charitable houses at Florence, and observing that the hospital which one visits with most pleasure is that of S. Giovandi-Dio, repeats a remark which he had made in other places, " that these monks discharge their duty in a manner that does them great honor." Bernier, the physician, in his History of Blois, speaking of the hospital, and of the religious men of this order of St. John of God, who serve it, concludes with these words : " If the physician Herophilus had reason to say that remedies are the hands of God, there are particular reasons for believing it of those who dispense them in this place." The noble poets of Spain, Lopez de Vegua and others, celebrated in verse the renown of St. John of God, and the hospitals which he founded ; and it is said, that the bare recital of one of these poems in the city of Segovia led to the conversion of sinners. In fact, the hospital of Grenada, shortly after its establishment, was the scene and instrument of a miraculous grace. Antony Martin had imprisoned Don Pedro Velasco on the charge of having killed his brother, and had come to Madrid to hasten on the prosecution. Antony, though a proud knight, abandoned to a life of worldly pleasure, had nevertheless become known to St. John of God, by means of a practice, which was familiar to him, of visiting his hospital, and the holy man had recourse to prayer, in hopes of reconciling these two enemies. Meeting Antony in a street, he presented him with a crucifix, which he always held in his sleeve, and urged him to pardon his enemy, if he wished to be himself pardoned by Jesus Christ. " If your enemy," said he, " killed your brother, our Lord died for you and for me ; and if the blood of your brother cries for vengeance, much more should the blood of your Saviour move you to forgiveness." These words, pronounced with a pathetic tone, pierced the heart of Antony Martin : falling on his knees before the servant of God, he promised with tears, that from that moment, from being the mortal enemy and the proud grandee, he would become the friend of Velasco, and the servant of the poor. " I will now lead you to the prison," said the convertite, " where I shall embrace Velasco in your presence, and then deliver him ; and do you, in return, lead me to your hospital, where I may

consecrate myself to God." After these words they walked together to the prison, where Velasco was each day expecting death. Great was his terror on seeing Antony Martin enter, but the servant of God gave him speedy encouragement. The two knights embraced and gave each other the kiss of peace ; they mutually vowed an everlasting friendship ; but thenceforth their hearts were wholly fixed on heaven. They both declared their resolution to serve the poor in the hospital with St. John of God during the remainder of their lives. It was an admirable spectacle shortly afterwards, as soon as Velasco could leave the prison, to behold the holy man walking through the streets of Grenada, having on each side these two friends, once such implacable foes, and now so closely knit together in bonds of grace ; they were on their way from the prison to the hospital, which they never left afterwards. A long retreat and a course of instruction developed and completed the conversion of these two noblemen, who became eminent servants of Jesus Christ.

Such is a brief outline of the origin of this celebrated order of the fathers of mercy, and of the hospital which they founded. The forty-two first years of the life of St. John of God were spent in travels and pilgrimages, and in great labors, and the thirteen last were consecrated to the service of the poor, in the house which he founded for their reception. It is said that he used to nourish himself chiefly upon onions. His staff became a relic which was celebrated through all Spain. It was deposited in the hospital founded by the Lady Eleanore de Mandoca, who gave up for this purpose her own house and all her property to enrich the foundation. Devout persons caused this staff to be encased in silver, in order to testify their gratitude for the cure of their diseases. His death had been lamented not alone by the Christians, but also by the Moors in the city of Grenada, who expressed in their language the admiration which they felt for his virtue.

It was, however, in general, to nuns and devout women that the care of the sick devolved in the great institutions of the west, and to promote these sisterhoods, we find the charity of individuals continually directed. St. Francis de Sales, remarking that the charity exercised towards the sick who are not in extreme danger, "is only a counsel," adds this observation, "It is meritorious to visit them ; it is still more so to serve them : but to devote ourselves entirely to them, like the Hospitallers, is the highest perfection of this counsel : and congregations of ladies are established for this end in several towns." In the church of Emery, in the diocese of Paris, was an inscription recording that Mary le Camus, wife of Michael Particelli, seigneur of Emery, had established not only the Confraternity of Charity, but also the Community of Sisters for the care of the Sick.*

In many places, as at Nieuport in Flanders, the hospital was served by sisters of the third order of St. Francis. Wherever these charitable and truly devoted sisterhoods had not been regularly established, their services were sure to be called

* Lebeuf Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. xiv. 433.

for when the days of trial and danger arrived. How sublime is the following brief notice, which occurs in the work entitled Gallia Christiana :— " This year, 1629, as the plague raged with great violence in Bourges, Roland de Beaumont the Archbishop called in the hospital virgins for the care of the poor."* Occasionally, but only in an incidental manner, the heroism of their individual members is recorded; and from what escapes the local historians in reference to them, one may form some idea of its action. During the dreadful fire, which consumed a large part of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris in 1772, one of the nuns, named the mother of St. Louis, who was of a delicate constitution, snatched from the flames, and carried in her arms into the nave of the cathedral no less than fifteen patients, one after the other.

Paradin says, that the poor in the Hôtel Dieu at Lyons are received and nourished by the devout sisters, one of whom, as superior, is called the mother. These women serve the poor day and night, administer their medicines, give them food, make their beds, wash their linen, and, when they have given them dinner, they go into their chapel, and render God thanks, and they have no other wages for all their service but the grace of God, which is preferable to all the riches of the world.‡

The Sisters of Charity were instituted by St. Vincent de Paul and Mademoiselle Le Gras, in about the year 1635. These, with the sisters of Sain-Ville, made their vows annually, whereas the sisters of St. Thomas de Villeneuve, and the religious ladies of the Hôtel Dieu, took the four great vows. In all hospitals these nuns used to sleep in a common dormitory. The report on the general administration of the hospital of the city of Paris, published in 1823, contains these words :—" The models to imitate, which we find in the Hôtel Dieu, are not comprised in the material structure, but in the tender care of the nuns for the sick, in the assiduity of the chaplains, and in the skill of the professors."

When I resided in that capital, a young Irish student of medicine, being attacked with a mortal illness, chose to be transported to the hospital of our Lady of Pity, in order that he might have the assistance of the nuns of the order of St. Thomas de Villeneuve, whose attention and service to the sick he had been accustomed to witness in the course of his professional attendance there, and some time after he died in that hospital the death of the just.

Notwithstanding the number of these religious communities in the middle ages, it must be remembered that the persons who discharged servile offices towards the sick in hospitals, were not exclusively nuns and religious men for that purpose professed : for it was a common exercise of devotion amongst persons of every rank, living in the world to devote certain days, or certain portions of each day, to perform acts of this heroic charity. In fact it was regarded as a general duty, from which no Christian was exempt. " We should visit the sick," says a writer of the

* Tom. i. 171.

† Hist. de Lyons, liv. iii. 18.

‡ Notice Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu, 5.

thirteenth century, " in order to comply with the bonds of nature, to imitate our Lord, to receive mercy for ourselves, and to secure the completion of our reward."* —" If we should see a sick person," said St. Ambrose, " let us not desert him ; if any one in danger, let us not leave him : let us desire that the words of Job may be applicable to ourselves, that the benediction of the dying may come upon us. Benedictio morituri in me veniat. How many have derived a benediction from this verse.†

St. Samson was a Roman gentleman, a physician by profession, who having been ordained priest at Constantinople, evinced his charity by consecrating himself to the service of the sick in a hospital which he began to construct, and which the Emperor Justinian afterwards completed with royal magnificence. St. Francis Xavier, and St. Ignatius of Loyola, at the commencement of the institution of their order, gave wonderful examples of ardent charity in the most celebrated hospitals of Europe. The learned fathers of the society, whom Scardeoneo the Paduan simply designates, soon after their institution, as humiles homines et in pauperes omnium liberalissimi,‡ when at Trent took up their lodging in the hospital, and they had orders not to appear in the council until they had served the poor and the sick for several hours. In the hospital at Sienna is shown the place, which is now a church, where the seraphic daughter of that city, St. Catherine, used to repose after rendering pious assistance to the sick.

Don Antonio, the eldest son of Don Felix de Guzman, and Donna Joanna de Aza, brother of St. Dominick, spent his whole life in the exercise of works of mercy in a hospital in which he was regarded as a saint.§ St. Anselm, when prior of Bec, was particularly distinguished by the charity with which he visited the infirmary ; and St. Thomas, when Archbishop of Canterbury, used also to visit the public hospitals, and tend the sick. How many sovereign pontiffs have been accustomed, like Pius V. and Benedict XIII. to visit the hospitals of Rome ; and not content with superintending the mode of administration, by examining the provisions and beds, have shown every mark of personal affection to the sick, tending them with their own hands, and consoling them with their sweet words. The duke of Orleans, son of Charles V., used to be constantly visiting the Hôtel Dieu for that purpose. Martha, daughter of the marquis d'Oraison, of one of the most illustrious houses of Provence, died in 1627 in the same hospital, where she devoted herself to minister to the sick ; and the duchess of Nemours, mother of the queen of Portugal, fell a victim to her zeal in carrying broth to a patient there, attacked by the small-pox. The beautiful lady Lucina, of the house of Stropeni, on her conversion by the preaching of the blessed friar Mathieu Carrieri, having been enrolled in the third order of St. Dominique, used, with consent of her husband, to perform these works of mercy to the sick in the hospitals of Son-

* Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Moral. Lib. iii. p. x. 24. † De Bon. Mort. c. viii.
‡ De Antiq. Patav. ii. 5. § Touron, Vie de St. D. liv. i. 1.

cino.* Down to our times the Hôtel Dieu at Paris is accustomed to admit the visits of many ladies, noble as well as others, who are known under the name of Ladies of Charity. These pious persons come here to distribute alms amongst the convalescent, to console the sick by their religious exhortations, to instruct them by reading devout books at their bed's side. The author of a late historic treatise on that hospital says, " These ladies are often seen in the morning assisting the nuns in the most painful offices, and in the evening appearing as the ornament of a brilliant company.† That devotion to the sick in time of pestilence, which we witnessed in the last chapter, was an heroic charity to meet extraordinary circumstances ; but the ordinary exercises of the merciful in attending hospitals where there was no general excitement, seems to constitute a fact at least equally remarkable ; for if we reflect upon the quality of the persons who undertook these offices, many of whom were of royal or most noble rank, and upon the nature of the duties implied, which comprised whatever was most humiliating and obnoxious to nature, we shall be convinced that nothing short of the Catholic religion, in all its supernatural vitality, with all its doctrines of mortification, and love of poverty as the love of Christ in his members, could have been adequate to produce this zeal.

Thucydides, indeed, in his account of the plague at Athens, says that those persons who made a profession of the greatest virtue were then induced through shame to visit the sick when deserted by their relations, and not to spare themselves ; and that in consequence they, more than all others, fell victims to the malady.‡ Such conduct, no doubt, was honorable ; but yet, how immeasurably did it fall short of the devoted ministry of the humble Christian, who offered himself, not through vain glory, but solely for the love of Jesus Christ, and through affection for his brethren ! Moreover, it might be justly affirmed that many of the offices which this duty involved would have wholly changed their character, and been no longer associated with the idea of merit and grace if they had proceeded from any other principle, but that which is found in effective operation only within the Catholic Church. " If any man," says Plato, " were to dare to do what he performs for love through any other motive, he would reap the greatest reproach of philosophy : if, wishing to obtain riches, or kingly powers, or any thing else, he were ready to submit to all the humiliations and hardships which are undergone for love, he would be prevented both by friends and enemies ; whereas, performed through love, all these things possess a grace which makes them be considered lawful and fair."

An ingenious author, in an affecting passage of a celebrated book, has described the situation of a poor leper secluded in a solitary house at Aosta, who used to open the door of his garden from time to time to receive the flowers which were

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iii 22.

† Notice Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu, 21. ‡ Lib. ii. 51.

thrown to him by children. The good offices of the merciful to persons afflicted with this loathsome disease were not, however, confined to such shows of kindness; and the charity of devout persons to lepers is not more remarkable than the ingratitude with which it was often repaid. On most questions, unhappily, the human philosopher comes to very different conclusions from the saint, and the difference is never more striking than when the need of placing one's self in contact with the miserable has been the subject of inquiry. Above all things, says Michael Scot, beware at all times of a man unfortunate by the work of nature; that is, of a man who hath lost any member, such as the eye or the hand: and the reason is, because whoever is rendered unhappy, by the very fact of his being unhappy, is opposed to the happy, and there is much injury that results to many from an unknown source: for a man can more easily guard himself from his public and avowed enemy than from an unfortunate person. And be it known that there is no creature of such good complexion, that if it loses a member, will not change its state, and that for the worse generally, and very rarely for the better, if it live long. Therefore, it is said, "Cavete a signatis;" and elsewhere, "In homine signato in aliquo membro non confidas."* Admitting the truth of the observation, men, during ages of faith, only discerned in it an additional motive for the exercise of mercy towards such unhappy persons, since it taught them by one and the same act they could practise two of the most eminent virtues of the interior life.

The ancient historians of Florence relate that on one occasion a leper came to St. Antoninus, the archbishop, and complained of the conduct of a certain citizen towards him. The inquiry which the prelate instituted led to his discovery of a hidden treasure in the person of this citizen. He was a simple artisan, whose sanctity had been known only to God, and perhaps to his confessor. Devoted to prayer and to his work, he lived in a profound retreat, the labor of his hands supplying with necessaries himself and also many poor persons, to whom he distributed secretly every evening a part of what he had gained in the day. He passed the Sundays and festivals in the churches, or in serving the sick in the hospital of St. Paul; but in order to have an occasion always present of patience and charity, he had invited a poor abandoned leper to live with him; he nourished him, he served him as if he waited on Jesus Christ, washed his sores, and bore with his bad temper and the reproaches which he heaped daily upon him. This was the wretched creature who now came before the archbishop to lodge a complaint against his benefactor, as if all he had done had been not through charity, but under a strict obligation. The saint soon detected the truth of the case, and went to visit the poor artisan, whom he exhorted to persevere, and reminded of the reward which awaited him in heaven.† The mercy evinced towards lepers in the middle ages is certainly one of the miracles of history. The moderns may well lift their

* Liber Physionomiæ quæ compilavit magister Michael Scotus, pars ii. cap. 24.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. iii.

hands in astonishment at mention of it, for in their society no one would ever imagine that such things could be. The amiable author who composed the Natural History of Selborne, seems conscious of nothing defective in his account of the wretched "pauper" afflicted with leprosy in that village, though he concludes it by saying, "In this sad plight he dragged on a miserable existence, a burden to himself and his parish, which was obliged to support him, till he was relieved by death at more than thirty years of age." He does not seem aware that there ever had been ages when such an object would have been esteemed a treasure, not a burden; yet he need only have looked back for proof of there having been such, to the short distance which separated him from Catholic times, when, as he remarked, "charitable persons bequeathed large legacies to such poor sufferers;" and when, though there might have been wanting an observer on the spot, to describe the physical peculiarities of the disease in a work of natural history, there would assuredly have been in the village of Selborne, as well as in the city of Florence, some pious person to harbor and cherish him, though he were to live far beyond the age of thirty years, for the love of Christ. We have already seen the merciful and affectionate act of the Count of Anjou, and such deeds were continually coming to notice; for, not to speak of seraphic men, like St. Francis, who used to tend the lepers with his own hands, we find them performed by persons of all classes in common walks of life.

John de Monte Mirabile, a high and puissant nobleman, carried a poor leper in his arms to the church. St. Julian placed a leper in his own bed. One of the Counts of Champagne used frequently to visit a poor leper, commending himself to his prayers. Examples of this kind might be multiplied without end from our ancient histories; and to appreciate the force of them we should consider what kind of service this really was. "The leprosy," says Baron d'Alibert, * whose life has been devoted to the study of similar maladies, "is the most horrible of all the physical infirmities to which man is subject. It is impossible to behold the sufferer without horror; he is an object hideous and revolting. The disease brings with it also a train of insurmountable evils; it takes from humanity all its force; every thing becomes unnatural, even to the voice, which resembles that of a lion; there is something sinister in the very smile, which, so far from sympathising with our nature, fills the soul with terror." Now, to recur to the remark of Plato, and its application, what should we think of one who, for the sole desire of gaining money, should undertake day and night to attend such an object as this? But how sublime the love of those great princes, of those tender and beautiful women who, for the love of their Saviour, devoted themselves to this task with all the affection of their souls, watching over these wretched beings like tutelary angels, studying all their wishes, all their caprices,—identifying themselves, as it were with this disfigured body, dressing its hideous wounds, and cherishing

* Physiologie des Passions, tom. ii.

in their bosom objects which make every other beholder shudder and turn pale! St. Elizabeth of Hungary used to sit down familiarly by the side of the poor lepers, and exhort them to patience and confidence in God. On one occasion her young ladies of honor detected her in the act of cutting off the head of hair which cruelly tormented one of these sufferers. She only smiled, and said nothing.*

The mysterious principle of an interior life communicated in the mysteries of the Catholic religion, produced that love of Jesus Christ and that desire of serving Him in the persons of the afflicted poor, which banished from the heart of men, however exalted in earthly dignity, all haughtiness and disdain, all fear of incurring ridicule, all selfishness, and personal vanity, and imparted to their manners the engaging, affectionate simplicity of youth: so that they would perform the lowest servile office for that purpose, without the least sense of being humbled, and without affectation or any thought of making a parade of virtue. "The worst of men," says St. Bonaventura, "if he saw Christ lying on a bed, would fervently and diligently minister to him, but the perfect man beholds Christ in every sick neighbor, and refuses no labor or disquiet to console him, knowing that his is more acceptable to God than if he had even ministered to Christ himself. I will discover to you whom my soul loveth. He lies in the infirmary; there he suffers in pain and distress. Run and minister to him; and if we cannot all serve him, for many are themselves poor, at least we can all give compassion, and consider Christ. I firmly believe that if we neglect Christ on earth, we shall not have him in heaven. Hear what he saith, 'I was sick, and you did not visit me;' and let us fear this sentence, my dear brethren. Let us not ask of him, as concerning another, Where dost thou lie? Since we already know the place; for we know that he lies in the infirmary. Nothing remains but to discharge our duty."† Oh, tarry not! the hearers would exclaim, when the saintly teacher ceased, "let not time be lost through slackness of affection. Hearty zeal to serve reanimates celestial grace." This would be their cry; for men who touched the Catholic chord knew the short way to dissolve their hearts, and a few such broken simple words of a Bonaventura would move compassion more than all the verses of Simonides. But would you, as it were, behold with what ardent desire they sought to discharge that duty? Then look around you, and observe the monuments of those times which have escaped destruction; for, as Dante saith, the mind of him who hears is often loth to acquiesce and fix its faith, unless the instance brought be palpable, and proof apparent urge. Such proof is seen in the very structure of the ancient hospitals, for many of them, as undoubted records still attest, were erected from no other motive immediately actuating the founder than the longing of his soul to minister with his own hands to the sick, and to hear the words of Christ that would acknowledge that act addressed to himself at the day of judgment.

* Ct. De Montalembert, Hist. de St. Elis. c. 8.

† St. Bonaventura, Stimul. Divin. Amoris, pars ii. cap. 7.

What house of mercy have we here? Behold its solid masonry, its goodly temple; a crowd of many poor men enter it, and at the portal stands a dame whose sweet demeanor doth express a mother's love. This is St. Elizabeth of Hungary, who hath given the greater part of her dower to build this hospital, expressly in order that she may serve the poor within it, as if she had been the humblest domestic. Such is the desire of these pious architects who loved their work so inwardly that their eye did ever watch it.

If we look to Naples we shall find a similar example. Maria Longa, a Spanish lady, wife of John, the first chancellor in the kingdom of Naples, had contracted a nervous complaint in consequence of having drunk poison given to her by a servant, which deprived her wholly of the use of her limbs, and having been instantaneously restored to health in the church of Loretto, while mass for the sick was said, returned to her home deeply impressed with a sense of the divine favor which she had received. Her husband dying shortly afterwards, she gave up all her vast possessions to the poor, and founded the hospital of incurables in Naples, besides a convent of poor Clares, in which she subsequently took the veil. In this hospital the illustrious woman devoted herself night and day to discharge every painful office, as if, instead of being the foundress, she had been the lowest handmaid of the house. The Neapolitan nobility, accustomed to the manners of the blessed merciful, nevertheless flocked to behold this spectacle! After some time had elapsed, she resigned the administration of the hospital to Mary Aerba, duchess of Termula, who, through her example and exhortations, had renounced all the vanities of the world, and devoted herself wholly to charitable works. Her last years were spent in her convent of poor Clares, and her last words to the afflicted sisters who stood round her bed were these:—Speak not of my good works, beloved children; what you ascribe to me were the gifts of God. If you take from me what belonged to God, there will be nothing left: lo, those wounds of Christ. O daughters, these are the merits which can alone gain me a place in heaven. Farewell! Behold! the spouse cometh!*

In the reign of Philip-le-Bel, Marguerite, second wife of Charles, king of Sicily, being a widow, built herself a small house outside of the town of Tournus, which is between Châlons and Mascon, and adjoining the house a magnificent hospital, where as Nicole Gille relates, she used to serve the poor travellers with her own hands, and wash their feet, dress their wounds, and clothe them with fresh habits. Thus, when St. Jerome received in his hospital at Bethlehem the European pilgrims who fled from the persecutions of the Goths, we read that he not only washed their feet, but rubbed their camels, according to the example of Rebecca, who drew water for the camels of Eleazer, after having supplied Eleazer himself.

When Theoderic, Count of Flanders, returned home from Palestine, his wife,

* Annales Capucinorum, an. 1542.

Sibilla, remained there, to serve God for the rest of her days. She was daughter of Fulco, king of Jerusalem, lately deceased, and sister of Baldwin, king of Jerusalem, then reigning. After she had come to the Holy City with her husband, she began to serve the poor and sick in the church of the hospital of St. Lazarus, and she used to minister with wonderful humility to them in their loathsome distempers. After ten years thus spent in the hospital, she slept in the Lord.*

Marie-Thérese, queen of Louis XIV., and daughter of Philip IV. of Spain, used to visit the poor and tend the sick in the public hospitals, putting on a coarse dress, and serving them with food. When a certain lady of the court expressed surprise at some act of extreme personal mortification, and said that it might injure her health, that holy queen replied, "I cannot better employ my health than in serving Jesus Christ, suffering in his members."

How many princesses of Brabant are recorded to have acted in the same manner! The counts of Troyes, of Blois, and of Flanders, the dukes of Burgundy and Normandy, used similarly to minister to the sick poor in the hospitals. Stephen, the holy king of Hungary, used to go alone by night to visit the hospitals, and unknown to serve the sick, and watch by their beds. To the present day the nobles of Italy and Portugal are in habits of discharging the same offices. Wherever, in short, the Catholic faith reigned, there was one rule and tradition of compassionate manners, to which no one ever thought of preferring the tastes or habits of a national character. The works of mercy were as well known as any of the professional duties of life. All knew where Christ was laid: as the holy friar said, they knew that he was in the hospital, and that nothing remained but to visit him. The duty was shown to them in all possible simplicity of language, and wherever there was faith, it was affectionately and effectually fulfilled.

Such, then, were these great institutions, founded by the merciful, and multiplied over the whole world during ages of faith. Such was the object of their authors, and such the spirit which presided in their administration. It only remains to observe the means which were generally adopted in the middle ages for their creation and support. In most instances their founders had endowed them with landed estates from the revenues of which they were permanently maintained.

The Hôtel Dieu at Paris had estates in Flanders, Normandy, and other distant provinces. It had great sheep-walks and pens at Aubervilliers for its flocks, from which every week the required number of sheep were removed to its particular shed, for the daily consumption of the house. It had a country villa for the lady nuns. In the year 829 Inchade, bishop of Paris, assigned to this hospital the tenth of the property which he gave to his chapter. At Lyons, brethren of the house remained always in the country, in order to purchase cattle and corn, and the administration was exclusively placed in the hands of persons who

* Chronic. S. Bertini. cap. xliv. pars ii. apud Martène Thesaurus Anecdot. tom. iii.

devoted their time and labor to that work gratuitously. We have seen that at the hospital of Lisbon the annual receipts were always expended within the year, and at the Hôtel Dieu of Paris the funds of the institution used to be sold, and even its reliquaries and sacred vessels pledged, if at any time the revenue was found insufficient, as was done in 1709.

Pope Innocent III., after building at his own expense the vast hospital of the Holy Ghost in Rome, enriched it not only with his own patrimony, but also with many privileges. Notwithstanding its vast possessions, he desired that it should be assisted with the alms of the faithful, and with this view he instituted in the hospital a solemn station, to be observed for ever on the Sunday after the octave of the Epiphany, on which day the holy effigy of Christ is exposed in St. Peter's Church to the veneration of the people ; and he ordained that this should be borne processionally, with psalmody and lighted torches, from the basilica to the hospital, where the Roman pontiff should preach on works of mercy, and their efficacy in obtaining forgiveness of sins ; and, in order that by example as well as by words he should provoke the people to charity, there was to be a distribution of bread, meat, and money to all the poor who came there on that day.* The bishop of Chartres gave the revenues of a prebendal stall in his cathedral in alms to the sick poor of this hospital, which grant was confirmed by apostolical authority,† though Innocent ordained that a third of the sum should be paid to whoever served the office, lest the church of Chartres should be defrauded of its accustomed service.

The hospital of the Holy Ghost at Montpellier was confirmed by Pope Innocent III. in the possession of no less than eleven houses, with all pertaining to them, in different regions, of which two were in Rome.‡

Many hospitals in Spain at one time derived a certain revenue from the money which was collected at theatres and other public spectacles, so that when Peter de Tapia, bishop of Segovia, prevailed on Philip IV. to prohibit such as were losing their ancient religious character and becoming profane, and calculated to corrupt the manners of youth, he gave up one thousand crowns every year to indemnify them.§ The Hôtel Dieu at Paris did not receive any revenue from the receipts at the theatres before the reign of Louis XIV., who gave to it a ninth of the money so collected.‖ The orphan hospital at Pampeluna derived part of its revenue from a kind of tax on all who played at tennis, which was a favorite game in Navarre.

Many hospitals owed their rise and support, like that of Grenada, to the casual bounty of charitable persons, and in the donations of alms to hospitals in ancient times there are many singular dispositions made. In the year 1168, Maurice, bishop of Paris, with the consent of his chapter, decreed that in future the bishop's

* Gesta Innocent. ii. III. 144. † In. III. Epist. lib. x. 223. ‡ Inn. Epist. Lib. i. 97.
§ Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. v. liv. 36.
‖ Notice, Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu.

bed, with all belonging to it, should be given, after his death, to the poor of the Hôtel Dieu. The act provides, that if the bed should not be worth twenty sous, the surplus must be given in money. The canons followed his example till 1413, when they agreed to leave an equivalent. Donations of the same kind were made also by the laity. Philip Augustus, in 1280, gave to the Hôtel Dieu the straw and bed stuffing of his house in Paris every time he left it to sleep elsewhere; and John II. confirmed this grant in 1358.*

The departure of knights to the crusade was an occasion of wealth to hospitals, for no Baron or Paladin would have deemed his preparation complete, if, before leaving his ancestral towers, he had not given alms to the nearest house of mercy for the sick poor. Thus in 1202, Count Baldwin of Flanders, not content with enriching churches and monasteries, with an especial view to the object of his expedition to the Holy Land, took care to provide also for the hospitals, as for that of Aldenarda, and for the close of lepers at Ghent.†

The kings of France used to distribute at the beginning of Lent, among the hospitals and poor religious houses, a sum of two thousand two hundred livres, besides a quantity of corn and fish; and St. Louis changed into a law their alms, which in addition used to be given every day during that season, placing them in future at the disposal of the administrators of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris. Charles-le-Bel rendered perpetual the gift made by his predecessors to that house, of two hundred cart loads of wood annually from their forests, adding another hundred, on condition that the brethren and sisters should every year, at the four principal feasts, cause to be conducted with four horses and two of their servants, the relics of the holy chapel of Paris, to the place where the king should happen to be, provided the distance did not exceed thirty-four leagues. Philippe de Valois, in 1344, granted to them the right of free pasture for two hundred swine in his forest of Rez; and Charles V. in 1372, gave them the same privilege in the forest of Compiegne. The exemptions and privileges granted by the state, formed an important source towards the support of hospitals. There goods and provisions were subject to no toll or tax whatever.‡

The governors of hospitals and of houses for lepers in Paris used to station persons on one of the bridges every Monday to beg the alms of passengers for their support.§

The general collections for hospitals were made by means of trunks in all the churches, which used to be emptied on seven great days of indulgence every year. In 1663 the sum raised in Paris alone in this manner, amounted to twenty-one thousand livres. Agents were also sent for this purpose through different provinces, publishing the papal indulgences, and on Sundays and festivals there used to be a collection made in every church.‖

* De la Motte, Essai Hist. sur l'Hôtel Dieu, 27. † Miræ. Dipl. Belg. Sup. 84. ap Hurter.
‡ De la Motte, Essai, Hist. § Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. i. 9.
‖ De la Motte, Essai Hist. 117.

The widow's mite, the poor man's wages, and the scholar's allowance, were joined to the alms of an Alfred or a St. Louis. In 1362, the Confraternity of Drapers at Paris decreed that on the day of their assembly a portion of bread, meat, and wine, should be given to every poor person in the Hôtel Dieu. The supply of ecclesiastical habits every year at All Saints to all the priests and clerks charged with the divine office there, was provided by Oudard de Maucreux, a pious citizen, whose foundation for this purpose was commemorated in curious verses upon a brass plate in the chapel. "It is a remarkable fact," says the historian of Paris, "that in this capital a public establishment conceived with views of usefulness, and above all with the intention of affording instruction and edification, has never failed to obtain protectors and munificent benefactors from among the first class of its inhabitants."*

Nothing like ostentation belonged to the works of mercy in Catholic countries. In the report respecting the state of the Hôtel Dieu at Paris, published in 1663, the names of deceased benefactors alone are given, for the reason thus expressed, that the living had desired their alms to be in secret.†

Until the breaking out of the revolution, it must be admitted that the donations of the French nobility to the support of hospitals were truly munificent. Vast sums had been given by many illustrious victims a few years before, of which the list was published by De la Motte. Indeed, in this respect, there had never been ground for complaint. It was in the year 1617, while Paris was agitated by civil discords, at a time when the Louvre beheld the murder of a Marechal of France, that a solitary unknown priest, son of a poor peasant, having neither riches nor credit, laid the first stone of the vast institution of the Association of Charity, which subsequently rendered the name of Vincent de Paul renowned throughout the world. We have seen what was the origin of the great hospital of St. John of God at Grenada, and most houses of his order had no other foundation but the alms of the faithful. Peter, who styled himself the sinner, in the fifteenth century, of whom nothing was known but that he was from Andalusia, and who lived as a hermit for many years on a high mountain, in the territory of Malaga, thence descending into the cities of men, preaching on the love of God with such zeal and unction, that innumerable souls were converted, after making a pilgrimage to Rome, appeared in the streets of Seville as another Jonas, and called on all men to do penance, and with such force did he preach, that he was able to found a hospital for the poor with the alms which persons gave him, without his ever asking for any.

Delille, in his poem on Pity, has sung the merciful and unhoped-for asylum which was opened to the suffering exiles of France by the poor exiled priests of Somers'-town ; and well may astonishment be awakened at the prodigious works of charity which are still being performed without any worldly aid by the worthy

* S. Victor, Tableau de Paris, tom. xi. 179. † De la Motte, 180.

successors and fellow laborers of Carron, at Chelsea, Hampstead, and many other places. In these true prodigies of mercy, which strike the attention of the most incredulous observer, we have only before our eyes the same operation which was constantly visible during the middle ages; and one may conceive what must have been the resource in the liberality of great prelates, when so much can be effected by the alms of the poor missionary priest depending on charity for his own subsistence. Vanderburch, Archbishop of Cambray, besides supporting other hospitals and schools, used to give fifteen thousand florins every year to the hospice for poor maidens in that city.* Pope Pius V. gave twenty thousand gold crowns to the hospital of the Holy Ghost at Rome. It should be remarked also, that the gratuitous service of religious persons gave power to the administrators to employ all the resources of the house upon the immediate objects. The nuns and brethren performed every thing; they were even the architects; as when the hospital of St. Denis was rebuilt in 1725, under the sole direction of sister Michelle Michelon, who was then superior of that house. They were the farmers and artisans, employed as at Lyons, where the brethren of the cross take care of the estates, perform the offices of carpenters and masons, attend the markets to purchase the provisions, conduct the carts and the baths, and make collections.

When the epoch of the change of religion arrived in England, the greatest part of the hospitals and hospices shared the fate of the monasteries and other institutions, which had originated in faith. We may read the history of those days in the conduct of the present Portuguese government, which seems to have rendered itself very familiar with the politico-theological measures that were adopted in the sixteenth century. At all times, proceedings of this kind are only a natural consequence of the opinions which supersede divine faith. The fact respecting England cannot be better stated than in the words of Weever:—"All monasteries," saith he, "being thus suppressed, it followed that, under a fair pretence of rooting out of superstition, all chanteries, colleges, and hospitals were likewise, by act of parliament, left to the disposal and pleasure of the king. And all these monuments of our forefathers' piety and devotion, to the honor of God, the propagation of Christian faith, and good learning, and also for the relief and maintenance of the poor and impotent, (if without offence I may speak the truth), all these, I say, for the most part, were shortly after, to wit, within the remainder of his reign, and the short time of his son's, king Edward VI., every where pulled down, their revenues sold and made away; and those goods and riches which the Christian piety of our English nation had consecrated to God, since they first professed Christianity, were in a moment, as it were, dispersed and (to the displeasure of no man be it spoken) profaned."†

Since that time institutions of mercy have in many countries wholly lost the character which belonged to them universally in ages of faith. In those once

* Gallia Christiana, tom. i. 249. † A Discourse of Funeral Monuments, 115.

happy regions which were devastated by the religious innovators of the sixteenth century, it would be absurd indeed to expect to meet with any thing resembling the works of faith. Protestantism, in one respect at least, is unearthly, for it cannot be traced by any visible monuments in the world. As a religion it founds no hospitals; private philanthropy, and the policy of government, must provide for such wants The modern establishments are rather schools of science, often conducted by teachers who, like Epicurus, with the body make the spirit die, and establishments purely for the material advantage of society, without any view to the eternal interests of the sufferers who are relieved. The honor of having constructed even these poor and transient edifices, is claimed for by men with a vanity, that savors of former unblessed times. Here are no holy images, no venerable habits, no solemn chants, no altars; but in their place long pompous and pedantic inscriptions, like that which the Moors placed over their hospital at Grenada, which extols the merit of its illustrious founders, and prays God not to leave them without due recompense. The grandeur and beauty of the ancient edifices may of course be sought for in vain; for when the poor had lost the eminent dignity which they had enjoyed in consequence of the power of the Church, and the principles of faith, that the asylums constructed for their accommodation should be in harmony with their new position in society, was but a natural and necessary result. Tenon, in his Memoirs on the Hospitals of Paris, has remarked, what an important effect the difference of religion produces in determining the construction of hospitals. In a Protestant country, he observes, there is no necessity for altars and images in each ward, or for a church and an altar within view of every ward. One minister, as he found in such cases, suffices for two thousand sick persons. A few tracts against Popery will do the rest. There is, therefore, no necessity to provide a convent for priests, or a convent for nuns, when one or two matrons, with adequate wages "to ensure their respectability," are sufficient to preside over the infirmary.

Physicians in the last century, who visited England in order to examine the hospitals, came to the conclusion that they did not sufficiently provide for the delicacy which was required by the rule of Catholic manners in other countries, where there are always separate halls and galleries for exercise provided for the two sexes of convalescent. Moreover, such regular and solid structures could only arise when the action of the Catholic principles obviated the necessity of progressive enlargement, and secured provision for future ages, as well as for temporary wants.*

Nor has the fate of these great institutions in other countries been without some influence from the general spirit of the modern civilization in which philanthropy and human beneficence have, to a certain degree, superseded the supernatural love and mercy, which constituted the soul of the ancient Catholic state. The philosophers, when they had plundered hospitals of the wealth bestowed

* Tenon, Mém. sur les Hôpitaux.

by pious Christians in the middle ages, proposed to maintain them by taxes upon gaming-houses, by the receipts of theatres, in which religion was every night outraged, and the collections made through the instrumentality of balls and other profane amusements; for like Julian, though at first they were for abolishing all such institutions as favorable to idleness, and contrary to the maxims of an enlightened economy, an opinion which has had its advocates in England in our days, and that too among men of the highest legal dignity, they afterwards turned round, and, like the same emperor, endeavored to demonstrate that their religious or political systems could produce similar establishments without any aid from the operations of the Catholic faith. These few institutions, which escaped in part from the general spoliation, were subjected to the administration of men, who found many objects to which their revenues might be applied, besides those to which they were originally destined by the blessed merciful. By dint of a lengthened and cunningly-devised system of persecution, the religious sisters were generally constrained to yield their place to persons who discharged them for a pecuniary compensation; and the moral amelioration of the patients, the furthering the work of their eternal safety, ceased to be an object to which any effort or any influence was applied.

Our course in reference to the correspondence between Catholic manners during ages of faith and the beatitude of the merciful, is here terminated; and I believe the result must be a conviction in the mind of every one who has accompanied me, that it was complete; and that it is to these ages we must look back, in order to witness divine mercy acting through human agents with the most effective power, and in the most diversified forms of development.

No one, after perusing researches of this nature to any length, can suppose for an instant that the number of the merciful on earth has increased since those times, or kept pace with what is termed the progress of civilization and of moral philosophy. Whatever one may imagine the advance of mankind to have been in other respects, it is not a contemplation of its extent in regard to their increase which can have thrown the ancient Catholic order of things into that dark shade in which our popular writers have been pleased so generally to envelope it. These few fragments, in truth, should be enough to convince even observers the most cautious or prejudiced, that in respect to benignity, long suffering, forgiveness, and compassion, never was there beheld on the earth a state of society comparable to that which it formed; to convince them that never was the great attribute of the Deity, proclaimed in the sacred page, which saith that all his ways are mercy, imparted to so great a multitude of the human race, or exhibited in such a variety of combinations to counteract or alleviate the evil which is attached to the present condition of our nature. To speak of the recompense which more directly constituted the beatitude of these past ages, falls not within the limits of an inquiry like the present; since, as St. Bernardine of Sienna remarks, of the triple reward pledged to the merciful, two parts, the promise of glory and of remission of sins, re-

late to an order of things beyond the limits of historic illustration ; and of the third, the promise of a multiplication of grace, it would be in vain to expect a more complete view than what we have already enjoyed ; for where should we look for evidence of its fulfilment, if we have not discovered it in the spirit of those who kept the choicest of their love for God, in the doctrine of blessed charity, as taught by all who explained to men their religious and social duties, in the conversation of those who sought to practise it, generations sinful, indeed, as a late poet saith, for Adam made all so, but tender-hearted, meek, and pitiful, in the mildness and forbearance of legislators and magistrates, in their willingness to permit the interference of the merciful in behalf of those who were obnoxious to legal penalties, in the visitation of prisoners, in the emancipation of the serfs, and the extirpation of slavery, in the spirit of mercy and humanity, which even predominated in war, in the efforts to screen the weak from the strong, made unceasingly by the clergy, who were as "nerves through which crept the else-unfelt oppressions of this earth ;" in the principles and practice of a wise and compassionate tolerance, in the meek endurance and heroic forgiveness of injuries, in the prodigious charity of the affluent to the poor, in their alms, counsels, and labors of beneficence, and, finally, in the hospitals and other foundations which were designed to minister to the wants of the miserable, and to alleviate the sorrows of the human race.

Here was, indeed, proof of grace multiplied. Here was assuredly a present and truly divine remuneration. Further to penetrate into the mysterious retributions of the disciples of love would be to transgress the bounds allotted to us. "Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy." But when ? and from whom ? What answer can history furnish ? Alas ! it will be one strange and fearful ; for it will tell us that many of these generous benefactors whom we have seen pass, dispensing mercy, were, while on earth, afflicted, ill requited, betrayed, oppressed, outraged ; and if we pursue the inquiry further, and hope to find that at least posterity has come forward to make compensation by justice to their memory, the result will not be different.

These ages are dark in name on earth, which accomplished all these prodigies of grace ! What mercy hath any generation of insensate mortal creatures vouchsafed in return to the forgiving kings, whose faults only are remembered, while all their goodness is forgotten ; or to the monks, who put an end to slavery, to mention but one out of their multiplied services, and who are proclaimed to have been the most useless of the human race ? Where has been the mercy that was to repay the profuse alms, and the devoted service at the sick bed, and the repairing to distant lands to redeem captives, and all the acts of tender indefatigable pity by which the poor were delivered, and the nations rescued from darkness, and the prisons opened, and the fetters broken, and the whole servile race brought out of unmitigated misery to the consoling light and freedom of the Gospel ? But still the word is unchangeable : it is a pledge which neither time nor "the long-

tainted flood of evil through centuries over earth's slight pageant rolling," availeth to destroy; for all is written in the tablet of an everlasting memory, and that which is alone desirable remains secured for ever. Mercy from him whose smile is the light that kindleth the universe, whose justice is the beauty for which all thirst, shall these suppliant hosts receive before the winged throne in dazzling immortality, when the lure whirled in the rolling spheres, on which their eyes had been for ever fixed, shall descend, silent, alone, in that last, ineffable benediction of glory which unfolds heaven.

END OF THE SEVENTH BOOK.

MORES CATHOLICI,

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK VIII.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE EIGHTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

WHILE the heavens are showing forth the glory of God, and the firmament is declaring the work of his hands, the records of men are fulfilling a purpose no less admirable, in attesting the operation and power of his grace,—ministry, that may not unjustly be styled divine, like that of the angel seen in mystic vision by the great contemplatist and poet of the three worlds, who, as he relates, when day was sinking, appeared before him, standing on the brink of the flame, with gladness in his looks. For he who traced in chronicles the ways of men in believing days of yore, and he who taught the wisdom of the schools,—the poet, too, conversant with the people's thoughts, and those who in written monuments transmitted what the middle ages from experience knew—all with one voice, whose lively clearness, we might truly add far surpassed our human, sang, "Blessed are the clean of heart."

This beatitude, say the scholastic commentators, is justly placed in sixth degree, since, on the sixth day, man was created in the image of his Maker, which image is obscured by sinful blot, but purged by grace, which prepares him for ascent to heaven; and while the purity which yields it implies the possession of the other precious seeds of blessed life, the same is no less necessarily included in each of them; for, saith St. Ambrose, citing one instance as sufficient proof, "he who shows mercy loses the fruit of mercy, unless he be merciful with a clean heart; for if he seek boasting, there is no fruit from his mercy."

The path now before us leads still higher than any which we hitherto have followed, and yet it will not separate us from the earthly course; for though divine,

it is no less a human theme, and one essential to all studies that have historical knowledge, within certain limits, for their end; since, without accurate observation here, many things which are presented in the books of the middle ages, in the various institutions which flourished during that period, and in the different monuments of art which have survived the wreck of time, must remain inexplicable; for, whether the question relate to a Charlemagne founding monasteries, and presiding over the Christian world, to an Edward, Confessor, legislating, to a Godfrey, mounting the throne of Jerusalem, to a St. Louis, hastening to the relief of the holy land, to a Ferdinand, recovering Spain from the Mahometans, to a Gregory the Seventh, enforcing the ecclesiastical discipline, to an Innocent the Third, according to nations which turned to it with one voice for protection from the violence of despotic power, the protection of the Holy See, to a Thomas of Canterbury, dying for the freedom of the church, to a Bernard, directing the counsels of princes, to a Boniface, departing to convert heathen nations, to a Bruno, retiring into the desert, to a Dunstan, substituting monks for seculars, to a Francis, embracing poverty, to a Dominick, opposing heresy, to a Guercino, painting for altars, to a count of Anjou, building churches, or only to a duke of Aquitaine, taking up his pilgrim's staff,—there will arise problems that admit of no solution, if we do not take into account the conviction and the doctrine, which prevailed universally during those ages, respecting the beatitude of the clean of heart. Nor let any one disdain our solicitude, if it be remarked also, that some of those high pleasures, arising from the imagination and from poetry, are not altogether unconcerned with the view to which this subject leads. Who will not feel a charm in learning what were the thoughts, the religious and philosophic thoughts, of those different great, heroic, or engaging personages, with whose external form and character historians or poets may have made him long familiar? How delightful to be introduced to them in their meditative hours; to hear their calm soliloquies, or their conversations philosophical, on the subjects which have an equal interest for ourselves? Then indeed the ruins that are scattered every where will be able to excite in the mind a useful remembrance, and in the heart a strong emotion. It will no longer be the artist only who visits with advantage the rock, beneath which hermits once were sheltered, the poor grey abbey, tottering to its fall, the feudal towers, to which it so often looked for protection, and the ancient seats of just authority, that so long sheltered peaceful holy kings; no philosopher, no Christian, will then ever pass them by without a wise reflection, or without a tear. Researches of this nature, it is true, cannot be concluded in brief space, and without labor; we shall besides in the beginning have to traverse ground that will seem to those who are familiar with the instructions of faith, as void of any literary interest, from its appearing at the first glance to yield only what every book of devotion can supply; but they will view it differently, if they keep in mind that our object in approaching it is to hear those speak who are seldom interrogated by others; and that the authors who address them wil

be men of the middle ages, whom, perhaps, they have never met before, excepting on the page of Dante, or of some other mighty genius of the olden time. They will then feel that the words, independent of the truths divine which they convey, acquire a solemnity purely human, which men of hearts like ours, unsanctified and blind, may pretend without folly to appreciate; for they are those of authors whose volumes are not always accessible, though their glory lives yet on the tongue of poets, historians, and philosophers of a past world; men so venerable and great on all accounts, that whatever is uttered by them has a distinct value, in consideration of its having fallen from their lips.

Listening to their discourse, indeed, will make our progress slow; but, as Plato observes, in reply to some who were for avoiding delay, "We must not refuse to pursue the longest road, which may lead with greatest certainty to the object of our inquiry; for it would be ridiculous to use every effort in exposing with the greatest exactness and clearness things of the least worth, and not to esteem the greatest as worthy of being determined with the most precision, and while the greatest subject of learning is that which instructs us in the idea of the highest good, assuredly there is no result of historical knowledge more important than that which enables us to learn in what manner the men of former times were able to conceive and secure it. Still I am aware, as Wadding says in the beginning of his eleventh volume, that the things which are here to be published respecting the admirably piety of men and women, may seem frivolous to those whose ears are accustomed to grand descriptions of republics, to narratives of battles and other military operations; but, as he continues, the philosophy of Christ has this peculiar property, that while nothing is more contemptible than its first, nothing is more divine than its subsequent aspect; for it inflames minds, not with the thirst of blood and slaughter, or with the cupidity of vain glory; but with humanity and gentleness, and the love of solid and true virtue."*

There was, however, a difficulty greater still, that might have discouraged us from pursuing this history any further; for here we enter upon an investigation that will lead immediately to holy ground, towards which men of hearts like ours should pause before they dare so much as to turn even their eyes. Yet I was tempted to proceed, when I considered that in this journey through the literature of past ages, as in that of life, the profane may join the company of blessed pilgrims, and pass in at their side, where alone they would have never thought of entering; that then, on their return, they may describe what they have seen, and repeat what they have heard; and that to their rhapsodies perpetual sober men may turn a willing ear, as though they could discern what is holy on their lips, so that even the simple wanderer who strays uncommissioned like myself to explore the beauties, and inhale the perfume of the ancient world of faith, may approach it without presumption, and yet with confidence;

* Annal. Minorum, tom. xi

"For saints have hands that pilgrim's hands do touch,
And palm to palm is holy palmer's kiss."

The Angel of the School, Richard of St. Victor, Bernard, and Francis— such are the deathless minds which leave, where they have past, a tract of light that will sustain us now. With them, by aid of sentences transcribed, our souls shall know communion, till, as the poet saith, "from that glorious intercourse, as from a mine of magic store, we shall draw words which are weapons; round the hearts of some there shall grow the adamantine armor of their power, and from their fancy wings of golden hue." Therefore let this book be taken up as if the limbs of him who wrote it had long been scattered in the dust, and it had been only copied, as in effect it is, from some huge and antique volume, bound by two solemn clasps, "as neither to be opened nor laid by but with due thought profound."

Omnia bona corporis ordinantur ad bona animæ sicut ad finem.* This axiom, laid down by the Angel of the School, is a key to unlock the secrets of the middle ages; for during the predominance of faith, all goods of the body, all important institutions, all offices, all combinations of intellectual and material things that received the highest sanction, were ordained to cleanness of heart as to their end. Therefore, in order to comprehend the history of those ages, we must previously learn what was understood by cleanness of heart, and what were the precepts generally given for its acquirement. When this point has been ascertained, it will be required to show in what manner and to what extent that interior disposition affected the course of human events, and the institutions and manners of society, after which a wide and truly enchanting field will open before us, while tracing the immediate and temporal verification of the divine promise, that those who attained to it should see God.

"As health is the nature of the body," says St. Bernard, "so purity is the nature of the heart; for with a disturbed eye God cannot be seen, and the human heart is made for this end, that it should see its Creator."†

By cleanness of heart was understood, therefore, a restoration of the original state of the human character, and consequently something very different from that condition of conscience at which men arrive by natural means, the purity of which may be estimated by the one simple observation, that there is no inconsistency between the sense of the modern proposition, "that the majority of men, by a happy necessity, are constrained to be moral;" and the conclusion to which Socrates came, that men do much more evil than good, beginning from their childhood,‡ testimony of human reason to its own misery, which is borne also by the ancient poet, who declares that "few there are whom just God loves, or ardent virtue raises to the sky."§

The purity of heart which led to blessed vision, was understood in ages of faith

* St. Thom. sum. 9. 11. art. 5.
† De Divin. Serm. XVI.
‡ Plato, Hippias Major.
§ Æneid, tom. vi. 129.

to consist in a conformity with the divine image; but in order to supply a wisdom that was practical, and free from ambiguity in terms, it was necessary that some further explanation, in the form of axioms, should be laid down; for, as St. Thomas observes, "it would not suffice for beatitude that man should be assimilated to God in regard to power, unless he were assimilated to him in regard to goodness."* Moreover, as St. Gregory remarks, "God is holy; but of a holiness invisible, inaccessible, incomprehensible. God is not holy in the manner that we ought to be; and holiness in him is not what it ought to be in us. For in us, holiness is inseparable from penitence; which can no more accord with God than sin. In us, a part of holiness consists in subjection, dependence, obedience; for this is what sanctifies us; and in God it is exactly the contrary. We are holy by despising ourselves; and God is holy in glorifying himself: he is holy in an entire and perfect possession of his beatitude, and we are holy by patience in our misery." Nor is this all: for, as the Angel of the School saith, "If any one should seek to be like God in respect to justice, as if by his own virtue, and not by the virtue of God, he would sin; or, if he were to seek as the last end that similitude with God which is given by grace, wishing to have it by the virtue of his nature, and not by the divine assistance, according to the ordinance of God, he would sin."†

Already, therefore, we may begin to perceive how well guarded from error, at the very first step on the way to perfection, were the men of those ages, and what a protection was afforded to society from the calamities and horrors, to which a want of Catholic instruction on this very point has frequently led in later times. Again, say these high teachers, "the holiness of man must be something different from that of the incorporeal Divinity." And here I would invite the reader to remark, that when treating on this difference, the great Catholic philosophers of the middle ages evince a clearness and good sense, which some of our contemporaries, who have not had a personal acquaintance with their writings, are apparently but little prepared to find in them. Of the great leading mysteries of our moral nature, as far as relates to an observation of facts, the ancient sages were not ignorant. The Pythagoreans said, "that men should aim at purification, which consisted in separating, as far as possible, the mind from the body, and accustoming it to dwell by itself, free from the contagion of the body."‡ "The great object of a philosopher," says Plato, "must be the purification of his mind; and this purification can only be effected by separating, as far as possible, the soul from the body, and accustoming it to live and dwell by itself, and delivering it from the body as if from chains; and this full and perfect deliverance is named death, and this should be the object of every real philosopher's desire."§ Cicero, too, in the first book of the Tusculans, speaks of separating the mind, as far as possible, from the body,

* Sum. p. 1. Q. Rom. xi. a. 4.
† Sum. p. 1. Q. lxiii. art. 3.
‡ Jamblichi Adhortat. ad Philosopn. cap. 13
§ Plato. Phædo, 67.

which is learning to die; and he says, that "while we remain on earth, this will be similar to a celestial life." Later philosophers without the church have expressed the same convictions. "Hitherto," says Novalis, "soul has prevailed only here and there; when will it have universal sway?"

The similarity between these views and the Catholic doctrine, must have struck every one; but it is no less clear, that there is much to modify and change before they can be brought to a real and complete agreement with it. Certainly, as Savonarola desires the philosophers of Florence to remark, whatever the ancient sages laid down respecting purity of heart, and the necessity of purging the mind from the misdirected love of sensible things, is not only enforced by the Catholic religion, but infinitely extended and reduced to practice in a manner that would have been incredible to them. It would be wholly useless to adduce evidence in proof of a fact so generally known as the conviction of men during ages of faith, that the passions might become domestic foes, against which it would be impossible to provide too many securities. Their language with respect to the danger of sense is more frequently taxed with exaggeration than with leniency; for in truth they saw connections which the men of later times cannot or will not discern; they knew what was the genius of pleasure, how unlike in reality to her appearance: they saw her deformed and cruel, and it seems as if they continually heard her horrid reply to the poor victim who, too late, discovered her treachery. "Sink with me, then; we two will sink on the wide waves of ruin, even as a vulture and a snake, outspent, drop, twisted in inextricable fight, into a shoreless sea."

Nevertheless, of the light in which the passions were regarded by the Catholic instructors, and of the relative position of sense and spirit in the Catholic philosophy, the moderns are in general profoundly ignorant. They have yet to learn that the abuse, not the use, of nature, was condemned by it. The guides who apply that medicine to the intelligence of men, only observe that when the mind revolts from God, the senses in their turn revolt from the mind. In this situation they remark, that the body, though willingly, yet impatiently follows the senses; and as Marsilius Ficinus observes, "that thence arise the most monstrous opinions, and manners the most foul and execrable."*

These guides may remark indeed, with Plato, that "the body, through its wants, is the subject of a thousand occupations to deprive us of leisure; that the infirmities which it entails upon us, prevent us often from the search of truth; and that the passions with which it moves us, fills us with a multitude of delusions, so that we cannot see the real nature of things; for that wars, and insurrections, and battles, have no other origin but the body, and the desires arising from it."† Where expressions are stronger, and such as seem to warrant our concluding that the very use of nature, and the work of the Creator himself, are reprobated, a closer

* Marsil. Ficin. Epist. Lib. ii.

† Plato, Phædo, 66.

inspection will convince us, that these arise merely from a consideration of some peculiarity of circumstance, involving danger, of some accidental incongruity produced by the position of an individual, or perhaps from a willing renouncement of what is known to be intrinsically good and innocent, in order to satisfy the desires of a generous and feeling heart, as in the instance related by St. Martin of Tours, of the young maiden, whom Injouriosus, a senator of Auvergne, sought in marriage, and who exclaimed on her bridal day, "Would to heaven that the kisses of my nurses had been given to me in my shroud! The pomps of the world disgust me when I think of my Redeemer pierced upon the cross. I cannot bear the sight of diadems glittering with precious stones when I think of his thorny crown!" Annihilation, however, or the rejection of any part of the Creator's work, as evil in itself, was a process unknown in the philosophy of the clean of heart; and so far were the Catholic instructors from imagining that sense is opposed to the spiritual life, that, according to their unanimous voice, the latter must commence with it. St. Bernard affirms this expressly. "As we are carnal," saith he, "our desires and our lives must commence by the flesh; and if this flesh be well regulated, if it be contained in order, perfecting itself by degrees under the guidance of grace, it will finally owe to the spirit the complement of its perfection. It is not that which is spiritual which goes in the first line, but that which is animal. We must first bear the resemblance of the earthly man, before we bear that of the heavenly man."* "Qui futurus erat etiam carne spiritualis," says St. Augustin; "factus est mente carnalis."† Nor was it only in the first steps of the spiritual life that these guides accepted the attendance of sense. They required it during the arduous progress to consummate the union of the soul with God.

Let us hear Hugo of St. Victor: "There is a certain medium to which the body ascends, that it may approach to spirit; and again, to which the spirit descends, that it may approach to body. Unless Moses had ascended, and God descended, they would not have met. Thus the spirit also ascends, and God descends, in the same manner as the body had ascended and the spirit descended. The body ascends by sense, the spirit descends by sensuality. The spirit ascends by contemplation, and God descends by revelation."‡ Richard of St. Victor speaks to the same effect; but as we proceed further, we shall have a more fitting occasion for hearing his sublime words. The passions therefore, were to be directed, not extirpated; and St. Clement of Alexandria cites, with an approval which would have been echoed by all spiritual guides, the words of Plato in the third book of his Republic: "Ἐπιμελεῖσθαι σώματος δεῖν ψυχῆς ἕνεκα ἁρμονίας."§ "Passions, when they are consequent to reason," says the Angelic Doctor, "are good; they exercise a twofold influence, by redundance and by election; that is to say, when the superior part of the soul is intensely moved towards some-

* Bern. de Amore Dei. † De Civ. Dei. ‡ Hugo S. Vict. de Unione Corporis et Spiritus.
§ Stromat. Lib. iv. c. 4.

thing, the inferior part also follows its motion, and thus the passion existing in the sensitive appetite is consequently a sign of the intensity of the will, and indicates a greater moral goodness. In another manner also they act, by way of election; that is, when a man chooses with the judgment of reason to be affected by some passion, that he may work more promptly by the co-operation of the sensitive appetite; and thus the passion of the soul adds to the goodness of the action."* If the body were annihilated, and soul to have universal sway, it is not so certain that the consequence would be a paradise on earth. The scholastic philosophers remarked, that the soul is susceptible of some kinds of evil delight, which cannot be traced to the senses; as when it is delighted with pride, without any imagination. For the senses cannot represent this to it, nor can it be thought to be white or black, harmonious or harsh, sweet or bitter, odoriferous or of unpleasant odor, soft or hard. There are indeed, say they, more kinds of delight, in which the soul is delighted without the senses, than those to which they are instrumental.† Nor is this all; for the very difficulty of reconciling the use of passions with obedience to the eternal reason, was said by the schoolmen to conduce to the perfection of man. St. Augustin remarks, that the passion of mercy serves reason; and St. Thomas observing that the Stoics represented all passions of the soul as evil, says, "If we name passions simply, all the movements of the sensitive appetite, it appertains to the perfection of human good, that these passions should be moderated by reason; for, since the good of man consists in reason as the root, that good will be so much the more perfect, as it can be applied to more things which agree with man; therefore no one can doubt but that it belongs to the perfection of moral good that the acts of the exterior members should be directed by the rule of reason."‡

The angel of the school shrinks not from the most delicate and subtle investigations here, and solves a difficulty in the way of reconciling cleanness of heart with conformity to the present disposition of nature in a manner most strikingly characteristic of the bright school whose hallowed light shows all things beautiful and pure. "Some of the ancient doctors," saith he, "considering the nature of concupiscence, supposed that in the state of innocence things had been otherwise ordained;" and St. Gregory Nyssen said that the human race would have been multiplied as the angelic, and that it was only from foreseeing the fall and its consequences that God created man male and female. But this is not to speak rationally; for the things which are natural to man, were neither taken away nor given by sin: but it is manifest that the multiplication of the human race was ordained naturally as that of other creatures, connected with which two things are to be considered,—that which the order of nature requires, and a certain deformity of immoderate concupiscence, which was not in the state of innocence when the

* St. Thom. Sum. p. 1. Q. xxiv. art. 3. † S. Anselmi de Similitudinibus, cap. 20.
‡ 1. Q. xxiv. art. 3.

inferior faculties were subject to reason. Not that purity was passionless, as some say ; for all sensible delight was so much the greater, as nature was purer and more susceptible ; but that the power of concupiscence did not inordinately prevail in despite of reason, as one temperate in food has no less pleasure than one intemperate ; and to this agree the words of St. Augustin, that " the state of innocence did not exclude delight, but only the tyranny of sense and sin-bred disquietude of mind ; and therefore in that state continence was not laudable, when there was fecundity without sin."*

St. Augustin says that " original rectitude consisted in perfect subjection of body to the mind ;" and the Catholic instructors show that this subjection in general, may be in some degree re-established by maintaining the rational faculty in subjection to God, the eternal reason. Modern philosophers remark with Novalis, that by faith man arms and strengthens all his powers, and that susceptibility and passion become durable and spiritual actions. The scholastic teachers who distinguish fourteen beatitudes of soul and body, seven of which they say, relating to the body, cannot be perfected on earth, but will be enjoyed in perfection hereafter,† would have found no difficulty in subscribing to the opinion of a late philosopher, who says, " The sentient principle may adhere to us in another state, and I sometimes imagine that many of those powers which have been called instinctive, belong to the more refined clothing of the spirit, which death may not destroy, though the organs of gross sensation, the nerves and brain will be destroyed."‡

In what, then, was to consist the conformity which makes clean the heart of man ? Let Albert the Great reply to this question in the name of Catholic generations : " The image of God, in the soul, consists," saith he, " in these three powers—reason, memory, and will ; and so long as these are not wholly impressed by God, the soul is not deiform according to its primary creation ; for God is the form of the soul by whom it ought to be impressed as if wax by a seal, and stamped as if stamped by a seal ; and this cannot be effected unless reason be perfectly, as far as its capacity permits, illuminated with the knowledge of God, which is the highest truth, and the will be perfectly affected to loving the highest goodness, and the memory be fully absorbed in contemplating and enjoying eternal felicity. Therefore all phantasms, species, images, and forms of things detached from the idea of God, must all be expelled from the mind, that your exercise concerning God within yourself may depend wholly on the sole naked intelligence, affection, and will."

He then proceeds to show that the end of all exercises is to intend and rest in the Lord God within ourselves by the purest intelligence and the most devout affection—an exercise which is not carried on in fleshly organs and in exterior senses,

* St. Thom. Sum. p. 1. 9. xcviii. art. 2.

† S. Anselmi de Similit. cap. 47.

‡ Sir H. Davy, Dialog. iv. 215.

but by that which constitutes man—intelligence and affection. Therefore he concludes, as long as man plays with phantasms and senses, so as to rest in them (for that is undoubtedly his meaning), he cannot be said to have escaped from the motions and limits of his bestial nature, or of that part of him which he has in common with beasts; because these know and are affected by phantasms, and by such sensitive or sensible species, and not otherwise, from not having a higher force of soul. "But it is different," he adds, "with man, created according to intelligence and affection, and free-will, in the image and similitude of God; in each of which faculties he ought to be immediately impressed and united with him."* "The soul," says Louis of Blois, "disengaged from all affection contrary to order, tends naturally towards its principle, which is God; for God is the natural place of the soul, and it is only there that it can find rest. Let us seek for purity, let us seek for light, let us remember our greatness! Let us consider that the image of God is imprinted on our souls; let us unite ourselves to him by a true charity, as were united to him the holy apostles, the holy martyrs, and the confessors, and the innumerable virgins who now contemplate him face to face in heaven, in the company of his holy mother, the first in sanctity, the first in all perfections after her divine Son."†

These hallowed teachers proceed, however, to define the grace of this beatitude in more specific terms. "With two wings," says Thomas à Kempis, "is man raised above the earth, namely, simplicity and purity—simplicity in the intention, purity in the affection—simplicity intending God, purity apprehending and tasting him." St. Bernard says, that "this purity of heart consists in two things—in seeking the glory of God, and the utility of our neighbor. For the rational power to be clean, it should abstain," he remarks, "from three things—from duplicity of intention, falsity of opinion, and depravity of thought; for the concupiscible power to be clean, it should be pure from three things—from terrene affection, obscene delight, and hurtful operation; and for the irascible power to be pure, it should be clean from the fear that causes an evil humiliation, which leads fallen man to idolatry, astrology, sortilege, and other superstitions which horribly stain the human heart."‡ Finally, St. Thomas supplies a definition in few comprehensive words, saying, "Every human work is right and virtuous when it agrees with the rule of divine love; but when it disagrees with this rule, it is neither good nor right."§

While listening thus, we can conceive how each term of these definitions might be illustrated by what history exhibits; for, recurring to what St. Bernard says, and remarking at the same time with Richard of St. Victor, that the spirit of man is sometimes borne to something good, to which is annexed something carnal, which delights humanity and secretly betrays the mind, and it knoweth it not,‖ we

* Albert. Mag. de Adhærendo Deo, cap. 3, 4.
† Louis de Blois, chap. v. Institution Spirituelle. ‡ S. Bern. Serm. x. § Op. iv. c. 1.
‖ In Cantica Canticor.

might show from history how pure and undivided was become the human heart. Rodriguez furnishes a most remarkable example, when he says that St. Ignatius once examined himself to inquire how long his affliction would last if the society which he had instituted were to be dissolved ; and it seemed to him provided it was not his fault, that he should want only a quarter of an hour's recollection and prayer to free himself from all the trouble that this would give him. Such was the qualification indicated by St. Bernard ; and how unearthly pure must have been the heart that thus possessed it! how detached from all finite things, and dissolved in the love and vision of eternal God ! O how bitter, to men who are only cleansed without, is the thought that any work of their creation should have an end ! See with what intense passion, with what earnest affection of personal interest misunderstood, the authors of systems opposed to Catholic faith have in every age pursued their favorite schemes of innovation : they want only a quarter of an hour to recover serenity ?—Say, rather, the eternal years. Such is the contrast between men who see themselves and those who see God. In the sixth book we remarked the delicate sense of justice which existed in the hearts of men in ages of faith ; but where shall we now find words to describe their purity ? Let us hear Richard of St. Victor : " The Spirit of the Lord," saith he, " daily in his elect tempers insensibly the multitudinous and multiform affections of the human heart, and resolves them into one harmony, and, like a skilful harper who extends and tightens the chords of his instrument, so doth it reduce them to a certain concord until a mellifluous and ineffably sweet melody resounds in the ears of the Lord like the sound of many harpers harping on their harps." And then he proceeds, making use of daily experience, arguing from what he finds on earth, to suggest an idea of heaven. " For," he continues, " if such a wondrous harmony and multitudinous concert can rise from one harp out of such a plurality of affections, what will be the concordant consonance of the celestial spirits in such a multitude of angels, and of holy souls exulting and praising him who liveth for ever and ever."*

St. Clement of Alexandria had described this disposition of soul as belonging to his gnostic or true Christian, " who, whether eating or drinking, or whatsoever doing, even when dreaming, does and thinks what is holy, that at all times he may be pure for prayer ; who with angels prays as he is himself angelic, and never without a holy guardian ; for if he prays alone, he has a chorus of saints standing with him." †

The serene angelic purity of the hallowed heart was thought to manifest itself even on the countenance ; and hence the care which the profound artists of the middle age evinced to transfer the utmost grace and beauty into all their representations of sacred subjects. " I am indignant, " says St. Anselm, " against bad painters, when I see them paint our Lord under a deformed figure. "‡

* Richardi S. Victoris de Contemplatione, p. 1. Lib. iii. c. 24. † Stromat. Lib. vii. c. 12.
‡ S. Anselmi cur Deus Homo, cap. 2.

Savonarola, from an observation of the effect of the mysteries of faith upon the human countenance, draws an argument to prove the divinity of the Catholic religion. "This external expression, which so often led to memorable conversions, arises," he says, "from a supernatural beauty of mind which imparts to the body a corresponding grace. The faith and love which produce this exterior beauty cannot be a deception, for it is capable of leading men to a celestial life, and falsehood cannot thus penetrate the heart of man:"*—as creatures approach to the beauty of God the fairer they become; "for," he observes, in one of his sermons cited by Rio, "if you take two women in this assembly equally beautiful as to form, it will be the holiest of the two that will excite most admiration amongst the spectators, and the palm will not fail to be decreed to her even by carnal men."†

"If the body be beautiful," asks Diego de Stella, "doth not this beauty proceed from the soul? Take away the soul, and what is viler than the body? If the body, then, be thus beautiful, how much more oughtest thou to think thy soul beautiful, and to love that which is the cause of the body's beauty."‡ This beauty of holy souls is compared by the teachers of wisdom to that of a sanctuary: "His mind," saith one, "had all the quiet, purity, and beauty of a temple." "The soul that hath God within it," saith another, "is a temple of God, in which divine mysteries are celebrated."§ Even their chronicles are full of instances to illustrate the justice of their similitude: "In Gervine," says the monastic historian of St. Riquier, "was fulfilled that true sentence, 'Ubi fidelis anima, ibi est templum Dei.'"‖ It is a beauty commemorated even on their solemn tombs, as may be witnessed in the epitaph on Hildegard, queen of Charlemagne, in the church of blessed Arnulf at Metz:—

"Huic tam data fuit florentis gratia formæ,
Qua non occiduo pulchrior ulla floret.
Attamen hanc speciem superabant lumina cordis,
Simplicitasque animæ, interiorque decor."

If proof were to be demanded of the predominance of this intellectual beauty in ages of faith, one need not look farther than to the offices of the church; for the love with which they were so generally regarded, as we observed in a former place, most clearly proves that they corresponded with the hearts of men. And here I cannot refrain from proposing that a comparison be instituted between the solemn hallowed light of words, so bright and heavenly, which issued from the choir in those days, when even every rustic village church heard the regular office duly sung, and the new litanies which England at some altars hears repeated more frequent than the names of Mary and of the saints. The sheep, we are

* Triumph. Crucis, Lib. ii. 12.
† Serm. on Frid. after 3d Sund. of Lent.
‡ On the Contemp. of the World, Part. I. 73.
§ S. Bernardi de interiori Domo, cap. iv.
‖ Chronic. Centutulensis sive S. Rich. cap. xxxvi. apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. iv.

told, (poor witless ones!) are fed with what their taste approves, while what is canonical must never pass their lips in public, for fear the dark intruder should deride. O patience! that canst endure to put to silence the angelic thoughts and the seraphic aspirations that of yore were uttered within Catholic churches, as they are still wherever faith prevails, in order to comply with the false wise, who say that hunger of new viands tempts their flock, and that the more remote from ancient pastures the stragglers wander, so much the more they come home to the sheepfold: so customs, laws, and offices are changed, and vulgar coarse sentences provided—held in great esteem as pure, forsooth, because every blot of sin mentioned here and there in Scripture is enumerated broadly in continuous strain with prayer to be delivered from it; and so there be no lack of words, detached and loosely strung together from the book of God, the composer has won the meed he sought. But not alone the fathers who sat in council, and the holy hooded men who served the sanctuary, but the unlettered peasants in the middle ages would have rejected offices like these; they would have been judged not only offensive to refined and to scholastic ears, but also to the instinct of the pure.

But, for we have wandered, let us seek the forward path again.

Sweet hues of saintly lustre were spread over the serene aspect of the clean heart, so multiplied that of each it would be hardly possible to tell. Its deep humility deserves, however, an especial notice. "How can you with a sound conscience call yourself the chief of sinners?" was a question put to the seraphic father by one of his blest fellowship; to whom he said, "If Christ had shown such mercy to the most wicked of men, I think he would have been more grateful to God than I am."*

Again, it would be difficult for men who have not been admitted to a participation in its faith to estimate with justice its sincerity, since they of the world are conversant only with such hearts as verify what the Master of the Sentences observes,—that "lying hypocrisy follows the rejection of faith, that in words may be the piety which the conscience hath lost."† In relation to conversational intercourse, there is another occasion for remarking the supernatural influence of this purity; for of that abject temper which fears to offend God by actions, and, as if in compensation, revels in the abuse of the unruly member, gloating on such images as show humanity in closest alliance with sordid creatures of the earth, we find no trace in these ages, when desire of beatitude necessarily produced a Platonic delicacy of expression. No one who dwelt within tidings of the school could ever fancy that, provided he abstained from works that have no relish of salvation in them, he might resemble Diogenes in speech.

Peter Aldobrandini used to say, that a person who had contracted the cynic style, whatever might be the purity of his manners in other respects, did not deserve the name of man, as he must have lost all sense of the dignity of his nature. The

* S. Bonavent. Vita. S. Franc.

† Petr. Lombard. Lib. Sent. Prolog.

sentence of the great apostle against evil words, and the comment of St. Bernard, who held the hearer guilty as the wretch who uttered them, quelled the tyrannous gust of those discolored souls which loved the confines of impurity.*

With respect to that development of the heart's renovation which consisted in a scrupulous adherence to the dictates of conscience, it is obvious that the history of the ages of faith would furnish an immense field for interesting and curious discourse. "A man ought rather to suffer death than consent to sin venially:"—this is what St. Thomas teaches.† And even profane history has continual occasion to tell of men who made their lives conform to this rule. In fact, wherever we read of one like Thomas Welles, abbot of Croyland, in the reign of Henry III., vir venerabilis et eximiæ sanctitatis,‡ (and where do we find a page in the annals of the middle ages without allusion to such men?) we may be assured that this was the solemn and inflexible principle of his life. Let us hear Louis of Blois, who in few words lays open the heart of Catholics in ages of faith: "Where is that fear of God which is to exist for ever—the perfect fear? Attend!—I am about to propose a question which I beg you will address to yourself: If God should come in the midst of us, and should enable us to hear his voice (and certainly he never ceases to do so in his Scriptures), and should say to each of us, 'You wish to commit sin: well, then, commit sin; do what you like; refuse yourself nothing; seize whatever pleases you; destroy whatever gives you offence; if you should be inclined to rob, rob—if to strike, strike—if to serve such or such an object, serve it; let no one resist you; let no one say to you, What are you doing? do not that; why have you done that? Let every thing that can flatter you, be yours; live in the midst of this abundance of every thing that can please you, not only for a time, but for ever;—only, you must never behold my face!' —my brethren, you shudder!—well, then, this shudder is that perfect fear of which I speak. It teaches me that it dwells in your heart, and it is that which shall endure for endless ages. Why would your hearts be seized with such fear if God should say, 'You shall never see my face: you shall abound in all earthly goods; you shall swim in delights; I do not force you to renounce them; you shall keep all that—what more do you wish?' This chaste and perfect fear would mourn no less, would shed no fewer tears, and it would cry out, 'Ah, Lord, take away from me all the rest, but suffer me to behold thy face! God of virtue,' would it cry with the Psalmist, 'convert us, and show us thy face, and we shall be saved.'"§

The object we are now following might naturally lead us on the ground of penitential history, to speak of that desire to cancel sin of which we formerly gave instances. But, without retracing our steps, it will be sufficient for our present purpose to produce a few examples of that sensitiveness of conscience which arose from

* Drexelius de Univers. Vitiis Linguæ, xxxiv.

† In IV. Sent. Dist. 19, 992. a 3.

‡ Hist. Croyland, in Rer. Angl. Script. tom. i

§ Louis de Blois, Psychagog. Lib. ii. cap. 6.

purity of heart, or from the strong desire of attaining to it. Now what do the records of the middle ages attest? We can judge from a few specimens respecting the produce that might be gathered from this deep abundant mine. Passages, then, of this kind occur. Brother Astorg, a monk of Mans Ada, of the Cistercian order, came humbly into the presence of Pope Innocent III., saying, that while in the world, exercising the office of a physician, he gave medicine to a certain monk, but being engaged in other affairs, he delayed returning to him. The other after taking the medicine, neglected to use the care which he had enjoined, refrained not from things he had prohibited, and in consequence incurred death. Astorg, though by advice of his abbot raised to sacred orders, suffered from the reproach of his conscience, because, if he had practised more exact diligence towards the patient, perhaps he would not have died. The pope, however, commanded him to minister under the divine fear in the orders which he had received, and only to be more diligent in his observance of the rule in consideration of what had occurred."* Again, the same pontiff is consulted respecting a certain monk, who, believing that he could cure a woman who had a tumor in the throat, by opening it with an instrument as a surgeon, performed that operation; and when the tumor had subsided, he prescribed to her not to expose herself to the wind in any manner; but the woman, neglecting his orders when the harvest was reaping, exposed herself incautiously to the wind, so that much blood came from the opening, and the woman died, acknowledging that it was by her own imprudence. The question now was, whether that monk, being a priest, could lawfully exercise the sacerdotal office. The pope replied that although he sinned in taking another's office upon himself, yet, if he did it through pity and not through cupidity, and if he was well skilled in the surgical art, and if he gave all his attention, he is not to be condemned for the woman's fault, so grievously that, after worthy satisfaction, he should not be received to mercy and permitted to celebrate. Otherwise all sacerdotal office is to be interdicted to him absolutely. Another consultation is to this effect: A certain scholar, fearing that robbers had entered the hospice where he lay, taking a little sword, rose from his bed, went to seek a light, and at the door, found the thief, who began to struggle with him, threw him on the ground, and wounded him almost to death; the scholar, repelling force by force, wrested the sword from the robber and struck him again, but still with moderation; upon which the thief took flight, and escaped. At break of day his fellow scholars sought the robber, and found him wounded; they then brought him before the potesta of Vicenza, to whom he denied having been the robber. The potesta sent his officers to the same scholar, to ask what he knew, who gave up the short weapon which he had taken from him, and also the shoes which he had taken off his feet lest he should make a noise, but said he knew nothing more. The potesta gave up the robber to suffer the penalty, who, after a cruel punishment, went to a convent and there died after three days. The scholar, moved with com-

* Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xii. 60.

punction and fear, desired to know whether he could be promoted to holy orders; and the pope decided that there was no impediment.*

Dithmar, the predecessor of St. Adalbert, in the see of Prague, in the tenth century, exhibited terrible remorse on his death-bed. "Alas!" said he, "how changed am I from what I once was, and from what I could wish to be! Wretch that I am, I have lost my days! With an all-merciful God my other offences might be pardonable; but when I consider the crimes of the people committed to my charge—a people whose only guide is their pleasure, whose only law is their own inclination,—when I consider all this, then, indeed, I bewail my apathy; and I must bewail it through eternity! And now I am doomed to take the downward path to a region where the worm dieth not and the fire is not quenched." "Dithmar," says the modern historian who cites these words, "was a man of strict morals; he had the learning and gravity becoming his station; and his only fault, the only cause of his self-condemnation, was want of zeal."†

Gerlac, a monk of Walchenrieth, explained his case in the following manner to Pope Innocent III.: —He said that when he used to celebrate mass he frequently through negligence, pronounced the words of the canon in a disordered manner, on account of which he sometimes repeated twice those words and other things which the priest is bound to perform with the utmost care. Therefore, being moved with vehement grief, he cut off the end of one finger of his left hand. The Pope decided that he should abstain from celebrating mass, but that, after performing the penance enjoined, he might minister in all other offices.‡ Pope Innocent writes to the Bishop of Nevers in these terms:—"There has come into our presence a priest of Naizin, of the Cistercian order, saying that while he was in a secular habit, some servants asked him anxiously where was a certain man whom they were seeking; and he, not knowing for what purpose they sought him, told them the place, to which they instantly hastened, but found him not; though afterwards they found him elsewhere, and put him to death. He being wounded in conscience, went and disclosed what he had done to the Archbishop of Bourges, who prohibited him from saying mass for a time. And now, having entered the Cistercian order, he asks mercy from us. Therefore, since he is to be commended for asking advice from us, 'quia bonarum mentium est ibi culpam agnoscere ubi culpa non est,' we write to your fraternity, desiring, that you will inquire respecting this affair, and if it be so as he represents, that you grant him power to celebrate.§"

Of this delicacy of conscience we find repeated mention even in profane histories. Conrad von Schwarzenberg, a crusader in 1203, is thus described:—"So great was his integrity, that whenever he recollected having uttered what was not true, in jest or through accident, he used to ask pardon in secret."‖

* Epist. Lib. xiv. 159. † Dunham, Hist. Ger. Emp. 11. ‡ Epist. Lib. ii. 194.
§ Epist. Lib. ii. 227. ‖ Gunther, c. xi. ap. Hurter. Geschichte Inn. III. I.

But we need not proceed with such evidence. It is surely only a just conclusion that, when acts or omissions of this nature could so disturb the conscience—when the offence they gave it was so great that men were induced to practise to the very letter the precept of Christ, and cut off a limb, the moral sense must have been keenly susceptible—the horror excited by the conviction of sin profound, and the desire of innocence truly fervent and sincere. Moreover purity of heart was not regarded in the middle ages as a privilege reserved only for a few, but it was known to belong essentially to every individual amongst that perfect people whom the Precursor came to prepare, as the Church observes in her anthem for the eve of St. John.

According to the remark of a great German writer, who has studied the middle ages with all the characteristic learning and penetration of his countrymen, "the whole redemption of man and his real deliverance through Christ was known to be, not an external and mechanical operation, or a change from inveterate evil, as if by a magical word; but the real justification was the real sanctification—the divine act was to be united with the human act, whereby the man was to be internally changed, so as to be converted to a new life. Therefore," said they, "it is necessary to know God according to truth, and to live in him, which is to live in truth. And as it was necessary, as descendants of Adam, to have a scientific knowledge of sin and of its consequences, in order to feel the need of a Redeemer in all its force, so was it necessary to have a scientific knowledge of Christ, as without a true living union with Christ, man could not enter upon the spiritual life, there being no Christian life without Christian truth."* Sanctity, the most clear serenity of mind, was, in fact, the soul of all Catholic manners; it was the criterion by which all acts and operations were to be estimated; for, without purity of heart, it was known that nothing would avail to lead man to his true end. Consequently, the daily prayer of every Catholic was that of the priest in the first words of the holy mass, that God would judge him and distinguish his cause from the race that is not holy; and if the being associated with that race, in the eyes of God, were deemed synonymous with final destruction, we may be sure that a similitude with it in the eyes of man was not regarded as a happy presage. This was a practical truth of which no age of Christian society was left in ignorance. In the degenerate days of the old pagan civilization we find it presented by St. Clement of Alexandria to the Christian converts, in curious contradistinction to the desires of prevailing vanity: "We that are in Christ Jesus," he says, "must indeed put off the old man, not the grey-headed, but that which is corrupted through the deceitfulness of desire; and we must be renewed, not by means of dyes and ointments, but in the spirit of our mind."† To the fathers of the desert the same instruction is presented by the great St. Anthony: "O my

* Staudenmaier, Johan Scotus Erigena und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. i. 322.

† S. Clem. Alex. Pædagogus, Lib. iii. c. 3.

dear children in Jesus Christ!" cries the blessed father, "may you comprehend how much my love for you exceeds the affections of the flesh! It is he who makes me prostrate myself without ceasing at the feet of the holy altars, in order to obtain from my God that you may know him, and that you may perceive all the price of the grace which he has given to you, and that you may be aware of your danger, and that you may be enabled to offer yourselves to God as victims ordained with that purity without which no one can see God. My dear children, my soul is covered with confusion when I consider that we have the faculty of doing what the saints have done, and that we do not wish to elevate our minds, to seek the glory of heaven, nor to imitate the works of the saints, nor to walk in their footsteps, in order to be partakers with them of that eternal inheritance which is reserved for us by that God who is our common father, and to whom be glory and honor for ever and ever! Amen."*

We find the blessed abbot Esaia enforcing the necessity of conversion to purity of heart in these terms:—"As the iron left in the fire becomes like it, so that no one can touch it since it is fire, in like manner the soul, while it treats and speaks with God, becomes fire and burns his enemies. Let the soul, therefore, be renewed as iron; let it be rendered holy, so that it may never again be corrupted by anything of this world; but let it rest in its right nature, which it hath from God. For it is impossible that the soul should ever enter into the rest of the children of God, unless it should first bear his image; and the mark of his image is charity."†

Proceeding now to inquire into the method which was prescribed for attaining to the grace of this beatitude, we find the same unanimity, the same simplicity of instruction, through the long tract of ages that have heard the Church; and so efficacious were the means afforded by her for this end, that in addressing the philosophers of Florence, Savonarola drew an argument from their admirable success, appealing to experience for what he advanced to prove the truth and divinity of the Catholic religion.‡

Let us refer to the Speculum Morale that is added to the three Mirrors of Vincent of Beauvais, as it embraces all that had been taught by previous guides: "Purity of heart," saith this text, "no one can acquire by himself, or possess of himself; but God alone, who can create, can cleanse souls; and therefore Job asks, 'Quis potest facere mundum de immundo conceptum semine: nonne tu qui solus es?' For though the soul created by God is clean of itself, yet in the hour of its creation and infusion it is spotted, and, as it were, affected with leprosy, by the contact with the infected seed: therefore, the heart that desireth to be clean must repeat the words of the leper to Jesus Christ—Domine, si vis, potes me mundare: who will immediately answer, Volo mundare."§ The soul is cleansed by

* S. Anthony Abb. Epist. S.
† B. Esaiæ Abbat. Orat. 25. Bib. Pat. XII.
‡ Triumph. Crucis, Lib. ii. 3.
§ Lib. i. pars IV. dist. 21.

the washing of baptism ; but as this cannot be repeated, the boundless mercy of God hath instituted a new mode of purification, which is by penance, comprising the three parts of contrition, confession, and satisfaction ; the last of which includes fasting, prayer, and alms : fasting, to which the apostle alludes—Mortificate membra vestra ; prayer, of which we read, in allusion to the woman's purification, Orabit pro ea sacerdos et sic mundabitur ; and if by another's prayers any one be cleansed, much more by his own ; for in prayer the heart of man, directed and elevated to God, is cleansed ; and alms, of which we read, Date eleemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis. "To preserve this purity," it continues, "many things should move us : first, the consideration of the price of our cleansing, which is the blood of Christ ; secondly, the difficulty, nay, the impossibility of obtaining it by ourselves, since neither by ourselves nor for ourselves can we recover it, but God alone can render it to us ; thirdly, a regard to our own soundness should move us, for in cleansing our heart we receive health ; fourthly, a love of fear should move us, because the conscience can have no peace while it is defiled ; but sins disturb peace : non est pax impiis dicit Dominus : as the master of a family is not at peace while he knows that robbers or mortal enemies are in his house ; fifthly, because in recovering cleanness of heart we recover divine love, for God can love no one unless the pure, as he is the lover of all purity."*

Again, we find passages of this kind occurring, which show with what attention and diligence the men of those ages studied to make clean their hearts. "Besides the evils of this life common to the good and evil, the just," says Vincent of Beauvais, "have certain peculiar labors of their own, with which they struggle against vices ; for they labor lest a probable opinion should deceive them, lest a cunning word should mislead them, lest fear should prevent them from doing what they ought, lest cupidity should impel them to do what they ought not, lest the sun should set upon their anger, lest an indecorous or immoderate sadness should absorb them, lest ingratitude should render them slow to repay, lest a good conscience should be fatigued by malicious reports, lest rash suspicions should mislead them, lest a calumny against themselves should discourage them, lest sin should reign in their mortal bodies, lest the eye should follow concupiscence, lest in thought or view they should dwell in what ill delights, lest a wicked or indecorous word should be heard willingly, lest in their war of labors and perils they should hope for victory from their own strength, or, having obtained it, should ascribe it to themselves, and not to divine grace."†

All these teachers set out with expressing their profound sense of the heinousness and predominance of sin ; and after having mourned in common "the servitude in which the half of human kind are mewed, victims of lust and hate, the slave of slaves, food to the hyæna lust, who among graves, over his loathed meal laughing in agony

* Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Morale, Lib. i. s. iv. dist. 21.

† Vinc. Bellov. Specul. Doctrinale, Lib. i. c. 5.

raves." Richard of St. Victor represents it thus :—" One thing the love of riches commands, and another the love of delights ; one thing the heat of pleasure, another the search of cupidity. But when, in this manner, different vices hurry man away in different directions, or impel into contrary things, they afflict him miserably, and suffer him not to rest day or night ; and in a wondrous and pitiable manner they forestal the time of his damnation, whilst they rage with internal anxiety of mind or exterior affliction against one another ; and unless supernal clemency should look upon them, by temporal they pass to eternal torments."* " Jesus, seeing the city wept over it ; and what the Lord, according to history, did once, the Church," says Hugo of St. Victor, " does daily by his elect : it weeps over the reprobate, who know not why they are to be pitied, because they rejoice in the worst things, who, if they had foreseen their damnation, would have wept over themselves with the tears of the elect."†

Hear Alanus de Insulis :—" If such be the felicity of a pure conscience, what is the misery of a seared mind ! This is a book written with the hand of the devil, and defiled with hideous characters. The mind conscious of evil is there a chart displaying the enormity of sin ; there, O miserable man ! thou mayest behold whatever thou hast written from thy earliest years, by which thou hast offended God, injured thy neighbor, undone thyself. O damned book ! in which are written not verses and hymns, but lamentations and woe. But now, O man ! efface by confession what thou hast written there by false speech ; efface by contrition what thou hast written by evil thoughts ; efface by satisfaction what thou hast written by wicked deeds ; efface the book of perverse conscience, lest reason should read therein that which might condemn thee, lest the devil should find therein that of which he might accuse thee, lest God should see therein that for which he might judge thee, that so thou mayest return to the spiritual joy of the mind, return to thyself, return to God."‡

St. Bernard speaks of the same operation in this manner :—" Jesus entered into a certain castle, saith the Gospel ; and what our Lord and Saviour vouchsafed to perform once, and in one place visibly, he still daily accomplishes in an invisible manner in the hearts of the elect. For what is this castle but the human heart, which, before our Lord comes to it, is surrounded with the ditch of cupidity, and encompassed with the wall of obstinacy, and raised up within like a Babylonian tower ? It has sensual pleasure and vanity for its provisions, by which it is nourished ; hardness of heart for its defence, and the arguments of carnal wisdom for its arms. But Christ entering this castle, it is overthrown, and in its place a new and beautiful edifice is raised ; for cupidity being removed desire and the love of heaven, like a vast sea, surround it ; continence and patience form its walls of defence ; the structure rises upon the foundation of faith, and increases by love

* De Eruditione Hominis Inter. i. Lib. i. 33.

† Hugo S. Vict. Allegor. in Lucam, Lib. iv. c. 30.

‡ Alani de Insulis Summa de Arte Prædicatoria, cap. 14.

unto the charity of God which is its keep or highest tower. Old things are passed away, behold all things are made new. Thus solid are its walls, so that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor virtues, neither strength, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature, can prevail against it. The provisions of this blessed place are spiritual, the fulfilling of the divine will; the arms are those which the apostle describes, the shield of faith, the sword of the Spirit. And now we knock at its gates, the gates of justice, that they may open to us, and that, entering, we may behold within the great works of the Lord, exquisite in all his counsels. For there he had built as if on mount Sion, that evangelical tower, through which the saints, with a humble heart, ascend to heaven, not by their own virtue, but by the assistance and grace of God. They proceed from virtue to virtue, until they see the God of gods in Sion, for this is the reward, and here is the end and fruit of our labor, namely, the vision of God. In Israel his name is great, and his dwelling in Sion. No more combats await us now. There breaks he the arrows and the bow, the shield, the sword, and the battle."*

St. Bonaventura describes this change of the right hand of the Most High in terms no less impressive. "First therefore," he says, "the understanding being purified by the laver of contrition, and inflamed and elevated by the fire of charity, with chaste meditations and devout thoughts it is to be shown how that blessed Son of God Christ Jesus is by a devout mind spiritually conceived. When a devout soul, either by hope of celestial reward, or by fear of eternal punishment, or by weariness of remaining longer in this valley of tears, being moved and stimulated by new inspirations, is visited, inflamed by holy affections, and agitated by celestial meditations, and at length casting away and despising its former defects and ancient desires, by a new prospect of living, is spiritually fulfilled by the Spirit of grace from the Father of lights, from whom is every good and perfect gift,—what else takes place, but that a virtue from on high descending, and there ensuing an overshadowing of heavenly refreshment, the celestial Father mitigates carnal concupiscence, comforts and assists the mental eyes to behold, and so, as it were, impregnates the soul, and makes it fruitful. After this most holy mystery, the countenance grows pale by true humility and conversation; through contempt for worldly things the mind becomes indifferent to food and drink, and even sometimes begins to sicken in the casting off its own will. Now by degrees every thing external, and that is perceived externally, begins to be tedious and heavy, because it is perceived and heard internally. O happy conception, followed by such a contempt for the world and such a desire of heavenly operations. Now the soul begins to fly from the society of those who are wise with worldly wisdom, and seeks familiarity with those who long for what is heavenly. Now the soul begins with Mary to serve Elizabeth, that is, those whom the divine grace inflames

* S. Bern. In Assumpt. B. M. Serm. V.

with love. And this is observed by many ; for of necessity the more they abstract themselves from the world, the more they render themselves familiar and friendly to the good ; and in proportion as they feel an aversion to the society of the wicked, they feel a delight in the conversation of the good and spiritual. Because, according to the blessed Gregory, he who adheres to a holy man, from the custom of beholding and hearing him, is excited to the love of truth, to fly the darkness of sin, and to burn with the desire of divine light."*

Hugo of St. Victor also, in many places, treats on the purification of the heart with all the characteristic beauty of his style. "The spirit of the devil," saith he, "worked the joy of iniquity, and the spirit of the world the joy of vanity, both evil ; the one guilty, the other the occasion of guilt. Then came the Spirit of God, when the evil spirits were cast forth, and entered into the tabernacle of the heart, and worked its own joy—the joy of truth against the joy of sin—the joy of felicity against the joy of vanity : and the good joys expelled the evil joys ; and when these had begun to fill the heart, man, for the first time, discerned that the former were not true, since they were neither sufficient nor durable."†

But it is Guibert de Nogent, applying to the process of mental renovation the terms of the book of Genesis respecting the creation of the world, whose eloquence and depth of thought, and minuteness of observation on this theme seem most remarkable ; and the passage is so interesting a specimen of the wisdom of the eleventh century, that I think no one can tire listening to it. "In the beginning," then, he proceeds, "God created the heaven and the earth. In the beginning of our conversion there are within ourselves two things contrary to each other—flesh and spirit, which once indeed, before we obeyed the serpent, were at concord, but which ever since the fall have been at variance. Therefore, when the chaos of vices was to be at an end, and a conversion to be wrought in the soul of man, God created the heaven and the earth, that is, he enabled the spirit to rise superior to the fleshly nature and to maintain a sovereignty. We have, therefore, a heaven within us, by which we breathe after celestial things ; and we have, on the other hand, an earth, by which we seek the things that are common to us and brutes ; and, on our conversion, this heaven and this earth are first created, when the sense of these two becomes ordered according to justice in the mind. But the earth was without form and void : the carnal affections may truly be said to be void, because they have nothing in them solid, stable, or constant ; and that they are without form, is seen in the state of the interior man, when its thoughts and cares are far from God, meditating only useless or malicious things ; for what is man, I do not say without reason, but without God who enlightens that reason, unless a brute ? For reason, if it be not joined with divine love, is rather a secular and diabolic cunning, than a prudence available to any good ; for nature by itself is never good, though

* S. Bonavent. de quinque Festivitatibus Pueri Jesu. 1.

† Hugo S. Vict. Miscellan. Lib. i. tit. 103. c. 14.

inasmuch as it is from God nature is always good ; so that the devil, according to this, is good, though of himself most evil.

Therefore the earth of itself is void, thinking nothing, producing nothing useful. Our authors say, that in the old translation was read, not inanis et vacua, but invisibilis et incomposita, which agrees better with morality ; for the mind of man in the depth of sin, involved in a reprobate sense by the custom of sinning, is unable even to behold its own deformity ; for such is a reprobate sense, that it blinds the mind of those who perish ; so that they think it is they alone who are happy and worthy of honor from other men on account of their prosperity. Therefore, before God divided the heaven from the earth, the earth was invisible ; for, before he gave the grace of discretion, the mind could not see how sordid and execrable was the carnal affection ; as when a live man and a dead man are placed together, the living can see the dead, but the dead in no wise can behold the living ; so man, whose soul is living to God, can see how detestable are vices ; but he who hath reached the bottom of evils, and hath despised and despaired, cannot perceive what is virtue, what is modesty, or any other grace. To them, therefore, the earth is invisible and incomposed : and darkness was on the face of the abyss. We may say, that the abyss is the human mind, the incomprehensible depth of which every man knows who hath experienced the inscrutable profundity, the instability and perturbation of his own heart ; for even in the hearts of the good, when the flesh rises against the spirit, and the spirit against the flesh, the mind is in such a density of cogitation, that it can scarcely tell in what state it is, whether it will follow the impetus of the flesh, or that of the spirit. Whoever desires to know this more fully, should read the tract of St. Augustin, upon that verse, Abyssus abyssum invocat. Now in the hearts of the wicked, what do you think is the gulf, what the immensity of darkness, if such be the obscurity in the minds of the elect ? If over the gourd of the people of God there spring up the thorns of secular cares and the weeds of carnal desire, how much more over the house of the joy of the exulting city ? From this darkness there have arisen, therefore, invisibility and decomposition. And the Spirit of God moved upon the water ; over the flood of many waters ; that is, over the flood of many carnal desires the Spirit of God is borne. The wretched mind considers what misery it suffers ; and as we read of the king of Babylon who killed his sons before the king of Juda, so while man considers how his good works are slain by the devil and destroyed, with what groans he beholds this cannot be described ; because he had rather die than behold this, and yet against the concupiscence and customs of vice, in his interior marrow, he is not able in any manner to resist. But God, who turns the impious, and they are no longer impious, who calls the dead forth from their sepulchre, that they may live before him in justice, beholds the affliction of his people, and descends, that is, he has compassion on their misery, and he says to them, Fiat lux, et facta est lux. What is this light, unless that first good which is given to those who are converted in the heart ? and what is

this first good but the fear of God, which is called the beginning of wisdom? for wisdom is called light in many places of Scripture. This fear is a light which dispels the darkness of obscure cogitation, and lights up the heart to the love of all virtue. Light being made, we read, And God saw that it was good; not that admiration could be in the Most High, by whom every thing admirable is created, but that he wished to show his creatures what they should admire. Therefore he made man see the light that it was good, made him see how good it was to emancipate the mind by the fear and love of God. And he divided the light from the darkness; that is, he gave a power of distinguishing between vice and virtue, which with a wondrous art, divine piety insinuates into us; for in the beginning of our conversion God grants us a flood of tears, and a constancy in prayer, so that we seem to pass beyond the limits of human nature, and to become angelic by dint of contemplation. And when he acts thus with us for some time, we begin to presume, and then God resists our pride, and leads us, who had wandered in solitude, that is, without God, irrationally and bestially, to the way of seeking the city of which he is the builder. So he withdraws again the sweetness of his grace, and permits us to hunger and thirst with an intense hunger and thirst, and to languish in evils, that he may convince us that, without him, we can do nothing: then our soul disdains all food of sacred reading, from which we might draw compunction, and so abominates it, that we seem to approach the gates of death, that is, the vices which lead us to death; but he who tempts us, not that he should destroy, nor that he should know, but that he should make us know if we love him, sends his word into us, and heals and rescues us from destruction.

Thus he makes us know that all good is from him, and that we have all evil from ourselves, and thus doth he divide the light from the darkness. And he called the light day, and the darkness night. He makes day in the soul of man by illuminating his reason; and, on the contrary, those who voluntarily sin he delivers up to the night of a reprobate sense; he calls this darkness night, inasmuch as he permits it to cover them; and the evening and the morning are one day; that is, because to those who love God, all things conspire to good, the evening, which is adversity, and the morning, which is prosperity, are one day, because the saints, whether in evils or in honors, are always the same, and there remains always in them the same divine splendor. And God said, Let there be a firmament in the midst of the waters, and let it divide the waters from the waters. There are twofold waters, there is divine wisdom, and there is secular wisdom, a wisdom from above, and an earthly wisdom, and unless reason be supported by that supernal wisdom, it becomes low, cunning, noxious, and perverse; but when joined to the divine prudence, it becomes a firmament, supporting the superior waters by thirsting after them, and depressing the inferior under the dominion of reason. And the evening and the morning were the second day. Our beginnings, according to blessed Gregory, are mixed with evils; and although pious devotion in the morn-

ing shines upon us, yet the obscurity of our former, nay, of our natural conversation soon involves us, and the mind grows dark, lest we should become proud of grace, God ordering it so for our good; but again it is irradiated by the ardor of compunction, lest it should sink into the depths of despair or crime. And thus alternately ascending to heaven, and descending to the abyss, it happens that by this vicissitude, ordained that we should be without vicissitude or even the fear of vicissitude, we come to the chaste life. And that is the second day. But here a serious question arises, why, when on the preceding and following days it is said, and God saw that it was good it is on this day omitted. For this we should consider what is said of the devil, in Job, Habitent in tabernaculo ejus, that is, the impious *Socii ejus qui non est.*

Who is this that is not, but the devil, who inasmuch as he fell from truth, already ceased to exist; for in what manner does he exist, who exists so unhappily, nay, who is eternally in death, without death? which we may feel also to be our own case, who having fallen in our first parents, have passed from truth to vanity, and should truly have ceased to be, unless we had been restored by the grace of God. Hence, while laboring to taste the wisdom of our Creator, swallowing our spittle, we find ourselves opposed to ourselves; therefore, since the days are evil, and the world is placed in malice, and we must endure this conflict of inferior waters, in which is pride, against the superior, in which are humility and sanctity, as long as we are in this valley of tears, this lake of misery, that is, the present life, in the prophetic and apostolic language, this is not a life and a country, but a state of banishment and death. The apostle cries, Miser ego homo, quis me liberabit de corpore mortis hujus? and shall we think good these tortures which we bear, this battle of flesh against spirit, and of spirit against flesh? And even if we do any good, still, since we are always in the flood and danger of sin, as that dove of Noah, because we have no rest here. We must fly to Noah, that is, to Christ, who can alone give rest to our souls. Therefore, we see how rightly this second day is not called good; because after the first day spent in paradise, we have been involved in these sorrows, which are so aptly signified in the ritual, which prescribes the tract to be sung after the Alleluja on holy Saturday, to teach us that we have incurred the labor of this life after the joy of Paradise. And God said, Let the waters be gathered together, which are under the heavens, into one place, and let the dry land appear. The waters which are under heaven are secular acts, which are concerned with forensic affairs, and with deceit, and are now to be subjected under the yoke of our intelligence. These are gathered into one place; for to God, who is our place, in whom we live and move, our solicitudes, which before flowed wandering and unstable, are now compelled to minister.

All our secular prudence is now employed in God's service; our genius is no longer exercised in deceiving the poor, but the gold and silver which have been brought from Egypt are spent in erecting a tabernacle of God in solitude, that is in cultivating a devout mind far from the crowd of vices. And the dry land ap-

peared ; for the conscience, which was before fluid, like the earth of our heart, is now dried up from the flood of superfluous cogitations, and appears apt for bearing fruit. Let the earth then, he says, bring forth the green herb, bearing seed. The heart of man emits now the first fruits of the seed of the word of God, which is the green herb ; because, while every thing human is sterile, that lives ever fresh in the desires of eternal hope. The works, therefore, which are signified by the fruits and flowers follow, and the evening and the morning are the third day. What is this third day but science, which is the third step, after fear and piety, tending to wisdom? God also said, Let there be lights in the firmament of heaven, to divide the day and night. These two lights may be interpreted Christ and the church ; Christ is proposed to the imitation of the strong, but the church, in her weaker members, has examples for the younger and less powerful : he gives the greater light to rule the day. We see that some of both sexes prefer the poverty of Christ to possessions, that they may think only of God ; and that there are others, who can neither desert the world, nor give themselves wholly to God. Therefore to them he gives lesser lights, the stars to rule the night ; for he gives to us, who do not presume to attain the highest things neither Noah, that is rulers ; nor Daniel, that is, that we should imitate the life of celibacy, but the example of Job, doing good and studying mercy ; that we, who cannot hope to come to the golden bed, that is, to the blessed rest by the purple ascent, that is, by martyrdom, may be able at least to attain to it by charity, on account of the daughters of Jerusalem. He, therefore, who does not dare to follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, shining from the eternal mountains, may watch the mountains illuminated by it, and endeavor by that light to prove himself a member of the church. And the evening and the morning are the fourth day. And God saw that it was good ; for what can be better than that we should attend to what we were and what we are? what more strengthens the mind than the contemplation of God and of his elect, learning to despise the prosperous things of this world, and not to fear its adversity? God also said, Let the waters produce creeping things, and fowls upon the earth. What do these signify but the subtle penetration of mind, which insinuates itself into the obscurities of the divine books ; and what are the fowls upon the earth, but those who study wisdom, and in the excellence of contemplation, rise far above all earthly things, though still they are under the firmament, that is, below the angelic virtue, for we can never attain to such a flight as theirs, who always behold the face of their Creator. God created also great monsters to move through the waters ; and what are these but the illustrious doctors, the capacity of whose genius must awaken such admiration in every breast? What were Augustin, Jerome, Gregory, but monsters in their age, as in our own? Who can simply read the words of the glorious Origen, in 5000 books? Who can worthily comprehend the mysteries of Dionysius the Areopagite? All these stupendous creatures spring out of the waters ; because, from the preaching of the sacred Scriptures, they conceive the effect of thinking well, and the power of acting well.

And God blessed them, and said, increase and multiply ; as if God, observing our intellectual labors, had said to us, increase in intelligence, and imbue one another in the science of sacred things. Investigate the depth of the waters, insinuate into the hollow and profound places beneath, and let the wing of speculation bear you aloft eagle like, over the earth. And the evening and the morning are the fifth day, which answers to the gift of counsel which is required for discussing the mysteries of the sacred page. Finally, man is created, and then we read, that God saw all the things that he had made, and behold they were very good ; that is, he made us see that they were good ; for when we attain to the height of virtue, the love of God passes so into our very nature, that even if we might sin with impunity, the mind would never be bent from the tenor of its way. We see, therefore, and understand, what good things God hath done for us ; and this brings us to the end of the sixth day. And God finished on the seventh day his work, and rested on it, which signifies, that not in this life, but in the next, the labors of the just can terminate ; for as long as we are in this world, we neither can, nor ought to have, rest from doing good ; but in the seventh age of the world we shall be released ; for then will be the perfection of beatitude, and for those who rested from evil the Sabbath of eternal rest. In this life, therefore, it is the time for combatting and agony ; there remains for us the everlasting crown."

So far Guibert de Nogent.

The supernatural purification and conversion of the heart to God may be said to be the great leading phenomenon of a moral nature, presented in the history of the middle ages. It is not an exaggeration to affirm, that these sublime views of its regeneration, so clearly derived from experience, had the effect of transforming society into a new body, furnished with new organs, and breathing a new spirit, since the whole frame of nations was reorganized, to correspond with this new love of the human heart. If we desire to know their more specific counsels, we shall find every where passages that evince how great was the spiritual wisdom, and how profound the knowledge of the human heart, which belonged to men in ages of faith.

" Let the heart which desireth to see God, study to be clean," says Richard of St. Victor, " that it may rise to the contemplation of divine things. O what earnestness, O what diligence, is necessary in that arduous study, before the mind can perfectly wipe off the ashes of earthly love, and consume them by the flame of true love ; before it can refine the gold of its intelligence to that degree of purity, which is accordant with the dignity of such a work."*

" O," cries St. Theresa, " what subject for fear in this life, and what different kinds of ardor meet here ? some consume the soul, and reduce it to ashes, and others purify it, and give it power to live and to possess God for eternity. O my

* Richard. S. Vict. de Contemplatione, p. i. Lib. iv. cap. 6.

God, grant that I may not depart from this life until I shall have placed all my desire in thee; until it will be impossible for me to love any thing else but thee alone. Grant, O my God, that this word love may never pass my lips excepting when pronounced for thee, since, thou alone excepted, every thing falls, every thing perishes, and all is nothing."

"In the love of perfect good," says a monk, who wrote in the time of St. Bernard, "is perfect happiness; the measure of our happiness will, therefore, be that of our love, since it is impossible to love God without being truly good, and to be good without being perfectly happy. Love, says the sage in the divine Canticles, 'is strong as death.' He said truly: for in the same manner as death forcibly seizes upon the soul to separate it from the body; so does the love of God, with an invisible force, withdraw man from the world, and extinguish in him all attachment to perishable things. The force of love is as great as that of death; and the victory which it obtains over vice is no less sensible to all the faculties of the soul, than is the hand of death to the body when it seizes upon all its parts."

"Our heart," says another spiritual guide, "is transformed into what it loves. I am in a manner all divine if I love God, and I become earth if I love the earth."

What, think you, was the purity of the blessed Francis on that mountain of Alvernia, when he saw the seraph, and received the stigmas of Christ? But of this hereafter.

"In the first degree," saith Richard of St. Victor, "love is insuperable, in the second it is inseparable, in the third singular, in the fourth insatiable: insuperable, yielding to no other affection; inseparable, never departing from the memory; singular, admitting of no ally; insatiable when nothing can satisfy it. Mark then here the excellence of love, which exceeds all other affections, the vehemence of love, which suffers not the mind to rest, its violence, which expels all other affections, its supereminence, to which nothing can suffice. These four degrees of love are distinguished either as engaged on divine or on human objects, and in divine affections the greater they are the better they are. O how precious that insuperable love of God, that inseparable, singular, and insatiable love of God."*

Other axioms we find laid down to guide men to the true felicity. "The least imperfection," says blessed John of the Cross, "prevents the soul from ascending. As it matters not whether the thread which is attached to a bird be slight or strong, since either hinders it from flying away; so an imperfection, whether little or great, keeps down the soul. When a vessel is full of fluid, the least fissure is sufficient to occasion the gradual loss of every drop: and in like manner, when the soul is filled with the precious liquor of virtue and grace, if the opening caused by the slightest imperfection be not effectually stopped, this liquor escapes by little and little to the last drop."†

* Richard. S. Victor, Tractat. de quatuor gradibus violentiæ charitatis.

† The Ascent of Mount Carmel, Liv. i.

"Lava a malitia cor tuum Hierusalem, ut salva fiat." * "The innocent in work," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "ascend the mountain of the Lord; which signifies purity of mind, and contemplation of celestial things."† "There is no middle state for the heart to rest in," say these high teachers; "necesse est enim animam ad carnalia et terrena dejici, quæ à spirituali vita degenerans ad cœlestia non aspirat."‡ "Therefore," says Gerson, "without the exercise of meditation, no one, excepting in the event of an especial miracle of God, can attain to the right observance of a Christian life." St. Bernard remarks that, "nothing is felt so sweet in this life, nothing separates the mind so much from the love of the world, nothing strengthens the soul so effectually against temptations, nothing exalts a man so much, and assists him so effectually to every good work, as the grace of contemplation."§ And Louis of Blois says, "That all masters of the spiritual life teach, that the most useful of all exercises, and the sole necessary, is that of the remembrance of the humanity of Jesus Christ, and principally of his sacred passion."‖ Above all, they insist on the necessity of continual vigilance, remarking with St. Ambrose, that "the ordinary fraud of Satan is to endeavor to cast men down from their eminence, as he tempted our Lord to throw himself from the pinnacle of the temple: he tries," saith he, "to precipitate them from their holy and venerable deeds to earthly and defiled, that he who stands in purity of mind on the summit of the temple, may cast himself down into the deep abyss and contagion of sin."¶

The admonitions of Richard of St. Victor on this head evince subtle observation of intellectual operations, and show with what care every insinuating evil was repelled. "Frequently," he says, "when disturbed by evil thoughts, a man fancies that this arises not from his negligence, but in order to preserve him from pride; and thus he supposes it humility to be less watchful against lust, and he knows not how detestable is the pride which in such defilement suggests that he is not a sinner, but another Paul, to whom the angel of Satan gives a thorn in the flesh, lest the multitude of virtues, or the greatness of revelations, should exalt him. Thus, in a piteous and wondrous manner, he grows proud, without ceasing to be luxurious, and he gives himself to luxury without ceasing to be proud. Who do you think can break such cedars? Truly he who breaketh the cedars of Libanus. This is the change of the right hand of the Most High, to bow down the swelling heart to the image of the humility of Christ."**

Faith, as St. Augustin said, directed the intention, but power to vanquish diabolic obstacles would have failed without the intervention of celestial aid; therefore, the universal belief of these ages was that of the Angelic Doctor, that "man in the state of this life is constituted as if on a journey to his country, on which he is beset with many perils, and therefore that as to men on dangerous roads guards

* Jer. 4. † S. Bernardin. Sen. Sermo X. ‡ Petri Blesensis, Epist. cxi.
§ S. Bernardi de interiori Domo, cap. vii. ‖ Lud. Blos. Guide Spirit. cap. iv.
¶ S. Amb. Serm. XXVI. ** Richardi S. Victoris Annot. in Psalm. xxviii.

are given, so to every man, as long as he is a wayfarer, the protection of an angel is granted, until he arrives at the end of this journey, when he will no longer have an angel guardian, but will either have in heaven an angel reigning along with him, or in hell a demon punishing him."*

This belief was not without an influence on the general manners of men, and especially in regard to their mutual intercourse. It would appear from the ancient writings, that wherever those who were nourished with thoughts of piety met a man, they considered that they rather met his angel; and unto whatever assembly of persons they came, there they acted under the impression that it was an assembly of angels.† Indeed, one of the most remarkable features in the intellectual character of the middle ages, was the propensity to look always at the unearthly, the beautiful, the engaging, the innocent side of things. This breaks out most strikingly in their pictures, in their books, in their ceremonies, and in their social customs. What pure and amiable creatures are the young of human kind in all their representations? youth's nature sanctified, is most lovely in their eyes; it is a beauty coveted of angels, an image stampt by the everlasting pleasure, to enhance the joy of heaven.

CHAPTER II.

THE extent to which purity of heart was cultivated during ages of faith, may be considered in relation to many subjects, and ascertained from many sources of information connected with history. It may be traced by observing its influence on the affections of men, on the manners of society, on literature and art, and on philosophy: in all which relations it led to such results that Savonarola, addressing the Italian philosophers of his time, appeals to their observation of the manifest effects daily appearing in the Catholic church to justify his concluding, from them, that, the religion must be divine.‡

A consideration of its influence on the affections alone would open a boundless field for psychological or moral researches. It would afford an opportunity for penetrating deeper into the mysterious side of the ancient life than we have hitherto done, and for noticing some of the most interesting phenomena presented in the history of mankind. But the whole subject is of such extent that we can only throw a very rapid glance at each branch. The reader, who is already familiarized

* Triumph. Crucis, Lib. ii. c. 13.
† St. Thom. Sum. 1. p. Q. cxiii. art. 4.
‡ Niremberg, Doct. Ascet. Lib. iv. p. iv. cap. 34.

with many characteristic features of the ancient Catholic civilization, will not be surprised when I cite among the first and most prominent of the facts connected with the desire of this sixth beatitude, the doctrinal and practical love of God, which in those ages, formed a distinct element in the constitution of society, produced as great an effect upon the external aspect of the world, and gave rise to as many novelties and modifications in the whole order of human life, as result at present from the love of personal distinction under the mask of political and social forms, or from any other of the great leading principles to which the thoughts and actions of men are made subordinate.

Among the teachers who, in these subsequent times, have come forward intending to transmit or impart a knowledge of the principles of moral and theological truth, there is no want, it is true, of unity and conformity as far as regards the general expression of their obligation to fulfil the first and greatest of the commandments of the new law: but when they have done this and laid down the abstract principle, they may be said to stop as if the subject demanded no further investigation, or admitted of no ulterior developement. But it was not so in the middle ages, when the most important offices of human life, the institutions which presented themselves at every side, the whole frame and order of society, the half of literature, and all philosophy may truly be said to have turned on this hinge, and to have been identified with the doctrine and practice of the love of God, so that when it prevailed they flourished, and when it declined they fell to ruin and past away.

"The thoughts and affections of men," says the ascetic, "are various and unstable, but all are vain and impure which are not of God. O human heart, cupidinous, anxious, and insatiable, how evil and bitter it is for thee to forsake thy God!"* "Ut miser est homo qui amat!" exclaims the slave in Plautus, regarding the condition of his master's mind: but the poets of later and happier ages knew to say rather how wretched is the man who loves not as he ought. Purity of heart changed every thing. Let us hear the blessed John of the Cross describing this renovation. "Those who begin to love God may be compared to new wine, and those who have long loved him to old. As new wine ought to effervesce in the barrel, in order that it may discharge its froth and impurity, in like manner those who begin to love God ought, in their first fervor, to purify themselves from their vices and natural imperfections; and as this wine is neither pure, nor agreeable to the taste, nor conducive to health, in like manner these persons are not confirmed in the service of God, nor of a pure and refined taste in things spiritual, nor representatives of holiness, because they are full of natural sentiments, sensual tastes, indiscretions, forgetfulness, inconstancy, and useless researches, and other defects which they ought to discharge as new wine casts up the lees. On the contrary those who have had long exercise in the love of God are

* Thom. Kemp. Hortulus Rosarum.

like old wine, which is pure, wholesome, substantial, of good taste, without mixture of lees, without effervescence, without tendency to escape or to burst the bottle. Thus these ancient servants of God are purified from sensible fervor, from the transports of an ill regulated devotion, from too violent ardor, and other spiritual imperfections ; but they are constant, faithful masters of their senses, of their passions, of their desires, and of their actions."

The soul says of herself in the Canticle, " I have lost the flock that I formerly followed." " The flock that the soul followed," he observes, and which it took care to feed before it had arrived at this eminent perfection, is nothing else but its natural and spiritual defects : the spirit was curious and flew after new acquirements : its will sought after spiritual delights and attached itself to little trifles, to self-esteem, to the point of honor, to a hundred other things which flatter nature, which have the air of the world, and which content the senses and the passions. The heart wished to taste in spiritual exercises, those interior consolations which are only good to hinder the imperfect from rising to perfection and to the divine union. The memory itself was embarrassed with a thousand useless things, which filled it with inquietude and difficulties, while it was endeavoring to retain them all and to propose them to the soul for its service. But after all they only hindered it from effecting a union with its Creator. That is the reason why she disengages herself from them by the force of love, and says with joy, " I have lost the flock that I formerly followed." " All her exercise is in loving." " Love alone governs her ; she does and suffers all things by love : her contemplations and her commerce with God ; all her spiritual exercises and all her corporal works, all that is comprised in the functions of body and of soul, have no other principle or end but love. O happy state ! O happy life ! O happy soul which is arrived at the condition of feeling no more either joy or sadness, bitterness or sweetness, good or evil, excepting for, and by, and in the love of God."

The scholastic philosopher teaches the necessity and method of attaining to this state. " Every rational creature," saith St. Anselm, " exists for this end, that, as by reason of discretion it may judge what is more or less good or not good, so, more or less, it may love that or abhor it ; for nothing is more proper than that a reasonable creature should be made for this, to love the highest essence above all good as it is the highest good. So that it should love nothing but that or on account of that ; because that is good of itself, and nothing else is good unless by that. But it cannot love that unless it study to remember, and to understand it clearly ; therefore the rational creature ought to direct all its will and power to recollect and understand and love the chief good.*

Richard of St. Victor speaks to the same effect. " Many things," saith he, " we love from the choice of deliberation which we do not affect with the appetite of desire. In carnal desires, love from the mind often follows love from the heart ;

* Monologium, cap. 66.

but in spirituals, we always love first from deliberation, and afterwards from affection."* Idiota makes the same remark: "Love springs from the intelligence, and falls into the heart by faith. Love enters the mind of men through the ears. Love springs from good discourse and from good observance."† Hence the unwearied efforts of the teachers of the middle age to develope all the reasons which should convince the understanding of men that they ought to love God. St. Bonaventura furnishes another example, for he too observes, "that it is always necessary to think previously before one can be moved with love towards God," and cites St. Augustin, saying, "It is necessary at first by reasoning or thinking, intellectually to know before any thing can be loved with affection. Cogitation therefore necessarily precedes the affection of love."‡ Then they proceed to observe that the immense goodness of God should impel men to love him. "Think of whatever you will," says St. Bonaventura, "and thence you will have no little motive for loving your Creator."§ "Consider," says Richard of St. Victor, "what is that goodness, to which whatever is pleasing is good because it is pleasing to it, and to which whatever is displeasing is evil because it is displeasing to it."‖ "This master," saith St. Clemens Alexandrinus, "is of all others the most loving, for he hateth nothing, and wisheth to destroy nothing. He is the cause of every thing existing, and he hateth nothing that exists. If he hateth nothing that he hath made, it remains that he loveth every thing, and above all man, the fairest of his works. Man himself this Father styles *κάλλιστον καὶ φιλόθεον ζωῶν*."¶ In fact man is a lover of God even when he knows it not. St. Augustin says, "He who loveth his neighbor must in consequence especially love that love itself." On which passage Duns Scotus commenting, adds, "but love is God. It remains to conclude that he loves God."** "Return four kinds of love to God," say the ancient authors, "from thy whole heart for thy corporal being, with all thy soul for thy vital being, with all thy strength for thy sensitive being, with all thy mind for thy angelical and spiritual being, and at last with all together for all together, that is for thyself who art all."

The scholastics caution men from having their affections confined to second causes. Hugo of St. Victor makes the observation that "Fathers transmit not souls to their children. It is God," he says, "who creates each soul separately, by an immediate exercise of his power:" and he cites the words of the Psalm, "qui finxit sigillatim corda eorum."†† Yet they show likewise that the perfect love God, not because he is good to them, but because he is good, as we naturally love whatever is beautiful, without any view to our own utility: which doctrine of the disinterested spirit of piety may be seen, admirably laid down, in the work entitled Theologia Germanica.

* Rich. S. Victoris de gradibus violentæ Charit.
† Idiotæ Contemplat. c. ii.
‡ S. Bonav. Mystica Theologia, ad fin.
§ Stimul. Divin. Amoris, pars ii. cap. 2.
‖ Ric. S. Vict. de Contemplat. I. iv. 17.
¶ S. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. Lib. i. c. 8.
**Duns. Scot. in Lib. i. Sent. Dist. xvii. Q. 1. ††Ps. xxxii. Summæ Sentent. tract. III. c. 3

"God is not loved without reward," says St. Bernard, "although he is loved without regard to the reward."* "The measure of loving God," he says elsewhere, "is to love him without measure." To this fervent love, every one who had a wish to profess in sincerity the Catholic religion, continually aspired during ages of faith.

"As long as man is in a state of grace," said Theologians, "he always loves God habitually." But how great was the fervor even of this habitual love in the blessed clean of heart! Richard of St. Victor says it is inconceivable. "Who," he exclaims, "hath strength to conceive that mutual love of the Saviour and the saved! How he loveth them whom he has redeemed with such a precious price, and how they rejoice in him, and rest in his love, by whom they know that they have been redeemed!"†. Stephana Quinzani heard a voice in her heart exclaiming, Love, love, love! and became all seraphic at the sound.‡ The same mystic call to Ursula Benincasa was not a mere subjective fancy, for it was heard not by herself alone but by others.§

"O Jesus Christ," cries John de Avila, "how strong is thy love, and how it converts all things to good! He that is nourished with the noble love of our Saviour will never feel hunger nor poverty, and will put all things temporal under his feet, for, possessing God by love, he will want nothing."‖

How a retrospective glance at the historical facts, contained in the former volumes, would verify the truth of such observations; for from what other principle sprung all those varied fruits of heroism, justice, and sanctity, which have been witnessed but from the love of Him, whom to love is to obey, and keep his great command? If the true marks of love for God be, as St. Theresa says, "the prayers which are offered up with ardor for what regards the glory of his Son and the augmentation of the Catholic faith," we need only refer to the fifth book for abundant and glorious illustration. Love itself being thus the object of preference habitual or actual, it followed that all the affections and springs of human action were, more or less, directed towards this common centre, for it was clearly not alone the schoolmen and mystic philosophers, but men of every condition, in ages of faith, who might have used the words of St. Hilary which St. Thomas cites as expressing his own conviction, "I am conscious that I owe to God this principal office of my life, that all my speech and all my senses should proclaim him."¶ An observation of the effects resulting leads us naturally to the second source of evidence which has been pointed out, consisting in those traits of manner which revealed the existence amongst men of the clean of heart. Here we stand upon a mountain which commands an immense prospect, for all that we have hitherto surveyed, and all that awaits our observation in the subsequent pages of this his-

* S. Bern. Lib. de dilig. Deo. † Rich. S. Vict. in Canticorum, c. 10.
‡ Ephem. Domin. I. 13.
§ Histor. Cleric. Regul. p. ii. ix. Goerres Die Christliche Mystic. ii. 150. ‖ Epist. xxi.
¶ Con. Gentes, c. 2.

tory can be seen from this point stretched out before us. It is clear that every grace which belonged to the children of beatitude was intimately associated with this element, we must therefore adopt arbitrary limits, and be content with a rapid glance at some of the most prominent facts which bear testimony to the presence of the pure.

Among these we have noticed the influence of the clergy, the influence of the church, and, in general, of the theological element in the constitution of society: for in purity of heart and mystic illumination lay the secret of this great moral power. We are told that men, in those ages, were the slaves of priests; but it is strange that those who advance this objection should not observe that it may be turned against themselves; for what does this imply but that they chose to be influenced by those who possessed, in the highest degree, sanctity and wisdom? What philosopher would attempt to found a charge against Alcibiades, upon his own testimony, that he is enslaved by Socrates, saying, *καταδεδουλωμένος τε ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, ὡς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' οὐδενὸς ἄλλου.**

The clean of heart, in ages of faith, were the church's slaves! Well, admitting for a moment such an application of the term, what, let us ask, was the consequence of abolishing this tyranny? Whether increase of purity followed the progress of the self-styled emancipators of the human mind, is a question, reader, that no one possessed of any learning can be at a loss to answer. If any should now pretend to regard the solution as difficult, they may be referred to the testimony of those liberators themselves, who acknowledge that their success had not multiplied the clean of heart. Luther's profound discouragement, towards the end of his career, arose from this observation. "If I had known at first," said he, "that men were so much the enemies of the word of God, I should certainly have remained silent and tranquil. I imagined that they only sinned through ignorance. The world is like a drunken peasant: if you put it in the saddle right on one side, it falls down on the other. There is no helping it, do what one will. The world chooses to belong to Satan. God forbid the world should last fifty years longer! Many sects will arise which are now hidden in the hearts of men. Let the Lord cut matters short with the last judgment, for there is no amelioration to expect. The time is come that was predicted, when men would live without God, each according to his fantasy. Our people, now that they are free from the laws of the pope, wish to be free also from the laws of God." Finally, he took such a disgust for Wittemberg that he could no longer endure to remain there. He wrote from Leipzig to his wife, in 1545, in these terms:—"I wish to arrange affairs so as to have no more need of returning to Wittemberg: my heart has grown cold for that city; I desire to inhabit it no longer. Wittemberg has become a real Sodom, and I will never return to it again; I would rather pass my life on the roads, begging my bread, than torment my poor last days by the view of the scan-

* Plato, Conviv. 35.

dals of Wittemberg, where all my pains have been in vain."* Such was the result of breaking up the ancient spiritual order of faith, of delivering the Word to the disputation of the curious, and directing the energies of ungovernable men to attack the only authority which could restrain the passions, and subject the affections of the human heart to the sources of purity.

In order next to this great fact of the predominance of religious power, may be noted, that extraordinary solidity and security of the ancient Christian states, which led to such important practical results in favor of intellectual and moral good. Do you seek for the immediate cause of this phenomenon?—You will find it in the multitude of the clean of heart; for, as one who knew them says, "He who hath a clear conscience will be easily contented and kept in peace;" you will find it in the character of their political wisdom, which cannot be more faithfully summed up than in these words of their choice director:—"Study only to please God, and be subject to every human creature for God's sake. Obey superiors, assist inferiors, show reverence to all, and piously endure the manners of the weak and perverse. If you wish to be saved, if you wish to be happy, follow the humility of Christ, and despise yourself; do not wish to be on the tongues of men who deceive their silly lover by vain praises and temporal glory. Look at your own heart, and see to how many passions it is obnoxious, and you will never boast of yourself or despise others, however weak or poor they may be. Let vain glory be far from you, and the desire of human praise on account of some science or art acquired. Perish the false imagination of sanctity! Rejoice with dove-like simplicity, and teach others more by example than by subtle words."†

Lastly, you will find it in the submission of the clean of heart to the authority of God, speaking by the Church; for as the Church sings in her hymn of the Epiphany, alluding to the fears of the cruel Herod,—

"Non eripit mortalia
Qui regna dat cœlestia."

Luther, in his "Sincere Exhortation to all Christians, to warn them from the spirit of Rebellion," in 1524, teaches them that there must be a spiritual but not a temporal insurrection. His philosophic penetration may be judged of by the result which Europe is still beholding, without any prospect of the spectacle being soon at an end. Observe, this solid and secure permanence of states during ages of faith is a fact which cannot be disputed. Luther himself recognized it in bitterness of spirit, when he saw the change around him. "Germany," said he, "has been, and it will never again be what it has been." "Self-security and the invisible force formed the base of the spiritual or religious state," as Novalis observes, "and consequently the civil society which was inseparably connected with it could not but participate in the same advantages."

* Michelet Mém. de Luther, tome iii. † Thom. à Kempis, Sermonum II. pars 7.

Now, if you will hear the thoughtful poet of a less happy age, this fact alone, when joined with that of their intellectual activity, would warrant your concluding that these must have been, in a most eminent degree, ages of the clean of heart; for, saith he in solemn verse, alluding to the transitory shadows of government that pass around him,—

> "The irreversible decree stands sure,
> Where men are selfish, covetous of gain
> Heady and fierce, unholy and impure,
> Their toil is lost, and fruitless all their pain,
> They cannot build a work which shall endure."*

The complaint of the slave Xanthias, in Aristophanes, περὶ ἐμοῦ δ' οὐδεὶς λόγος —no one talks of me, is then the expression of all servile hearts; and social convulsions, with all their dismal consequences to the people, follow.

The schoolmen saw that such effects were inevitable, if the human race were at any time to adopt for guide reason, without grace—intelligence, without the light of a heart supernaturally cleansed; and philosophers in our age have begun to speak like them. Suppose a vast intelligence, void of morality: "You have," continues one of these, "the genius of evil upon earth. Science, in the hand of this malevolent being, is only an instrument of egotism, and, consequently, of disorder and destruction; for he will make it serve, not to the glory of God and the happiness of humanity, but to the satisfaction of his own appetites, to the caprices of his imagination; and if such a being were to have duration and power, he would finish by absorbing the whole creation in his devouring personality."

Again, another important fact which indicates the purity of the hearts of men during those ages, was that heroic contempt for personal convenience which we before observed as constituting a characteristic feature of their justice. "By nature," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "man is a lofty animal and proud, and desirous of all good. Nothing is so contrary to the Divine nature as the love of pleasure, which makes men resemble swine."† This contempt of pleasure, which appears in the worst of men when their temporal interest forbids them to indulge in it, was then conspicuous in all ranks of society, whenever it was a question of the soul or of religion. St. Chrysostom even reproached himself with his having taken thought respecting what was necessary for him in the desert, when recollecting the example of those who are the slaves of the world, whom a vile ambition leads to load themselves with great employments, and to take part in the administration of public affairs. "For they," said he, "sacrifice without the least repugnance all the commodities which appear of so great a price to us, in order that they may amass perishable riches. For this end neither labors nor dangers, nor ignominy, nor long voyages, nor a protracted residence in a foreign land, nor any kind of

* Trench.

† S. Clem. Alex. Pædagog. Lib. iii. c. 7.

anxiety, nor the rigor of the seasons, nor the chance of failing in their object, nor the fear of sudden death, for an instant occupy their attention."*

"Why are all those lost who are lost in the world," exclaims St. Theresa, "if it be not on account of their seeking their comfort and their repose?" It was in keeping subordinate to all considerations of a spiritual nature what the genius of modern civilization requires men to study and cultivate with a kind of religious worship, that the clean of heart, in ages of faith, found their satisfaction; they were ever ready to sacrifice what was even most closely associated with spirit, if the interests of a more important intellectual object required it. Witness the words of St. Hilary, advising the Catholics of Milan to abandon their churches and assemble in the woods and caverns, rather than remain when Auxentius the Arian bishop usurped that see:—"Of one thing I bid you beware—Antichrist. The love of walls ill possesses you; ill do you venerate the church of God in roofs and edifices. Male enim vos parietum amor capit: male ecclesiam Dei in tectis ædificiisque veneramini. Ill do you bear under these the name of peace. Safer to me are the mountains, the woods, lakes, prisons, and deep caverns; for in these the prophets, either remaining or thrown, prophesied with the Spirit of God." Memorable words! How well might they be addressed to many who now cling to chief seats and to cathedrals which their fathers impiously seized, though by such advice there would be little hope of aught exciting but a smile! Yet, had occasion been presented in the middle ages, what multitudes would have obeyed the summons with alacrity! The views of men of pure hearts, who saw God, were not to be confined by walls and edifices, however sublime as works of art, any more than their understandings could have been imposed on by words not identical with faith, however skilfully arranged to sound like it.

Did our limits permit such a delay, we might take a glance here even at the amusements and pleasures of society in ages of faith, and be able to trace the influence of pure hearts, in the very choice which was made of objects to afford them. Assuredly great is the contrast between the beautiful solemnities of a Catholic population, which draw all Genoa to the church of a mountain village, and the ignoble festivals of a city professing to have reformed religion, which hires its theatres for a dinner. But observation of evidence more grave requires us to proceed. The sanctification of all professions and forms of life by the ruling motive, and their direction to a supernatural end, clearly and steadily pursued, without interruption or obscurity arising from any defilement of the heart, is a fact which deserves attention, perhaps more than any other as yet noticed. How many duties were then uppermost in minds which now can think only upon rights! What a mysterious charm was attached to each office, in discharge of which all sinister view was laid aside! Let us consider how many forms of beauteous and innocent life existed in the middle ages under the influence of Catholicism. There

* On Compunction, Lib. i. cap. 6.

was then the castle life, often disordered and turbulent, it is true, but as often half sacerdotal, with its evening choir, and all its exquisite provisions, holy and full of honor, for directing well the young affections. By its side was the monastic life, with its solemn purifications and delicious peace, which made St. Bernard say that the crowds which followed it seemed to him more angels than men, and that so constantly was their intention directed according to God's heart, that he firmly believed, without mentioning things of greater merit, that in every step which they made, and in every movement of their hands, they added somewhat to the crown prepared for them in the eternal world.* There was, again, the pilgrim life, with its purifying renouncements, and yet, on the other hand, its sweet and sanctifying recollections of holy men and holy places ; there was the knightly life, with its chivalrous allegiance to heaven, its high enjoyment of all the reverential sentiments of our nature, and all its gentle associations of forest glades and crested towers, with the defence of the weak and the noble love of whatever is good and honorable. Nor let us forget the peasant life, with its delicious initiation into all the ineffable consolations and splendors of the saints, having in each rural church and monastery a paradise ever open to it, yielding not alone a peace and felicity, but even a form of external beauty surpassing whatever could be imagined in the palaces of kings,— all were conditions sanctified and pure, yielding a vision of God to men of good will, peace to the heart, truth to the intelligence ; so that, wherever the recognized type of each was fulfilled, one might truly say with poets,—

" The deadly germs of languor and disease
Died in the human frame, and purity
Blest with all gifts her earthly worshippers.
How vigorous is there the form of age !
How clear its open and unwrinkled brow !
Where neither avarice, cunning, pride, nor care
Have stamp'd the seal of grey deformity.
How lovely the intrepid front of youth !
With meek-eyed courage, deck'd with freshest grace—
Courage of soul, that dreaded not a name,
And elevated will, that journey'd on
Through life's phantasmal scene in fearlessness !"

This Catholic view of the constitution of human life suggested to blessed Gregory the plan of his septiform litany ; for he divided all the people of the city into seven choirs, comprising in separate divisions the monks, the nuns, the children, the laymen, the widows, and the married women.† Duties were multiplied with the varieties of offices arising out of the order of society, so that nothing could be more different than the type of a pure and happy state, in ages of faith, and that which the modern views of civilization would substitute in its place ; for they would have only the one prosaic unspiritual life of passions misapplied and ener-

* Epist. ccccxli. † Hist. Miscell. Addit. Script. Rer. Italic. tom. i.

gies squandered upon ends that satisfy not—life monotonous and toilsome—life which sin, which avarice, not God, has made—recalling the unhappy days of ancient Rome, when there was only the rhetorician's life, the sophist's life, the tribune or the patrician life; none of which states to the intelligence could have ever yielded one ray of hope to gild the sad horizon of this brief existence, or to console in misery the poor diseased heart.

The angel of the school saw nothing in the difference of rank and degrees established around him in the world but what he thought might have been fitting human existence before the fall. "In the state of innocence," saith he, "there was disparity from difference of sex, age, disposition, and knowledge; for man worked not by necessity, but by free-will, which implies that man may more or less apply his mind to do any thing or acquire any knowledge. Therefore some make greater proficiency in justice and wisdom than others. There was disparity, also, of bodily strength or constitution. Now it is true that equality is a cause of rendering mutual love equal; yet nevertheless amongst unequals there might be greater love than amongst equals, for a father loves his child more than a brother loves a brother. Disparity may arise from the part of God, that the beauty of order may be developed amongst men. It was not contrary to the dignity of the state of innocence that man should rule over man, since even amongst angels there are dominations; the dominion in the state of innocence would have been that by which a free man is directed towards his own good; and this dominion is good, because man is naturally a social animal; and the social life of man could not exist unless some one should preside to provide for the common welfare.*"

How strange to many ears at present must be this proposition of St. Thomas: "Nec inæqualitas hominum excluditur per innocentiæ statum." Who would now dare to utter it before a large assembly? It is that we have lost the idea of the possibility of such a combination; it is that we have lost the idea of the state of the rich being sanctified, of the state of rule and authority sanctified, of the state of knowledge and intellectual superiority sanctified. How few men are there who can now represent any fair and glorious ideal!—how few now living associated, in the minds of their contemporaries, with any complete, beautiful, or inspiring image of moral grandeur or loveliness! There are the personages of Greece and Rome, and of our modern novels perhaps, at every step; but those of holy or knightly books, on which our fathers fed their lofty hearts, may be sought in vain.

This supernatural direction of mind, by which the intention was fixed upon fulfilling the highest duty, was shown by the moralists of the ages of faith to be the only basis on which any structure of virtue could rise with security; and their remarks in verification are highly interesting. "I have seen," says St. John Climachus, "many and various germs of virtues planted by those who live

* P. 1. Q. xcvi. art.

in the world, watered with vain glory as if from the pollution of a sewer, dug round by ostentation, and manured with human praise, which, when they were afterwards transferred to the desert, where they were no longer seen by men of the world nor nourished with the miry waters of vain glory, have all suddenly dried up and withered away."*

With such morality the blessed clean of heart were not content. "Where is faith?" exclaims St. Jerome—"where is purity of soul?—where is the prayer of Jonas in the sea, and of the children in the furnace, and of Daniel among the lions, and of the thief upon the cross? Let every one examine his own heart, and he will perceive how rare it is to find a faithful soul which does nothing for glory or to please men. For he who fasts does not immediately fast to God; nor does he who stretches out his hand to the poor immediately lend to God. Vices are neighbors to virtues. It is difficult to be content with the judgment of God alone."† Difficult, no doubt, it was, in all ages, to possess such contentment; nevertheless we have only to consult the historical monuments which bear testimony to the manners of that middle period, to behold the difficulty overcome; for it is certainly no misrepresentation to affirm that men in those times had merely to look around them to witness indisputable evidence of faith and purity of soul—to see crowds who not alone abstained from wrong like virtuous Gentiles, loving truth and equity, and hating and resisting, as far as the Christian law permits, all things opposed to them with the steadiness of instinct, but who attained to an angelic life through the love of God. The exception would not have been a man like Aristides, who was remarkable as being the only one amongst his contemporaries that was acknowledged to be above calumny; but however numerous might be the unhappy who fell from the height of their vocation, either in ecclesiastical or civil life, it was such persons in reality who formed the phenomenon that was pointed out as strange.

Without being sceptical to a degree that would destroy the foundation of all knowledge, we cannot avoid arriving at this conclusion, that it was the spirit of multitudes in those ages to do nothing for glory or to win human praise—to be directed in all actions by the immediate sense of a religious duty, and to be content with the judgment of God alone. There was a soul of self-devotion in the whole order of the ancient Catholic state, pervading all its members, which imparted to men the faculty of rendering every path of life a way to heaven. Hear how a prince of Italy speaks, and you may learn from his words what was purity of heart in relation to a crown:—"My conscience is witness," says John Francis Picus of Mirandula, "that I do not covet sovereign power, nor am I prompted by the desire of riches; for I prefer a life of peaceful meditation and tranquil study to turbulent riches: and I would rather be governed than govern; but I perceive that unless there be one prince, our affairs will go on ill, and that we shall be de-

* Scala Paradisi, grad. ii.

† S. Hieron. advers. Luciferianos.

voured by continual seditions. Now that I say this sincerely it may be easily credited; for what more horrible to a composed mind than popular commotions and the discussion of civil controversies?—what more abhorrent from the life of study and philosophy, which I love, than to fear continually hostile invasions, domestic treachery, enemies without, poison within? Nevertheless, since by my birth and by the laws I seem destined to fulfil the office of ruler, I will endure these things to the best of my power, and accommodate myself to them."*

"King Ferdinand covered with years and glory," says Roderick of Toledo, "was fore-warned of his death in a vision, and soon after visited with the first symptoms of his malady. He caused himself to be carried, therefore, to the city of Leon, where he first went to the cathedral, and prostrated himself before the altars, praying that God would grant him a happy passage to immortal bliss. It being the night of our Lord's nativity, the king, though sick, assisted at matins with the clergy. The next day, the mass of Toledo, the Mozarabic, was solemnly celebrated in his presence, when he received the sacrament of the Lord's body and blood. On the next day, having called the bishops, abbots, and religious men, he caused himself to be carried into the church, and there, with his diadem on his head and clothed in the royal robes before the sarcophagus of St. Isidore, he cried out to the Lord with a clear voice, saying, 'Tua est potentia, tuum est regnum, Domine, tu es super omnes reges, tuo imperio omnia sunt subjecta: quod te donante accepi, restituo tibi regnum, tantum animam meam in æterna luce jubeas collocari.' So saying, laying aside his royal garments, he begged for mercy, and received from the bishops penitence and the grace of last unction. Clothed in sackcloth and covered with ashes, he passed two days in penitence and tears. On the third, at the hour of sext, it being the feast of St. John the Evangelist, full of days, he rendered up his spirit to God, and was buried in the same church of St. Isidore."† Thus could a king die.

If we were desired to point out men in regal authority resembling in their views and policy Hippias, after the detection of the conspiracy against him, who regarded all his subjects as his secret enemies, and who, instead of attempting to provide for their future welfare, aimed only at plundering them—who, being conscious of deserving their hatred, and feeling in proportion less secure from its effects, considered Attica as a domain held by a precarious tenure, and thought only of profiting as much as possible by his uncertain possession, taking care to place beyond their reach the funds which he raised by extraordinary imposts and artifices of all kinds,—it would not, assuredly, be to the annals of the middle ages, that one would first and most naturally look. To protect religion, and to multiply the institutions which it formed for the diffusion of virtue and happiness among the people, was then the recognized duty of all rulers; and it must never be forgotten what

* Joan. F. Pic. Mirand. Epist. Lib. i.

† Moderici Toletani de Rebus Hispaniæ, Lib. vi. c. 14.

numbers of them discharged it with fidelity. The epitaph on Louis VII. of France gave glorious testimony of his having merited a place amongst them :—

> " Servula tristis, inops, aliquo sub rege : sub isto
> Floruit ecclesia, libera, læta, potens."*

The situations that might be supposed, at first, least reconcileable with the mystic sanctity of the clean of heart would be found, upon a second view, to have formed no exception to what was then the general law of all social positions. Witness, for example, the profession of arms :—" Chivalry," says a modern French writer, " is a real event of history—a great institution of the middle ages ; its image is reflected in the manners and details given by the romances of chivalry, which in this respect may be called a chronicle of the middle ages, no less true than even the chronicle of St. Denis."† Many other authors of modern times have attempted to throw discredit upon the representation of honor and purity which belonged to the ancient military character in ages of faith, when Sir Percival was a model for the imitation of its youth ; and even this writer, in the very same work, is so inconsistent as to ask, " What is the truth on which has been embroidered this smiling fiction of chivalry ?" They are perhaps misled by an exclusive attention to the characters and manners around them, and a notion that they must always have been the same ; but they should consider whether there be not reason to fear lest it should be only what was merely animal in the ancient chivalry,—courage, egotism, ferocity, the high excitement and the battle-cry which had survived in the profession—while what was divine, and spiritual, and mystic in its constitution has passed away, including piety, grace, the sanctifying direction of the thoughts to some just and holy end—the mind, in short, that would suggest the memorable reply, " Milites sumus, imperator, tui, sed tamen servi Dei : tibi militiam debemus, illi innocentiam."

It was this divine and spiritual guidance of the intention which, under the sanction of Christ, as conveyed in his answer to the soldiers, was supposed in the middle ages to render the profession of arms reconcileable with the beatitude of the clean of heart. " The duty of a knight," King Alfred used to say, "consists in providing that the church should have peace, and that the laborers should be undisturbed." No adverse fortune could disturb the serene felicity of such men —like the strong oak, which, when the Alpine blasts contend, and the leaves and branches are scattered on the ground, still adheres to the rock, and with its deep roots cleaves to the earth :—

> " Haud secus assiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros
> Tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas :
> Mens immota manet, lacrymæ volvuntur inanes."‡

* Duchesne, tom, iv. † Villemain, Tableau de la Lit. au Moyen Age, 260. ‡ IV. 445.

Witness Guido de Montigny, who bore the standard of Philip Augustus at the battle of Bovines :—

"——qui mente immobilis ut mons
Vexillum regale die portavit in illo ;"

and, under more trying circumstances, witness the moral courage of Lorenzo Priuli, elected doge of Venice at a moment when the triple scourge of war, pestilence, and famine overwhelmed his country, and who on the day of his inauguration commenced his address to the people with these words :—" Etiam si ambulavero in medio umbræ mortis, non timebo mala, quoniam tu mecum es."*

Abbon, the monk, in his poem on the siege of Paris, thus relates the death of one of its defenders :—

" Happy Robert, struck by an arrow, breathed his last !"

" Robbertus felix jaculo spiravit ibidem."†

" After all," says a modern French author, " the Christian hero is an admirable character. The people whom he defends regards him as their father ; he protects the laborer and the harvest ; he prevents injustice ; he is an angel of war whom God sends to mitigate that scourge ; cities open their gates at the mere rumor of his justice ; ramparts fall down before his virtues ; he joins to the warrior's courage the charity of the Gospel ; his conversation moves and instructs ; his words have the grace of a perfect simplicity ; one is astonished to find so much sweetness in a man who lives in the midst of perils, as the honey is concealed under the bark of the oak which has braved the storm." Would you trace the operation of the purifying spirit in the great events which constituted a new military epoch in the history of the world, and observe the thoughts which moved the Pilgrim and the red-cross Knight, to undertake the deliverance of the Holy Land ? Hear a contemporary author whose sincerity is beyond suspicion. " We speak," says Guibert de Nogent, " of the new and incomparable expedition of Jerusalem. To undertake this, not the ambition of empty fame, not the love of riches, nor the desire of extending territories, have excited our people ; not even, what would be excusable, the defence of liberty or of the public good, has been the motive, but their sole desire and object were to defend the holy church, endangered by the incursions of the barbarous nations, and by the invasion of Gentiles. For this pious wish was in the mind of every one, that the equestrian order and the vulgar multitude, which, after the example of Paganism, had been accustomed to occupy themselves in mutual slaughter might, in this way, find in arms a new mode of obtaining salvation ; so that without embracing the monastic profession, or wholly leaving the world, they might, under their usual habit, perform their respective duties and win the grace of God."‡ John, the

* Fasti Ducales, 210. Venice, 1696, ap. Rio. † Lib. 1. ‡ Gesta Dei per Francos.

abbot of Casa Maria, in his letter to St. Bernard relating the afflictions of the Crusaders in Palestine, and showing with what humility they were received by them, as sent for their purification, adds this remarkable testimony, "those who have returned have assured me that they have seen many die there, who said, that they preferred dying to returning, lest they should fall again into sins."*

James the First, King of Aragon, who recovered three kingdoms to Christianity, from the Moors, and evinced the love which animated him, by causing to be erected two thousand churches, furnished a striking instance, in his own person, of the purity and constancy of this faith. Bernardine Gomesius relates, that when this great king was preparing to set out on his expedition to Jerusalem, he came to Saragossa, where he was met by the queen, his daughter, with Peter and James, and also Sanctius the Archbishop, all of whom, as if in conspiracy, surrounded him, some embracing his neck, others falling at his feet, with tears and groans, praying that he would renounce so long and perilous a journey, and not leave them desolate as those who were to see his face no more. To whom the king replied, after embracing them all most lovingly, "In vain do you weep and afflict yourselves with lamentations, attempting to turn me aside from this holy expedition; since, what I owe to the celestial and common parent, God, is by far to be preferred to the things which I owe, on human grounds, to you, although my dearest children; for I have done what I could for you, to whom I leave far more than I received from my parents, and I have enriched you all with the glory of my deeds, which constitutes the best of patrimonies. Now the same celestial father calls me elsewhere: for what is greater than to recover the Sepulchre of his beloved Son Jesus Christ, and to rescue that gracious and holy land marked with his footsteps, from the impious enemies of his sacred name, who now occupy it? For I am bound to this expedition by the desire of my mind, and as if by a vow made in the beginning of my reign; also because hitherto Spaniards alone, of all kings, have been prevented from engaging in it, and lastly because the present is a favorable opportunity, two emperors, and a mighty force of land and sea combining, so that not to co-operate in such a pious and honorable task, would be not only disgraceful to the Spanish name, but also impious and detestable. In proportion too as our far-advanced age brings nearer to us the time of our death, we are the more admonished to pour out for Christ what is left of our life; for I will not refuse to die for him who did not refuse to die for me." So saying, amidst tears and lamentations, and being no longer able to speak, having saluted all, he separated from them, and returned to Barcelona.

Whatever views men may entertain respecting the cause itself, no one probably will refuse to admit, on the evidence of such passages, that it was defended by men of pure and simple hearts. Upon such good grounds did Dante build, when he placed the Crusader's spirit in the joys of paradise, for there he finds his an-

* B Bern. Epist. ccclxxxvi. † Bernardini Gomesii de Vita Jacobi I. Arag. Lib. xvii.

cestor Cacciaguido, who thus beautifully describes the death, which sent him to possess them.

"————I follow'd then
The Emperor Conrad; and his knighthood he
Did gird on me: in such good part he took
My valiant service. After him I went
To testify against that evil law,
Whose people, by the shepherd's fault, possess
Your right, usurping. There, by that foul crew,
Was I releas'd from the deceitful world
Whose base affection many a spirit soils:
And from the martyrdom came to this peace."*

Upon the whole then, from even this rapid glance at ancient manners, it will be sufficiently clear, that there was no need, in these ages of long and artful speech, to color the different pursuits of life, each being followed with such pure intention. All that was in the heart could have been explained in a few simple words, like those of saintly Adalbert, in answer to the barbarians, who asked him to give some account of himself after they had struck him to the earth, while he was preaching on a little island in a river of Prussian Pomerania. "I am a slave," was his reply, "by name Adalbert, by profession a monk, formerly a bishop, now your apostle. The object of my journey is your salvation; that you may forsake your dumb idols, acknowledge your Creator, the only true God; and that by believing in him you may inherit everlasting life!" From the king to the lowest vassal, every one could give a reason of the office which he had to discharge, in as clear and precise terms, though in his own eyes, it was encompassed with a mystic light of true glory.

But we cannot remain longer to enjoy this extensive and richly varied prospect. Let us only remark, in descending, that it is the direction of the intention, and steady adherence to the duty prescribed, which has caused so many of the modern investigators of history, to lose the object of their toil. Their hunting through these regions is ardent, desperate, but in vain. They beat every cover—Hagiography, canon law, state papers, asceticism, scholastic controversy. They are soon in full cry after the game: they follow it closely, discover all its turns, and when every one expects to see them secure it, some strange and unaccountable delusion sends them away in quite an opposite direction. An impenetrable mist arises, which soon reduces to a piteous condition these late boasters, who may now, not undeservedly, be taunted with the appellation of despatchers of history, as their phrase was ever, that, in few words, they would despatch it. All their time and labor have been lost. The saint or hero, whose memory they pursued, with an aversion ill concealed by their professions of impartiality, vanishes from their view. The hallowed and devoted thoughts are hidden from them; so instead of the inspiring sentences of old Catholic song, we are presented with the Thucydi-

* Cant. xv.

dean phrase, "The truest motive though least manifest in word." They sought in fact themselves in history, and they have even found themselves, and well for them if it be not to their own destruction. Judging then of others from what they find within themselves, every thing is easily seen through and explained, and of course, in place of Catholic worthies, we find only men of the nineteenth century. History has proved to them like a magician's wood which receives the knight and presents only a horrid phantom to his pursuer, a deformed spectral image to strike at which would be only beating the air. Hypocrites, blasphemers, magicians, ventriloquists, harlequins, murderers, seducers, and beings with the pride of Satan, rise up before them, where others, in the rays of the Eternal Wisdom, had seen the holy and the pure of heart. Let us leave them shrouded in the mists of earth, combatting these phantoms: their hounds may bark on, but their chase will ever have the same result; for this is mystic ground, and they who see no charity can find no truth.

CHAPTER III.

THE literature of the ages of faith, on which we have thrown a hasty glance in the preceding books, while tracing the influence which it received from humbleness of mind and the merciful spirit, would afford a vast field for delightful study if we were permitted by our limits to consider it fully in relation to the beatitude of the clean of heart. The course before us, however, is so extensive, and it will shortly lead us upon ground which so closely borders upon this domain, that I shall content myself at present with a few brief observations, which will be of no small avail if they can suggest to others, better skilled, the idea of pursuing for themselves this most interesting investigation.

The objection so often noticed to the literature of the middle ages, that it is wholly theological, and tinged with the views of men inhabiting a cloister, must present itself, in the first place, as furnishing evidence of the fact, which it is the object of this chapter to establish. That there is some truth in the charge cannot be doubted, since there could not be found a more appropriate motto for the whole learning of that period, than the words of St. Augustin: "Omnis mihi copia quæ Deus meus non est, egestas est."* That one whole department of modern literature, and not the least important where the associations of faith have perished, was comparatively wanting in the middle ages, might almost be inferred from the can-

* Confess. xiii. 8.

ons of Engelram, bishop of Metz, in the eighth century, which decree, that whoever has composed and disseminated amongst the people any writing injurious to the reputation of another, should be scourged if he could not prove what he advanced, and that whoever should first find such a writing was to tear it in pieces, on pain of being treated as its author."*

Were we, however, to analyze the numerous popular charges against the literary productions of the middle ages, whatever might be the terms in which they were conveyed, I believe we should find that most of them sprung from no other source but that which prompts Euripides to ridicule Æschylus in the shades, who when the latter had boasted, in recommendation of himself, that he had never introduced amatory scenes into his pieces, replies to him :

Μὰ Δι' οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν τῆς Ἀφροδίτης οὐδέν σοι.†

This it is in reality, which causes so many volumes of the middle ages to slumber upon shelves, and to be consigned to moths and obscurity, as being unreadable, wearisome, and barbarous ; while every hand holds some book exhibiting the stops that train our intellects to vain delight, which bears proof of having been written, not indeed in a cell, or upon a buckler, but in some palace of indolence, amidst wine and merriment, which might remind one of the reply of Lainez, when surprise was expressed on his being found, at eight o'clock in the morning, in the king's library, after a late supper :

" Regnat nocte calix, volvuntur biblia mane,
Cum Phœbo Bacchus dividit imperium."

It is not that any sweet affection of our nature is altogether banished from these ancient books, but that every image is shrouded in such a mystic robe of innocence and purity, that all attraction for the vitiated fancy is destroyed. The poet, in his Lay of the Last Minstrel, has caught the true spirit of this ancient literature, when, after relating the astonishment of Margaret of Branksome on beholding Cranstoun stalking below within the castle court, into which he had been enabled, by his goblin page, to pass undiscovered, he continues :

" Oft have I mused what purpose bad
That vile malicious urchin had
To bring this meeting round
For happy love's a heavenly sight,
And by a vile malignant sprite,
In such no joy is found :
And oft I've deem'd, perchance he thought
Their erring passion might have wrought
Sorrow, and sin, and shame,
And death to Cranstoun's gallant knight,

* Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglis. Gal. v. 12.

† Aristoph. Ranæ, 1057.

And to the gentle lady bright
Disgrace, and loss of fame.
But earthly spirit could not tell
The heart of them that loved so well;
True love's the gift which God has given
To man alone beneath the heaven.
It is not fantasy's hot fire,
Whose wishes, soon as granted, fly;
It liveth not in fierce desire,
With dead desire it doth not die;
It is the secret sympathy,
The silver link, the silken tie,
Which heart to heart, and mind to mind,
In body and in soul can bind."

This was the affection which breaks out often in an unexpected manner in monuments which attest the existence of love in the middle ages; as in the Prayer-book of Charles the Bald, written in letters of gold, in which we find this verse added to the Litanies at the end: "Ut Hirmindrudim conjugem nostram conservare digneris, te rogamus, audi nos." The indulgence of the passions as exhibited, and often recommended, in the modern literature, was so opposed to the public sense of Catholic states in ages of faith, that instruction was conveyed in every form imaginable, to warn men from its danger. Under an image of the blessed Virgin and the Divine Child, inscriptions used to be placed for this purpose in the streets of cities. There is an ancient house near Cadenabbia, on the Lake of Como, upon which may still be read these lines, beneath a fresco painting of the Virgin Mother: "Sin is like the fire, which begins by little and little. He who follows profane love, departs far from God. The contumaceous sinner has no peace with heaven. Of that which you commit to-day, the fruit you will to-morrow taste. The crucifix is a great book to the man who hath a fixed regard."

Undoubtedly there can be discovered here and there books of the middle ages which can satisfy any taste, however abject, as the collectors of facetiæ need not be told, who love to furnish out their shelves; but the picture of the affections by the poet I have cited is strictly historical, for any other would have been in violation of the chivalrous type; and those who in the sixteenth century began to innovate and dissolve the mysticism, and invent tales in the spirit of Boccacio, were in Catholic society regarded as heretics, while their works were committed to the flames amidst the execrations of the people. At the same time we may remark, that to purity of heart the ages of faith were indebted also for the universality of the range which was open to poetry and literature; and even, though perhaps at rare and brief intervals, for the enjoyment of dramatic representations, in accordance with the fancy of the innocent and the taste of the religious. So early indeed as in the fifth century we find that actors were excommunicated by a decree of the Council of Arles, yet the decision of St. Antoninus with respect to the compatibility of such recreations with the Christian profession,* and also the

* P. 2. tit. 23. § 14.

express sanction of the Angel of the School, are facts of no small importance in the history of dramatic literature. St. Thomas, whose sentiments respecting every obstacle to angelic purity may be conceived, concludes his judgment on this point in these words: "All things which are useful to human society, can be considered as lawful offices. And therefore, even the office of actors, which is ordained to afford recreation to men, is not in itself unlawful, nor are they in a state of sin, provided they use that play moderately, that is, not using any unlawful words or actions, either in themselves shameful, or calculated to injure their neighbors, and do not indulge in that play at improper seasons; consequently they who moderately assist them, do not sin."* Perhaps, however, the belief in the possibility of such a condition of the drama, constitutes the most curious part of this passage; for in practice, it is to be feared, the adjustment could have been at no time a task without difficulty; though still it is true, that it was in later ages, when Benedict XIV. declared that it was with regret he found himself obliged to tolerate theatres in Rome, and in other cities of the ecclesiastical states.

That the theological character of the literature of the middle ages, which is made a ground of objection to it, presents the most remarkable evidence of the moral purity of men in those times, is a proposition which does not admit of being questioned. What might not be adduced, if our limits permitted us to speak of the wonderful effects of the angelic life upon the eloquence of preachers, and the style of those exquisite compositions, by which ascetic writers taught the divine art of meditation and conference with God! But I must refer the reader to the work of Goerres for reflections on this theme.

Another characteristic of the literature of the ages of faith, which affords evidence of the purity which had been imparted to the human heart, is its inherent antipathy to paganism. This literary revolution may be witnessed in the earliest Christian works, as in those of Clemens Alexandrinus and Minutius Felix, exposing the turpitudes of heathen mythology,† and in those of St. Augustin, referring to the impure sectaries of the East. But it is complete in the works of the middle age, when men whose eyes were opened, could endure no more the filth of paganism, and labored to efface its stains. Accordingly no language can be too strong to express the change which was effected in the European mind by the revival of the pagan literature in the sixteenth century, when men began not only to revere, as the most glorious types of humanity, such names as Tacitus and Suetonius, whom the philosophers of the middle age used to speak of as priests of idols, ambitious, wicked, and adulterous, if their lives might be judged of from their own words, but even to extol as poetical and humane that Greek mythology, the pernicious influence of which had been exposed with so much feeling by the wiser heathens themselves, as may be witnessed in the work of Dionysius of Halicarnassus.‡ It is not

* II. 2. Q. 168. art. 3. ad. 3. † Protrepticus. ‡ Antiq. Rom. Lib. ii. c. 20.

that the monastic literature evinced no acquaintance with the heathen authors. A French writer observes, that "a learned monk of the twelfth century had a great number of ideas, philosophic moral, and literary, in common with Cicero;"* but that every thing repugnant to Christianity was rejected with abhorrence, and nothing suffered, as it were, to enter, until clothed, at least for once, in a religious habit.

During the middle ages the licentious poets of Greece and Rome were suffered to slumber in the repositories of the ancient learning. To substitute for lascivious amours and gross indecencies, the praise of chastity and the triumphs of faith over the temptations of nature, was indeed the aim of many, who, like Roswitha, attempted to imitate the heathen writers; but in general they struck out new paths for themselves; and in the Poems of a St. Avitus, a Dante, and a Calderon, the wisdom of Christians was seen to be more beautiful than the fancy of the heathens: "Incomparabiliter pulchrior," says St. Augustin, "est veritas Christianorum quam Helena Græcorum."† There was sung no Bacchus and no Io Pæan, but three Persons in the Godhead, and one Person that nature and the human joined. There were no classical imitations that interfered with faith; witness St. Aldhelm's invocation, in his poem De Laude Virginum:

"Non rogo ruricolas versus, et commata Musas:
Non peto Castalidas metrorum cantica nymphas
Quas dicunt Helicona jugum servare supernum;
Nec precor, ut Phœbus linguam sermone loquacem
Dedat, quem Delo peperit Latona creatrix:
Sed potius nitar precibus pulsare Tonantem
Qui nobis placidi confert oracula verbi.
Verbum de Verbo peto, hoc psalmista canebat.
Sic Patris et Prolis dignetur Spiritus almus,
Auxilium fragili clementer dedere servo."

Poetry in general, in ages of faith, could yield remarkable evidence of the purification of the human heart. Many were believed to write verses through the immediate inspiration of the Spirit of God. Cedman, the Anglo-Saxon, whose history Bede relates, Joseph, the hymnographer amongst the Greeks in the ninth century, and in later times Jacoponus, were regarded by their contemporaries as having received the gift of song from heaven; and truly no one who has ever heard their compositions, and reflected on the relation in which they stood to God and to the world, can judge that opinion strange. ‡

The observation of Œlred of Rivaulx, that no page pleased him which was not sweetened with the Saviour's name, might be extended even to the views of history, which were adopted by men of the middle ages; for in all their compendiums, the events of heathen times are represented in connection with the eternal designs

* Villemain, Tableau de la Littérature au Moyen Age, i. 100.

† Epist. X.

‡ Goerres die Christliche Mystik ii. 161.

of Almighty Providence to visit and redeem the world. Thus the Duchess of Beneventum, who, we are told, was familiar with the golden sayings of the philosophers, and the gemmed sentences of poets, objected to Eutropius, that as a pagan he says nothing of Christian history, and therefore Paul the Deacon, monk of Monte Cassino, translated it, "aornée de addictions Catholiques." Learning, in their eyes, derived all its value from the religious point of view. Hugo of St. Victor says to a great doctor, "I love indeed your erudition, but I love still more to contemplate Him; because what I love in your erudition, is only lovely to me from its leading me to contemplate Him."*

We have before had occasion to observe, that the purest motives, and the most sincere love of truth, are visible in those chronicles of the middle age, at which so many heartless and devoted men disinterestedly toiled. One cannot but feel assured of their sincerity, even from the slight incidental allusions to themselves, which escape them; as when, in the beginning of his eleventh book, Hieronymus Rubeus, the learned and noble physician, of Ravenna, says, "After seventeen years spent in writing this history of Ravenna, I had abandoned all idea of writing more, or of reading any thing except what was sacred and pious, that to my Lord calling I might not come wholly unprepared."† This unpremeditated opening of their interior gives a glimpse, which every reader must know how to appreciate. These works were often the fruits of holy obedience too; as when, 1099, by command of Eustorgius, bishop of Limoges, and the advice of Gaulbert the Norman, abbot of Usercia, Gregory Bechade de Turribus, a knight of most subtle genius, and imbued in some degree with letters, composed a huge volume, in vulgar rythme, on the Deliverance of Jerusalem, on which work he spent twelve years.‡ Voigt observing, that no work throws such light upon the history of Prussia in the fourteenth century, as the Annals composed in 1390, by John of Pusilie, President of the Chapter of Pomerania, a Prussian priest, remarks, that it displays not only an accurate knowledge of events, but a most ardent love of truth; and in fact what else could have induced these simple-minded holy men to write books? It is each of these, indeed, who might have justly used the poet's words, and said, "From the records of my youthful state, and from the love of bards and sages old, have I collected language to unfold truth to my countrymen."

Speaking of Elfric, Abbot of Peterborough, a late author says, "His only motives were a Christian love of his kind, and a deep sense of the importance of wisdom, or in part, perhaps, a generous desire to live in the memory of Englishmen."§

Such were the writers who, in the middle ages, inspired in the public mind a passion for history, which was generally possessed in connection with a love for sacred literature, as in the instance of that brave knight and renowned poet the

* Lib. Epos. in Cœlest. Hierarch.
† In Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. vii.
‡ Gallia Christiana, tom. ii. 522.
§ Dissection of the Saxon Chronicle, 67.

Landgrave Hermann, of Thuringia, in the thirteenth century, who is styled Historiarum sacrarumque lectionum amator.*

Geoffrey de Beaulieu the Dominican, confessor of St. Louis during twenty-two years, who followed him every where till he received his last breath, and Guillaume de Chartres, chaplain to the king, who continued also ever at his side, are writers who may be cited as true representatives of the historians of the middle ages, writing from personal knowledge, writing with love; for after the death of St. Louis, Geoffrey would never quit the body, but day and night was always praying by the coffin, whether on board the ship, or on the road through Lombardy and Saxony; writing through holy obedience, for Pope Gregory X. ordered him to write the king's life, which was continued by Guillaume de Chartres, who had suffered imprisonment with him, during which time he used to recite every day the office before him; and writing without any view to magnify themselves; for he describes in detail the courage of the king in prison, but passes over his own sufferings, and never speaks of himself excepting through necessity, and then in few words.

Leo of Ostia furnishes another example, when about to write the history of Desiderius, Abbot of Monte Cassino; for he speaks thus: "Many things I have learned from his own truth-telling lips, while with too great goodness choosing to have me at his side. Some I have heard from certain priors, others lastly I relate from what I have seen with my own eyes, having been with him almost to the day of his death. Therefore I wish to make my reader assured that I shall make no extrinsic additions to this little work, and that I shall write nothing concerning him but what I have found to be true, as one who remembers having read, with a simple understanding, "Perdes, Domine, omnes qui loquuntur mendacium."†

Petrus Diacanus being ordered to continue the work of Leo, speaks in these terms: "When I see so many and such men in this sacred cloister full of liberal discipline, I feel inclined to succumb to the burden imposed upon me. As for my means of information, from the time of Abbot Gerard, who first received me into the school of Mount Cassino, I have heard some of these things from the mouth of the venerable Abbot Seniorecto, and others I have seen with my own eyes while attending the imperial court for the cause of the monastery, and others I have heard from our priors, and other faithful men. If it would not have displeased your paternity, I should have left the task to others, for I have never applied to liberal discipline, but from my first noviciate I have always, by Christ's grace, been occupied with divine expositions and ancient annals. But may He who puts into the mouth of his servants to speak how and what and when he wishes, grant me words, for all wisdom is from God; and if any one want wisdom, let him ask it from God, and he will fill him. And as there are some

* Paulin. Annal. Isenac. † Chronic. S. Monast. Cas. Lib. iii. Prolog.

things, perhaps, in which I deserve to be reprehended by the wise, let this be imputed to our weakness; but if there be any thing blameless, let them ascribe it not to me but to God."*

Indeed, the simplicity and humility of their language might alone convince any one that they wrote without any sinister aim. Gaufred Malaterra, the monk, addresses the venerable Bishop of Catana, saying, "Having had the unhappy mundane course with Martha, I was commanded by Roger, Count of Sicily, to write this History of the Conquest of Calabria and Sicily, by Robert Guiscard and his brother, in a plain and clear style, that every one could understand."†

If sincerity of intention can be inferred from the style of chronicles, it is hardly necessary to add, that men whose works were more immediately concerned with philosophy, evinced a love of truth no less pure and devoted. But how can one express the impressions of this kind, made by the didactive treatises of the middle age? who can describe the exquisite tone of candor which pervades them? tone inimitable, which almost imparts to all who hear it the privilege of Him who can discern hearts: tone, in short, which indicated faith, and which in every age is the same; for it is precisely identical whether we find it in the treatises of a Hugo of St. Victor, in the eleventh century, or in our own time, in the few hasty letters of a Spenser, in whom one may behold the life of those ancient meek ones, who to an erring world were the chosen messengers of Christ.

With respect to those writings, which were the farthest removed from laying claim to merit as literary compositions, I cannot but think that there was something even in the rusticity of their style that could yield a degree of security to those who read them.

The author of Horologium Devotionis circa vitam Christi, after saying in his Prologue that he composed it at the prayer of a certain devout soldier of happy memory, whose name is known to God, continues in these terms: "I, brother Bertold, a priest of the order of Preachers, having departed flying away, and remained in solitude seven years, have composed one little book, in the Teutonic tongue, on the life of Christ, his passion, and most dolorous death, which I have named the Clock of Devotion; but because things written in the Teutonic tongue have very little taste to learned men, on that account I have taken pains to transfer the said book into Latin, and with the help of God, grammatical—in Latinum et in grammaticam Dei adjutorio transferri curavi, in a plain style, without rhetorical coloring, lest devotion should be destroyed by curiosity, and the adornment of words." This is simple, sooth; yet those who had drunk deep of the old learning, were fond even of the unambitious, artless manner, in which it was conveyed. The more point-device and irritable tone of later writers, though assumed apparently to please, would have often offended the delicate tact which apprised them, in books that seemed the least suspicious, of some latent danger to

* Chron. Casinen. Lib. iv. Prolog. † Ganfredi Monachi Hist. Lib. i.

purity or truth. Certainly it requires no mystic gift of vision, like that which enabled the holy Joseph of Cupertino to discern from the countenance of a stranger what was in his heart, to discover through the polished surface of many books, written in later times, the stains of interior impurity. The glance of an ordinary mortal without ecstasy, is quite sufficient for detecting it. And it may assuredly be affirmed, that a reflecting student, after reading the remarks of Malebranche on the style of Seneca and Montaigne, will be little disposed to nauseate that of the monastic literature. "The pleasure which one takes in reading these authors," says this metaphysician, "springs from concupiscence, and it fortifies the passions. Generally, the pleasure which we take in different manners of writing arises from nothing else but the secret corruption of our hearts."* Montaigne himself says, "In my time I am deceived if the worst books be not those which have gained the most popular favor:" a judgment to which Joseph Scaliger would agree; for he says, "In this kingdom of France there is given liberty of writing to all men, but the faculty of writing truly and rightly only to a few."† And again, "Daily I see many persons studious, but few learned; amongst the learned, few ingenious; amongst the half learned, no good men; and so letters, the only consolation of the human race, are now in the place of a pestilence and a scourge."‡ If you pursue the comparison down to later times, you will find that these inventions of men, who, as Pasquier says, "have more leisure than learning," only verify the remark of Scaliger, that "amongst so many thousand authors you shall scarce find one, by reading of whom you shall be any whit better, but rather much worse,"§ and perhaps there are many of them which prove the truth of Cato's prediction, when he said, "gens ista quoties litteras suas dabit omnia perdet." The contrast, in short, between the literature of the ages of faith, and that of later times, is the same as that which exists between the men themselves. The one tranquil with luminous piety, the other turbulent with dark desires.

But our observation must not be confined to literature:—this is only one side of the spacious and richly varied poetic field.

Goerres, in his admirable work on Christian Mysticism, has remarked the influence of ascetic purity upon musical science, in the middle ages. The unearthly tones which pervade the old Catholic compositions, are indeed a sufficient proof of spiritual communion with a holier world. The gift of song was imparted to many purified souls, as to Hildegard, and the saintly sisters of St. Oringa. The holy Catherine, of Bologna, with eyes turned to heaven, repeated to her astonished sisters the song which she had heard in praise of God, when so far spent with sickness, that she had received the last unction: such jubilation filled her heart, while repeating to them that sweet song, that all who saw her thought that she must die for joy; but she remained one year more on earth. The holy Hermann Joseph, of Steinfeld, while composing a hymn in honor of St. Ursula, is

* Lib. ii. 5. † Jos. Scaligeri Epist. Lib. i. 3. ‡ Id. 96. § Epist. ad Petav.

said to have received aid from the pure spirits which he loved for sake of Jesus; and Palestrina himself, has said of his best compositions, that he only wrote what he had heard angels sing.* With music, painting also experienced the influence of purified souls.

Rio remarks, in his charming book on Christian Art, that the works of painters, as those of poets, when encouraged and eulogized by their contemporaries and fellow countrymen, are the faithful mirror of the national genius: and truly, during the middle ages, amongst painters, the mystic clean of heart appeared conspicuous. The judgment of the moderns can be appealed to here, and the poet's words on a picture of the Assumption, by Murillo, adduced in proof: for he exclaims,—

> 'What innocence, what love, what loveliness,
> What purity must have familiar been
> Unto thy soul, before it could express
> The holy beauty in that visage seen!"†

What might he not have said on the sublime and astonishing figure of St. Francis receiving the stigmata, by Guercino, which is in the church of Sancta Maria in Carignano at Genoa? What on the master-pieces of Francesco Francia, on the paintings of the mystic school in Italy, before a fondness for the mere imitation of uninspired nature, and the taste for pagan models, had created a new race of artists disdainful of the old? What might not be said on that seraphic expression, full of sweet desire, which constitutes the peculiar merit of the Umbrian School, in the works of Perugino and his disciples, or indeed in any of the old pictures of devotion, in our ancient churches, before modern hands had corrected them as barbarous? "Frequently," says this eloquent author, "we pass in proud disdain before miraculous pictures, which have exercised the most delicious influence on an innumerable multitude of souls, during the courses of many ages. We do not consider that this mute image of the Madonna and the infant Jesus, has spoken a mysterious and consoling language to more than one heart, sufficiently humble and pure to comprehend it, and that there are no tears perhaps more precious before God, than those which have moistened the stone of these modest oratories."‡ In fact, as few need be reminded, the artist of the middle age was frequently a man of saintly interior life, so that the poet, here cited, did not err in his conclusion, that he must have had a pure heart. Giovanni of Pisa, the great sculptor who made the pulpit of the Cathedral, representing many events in the life of Christ, which work was finished in 1320, placed these verses on it—

> "Laudo Deum verum, per quem sunt optima rerum,
> Qui dedit has puras hominem formare figuras."

Giotto is commemorated as having been no less a good Christian than excellent painter. "Michael Angelo," says Vasari, "loved much the holy Scriptures as a

* Christliche Mystick ii. 157. † Trench. ‡ De l' Art Chretien, 161.

good Christian—he greatly loved the beauty of the human figure, but never with dishonest thought." Speaking of Ambrogio Lorenzetti, painter of Sienna, the same author observes, "how he was learned and good, and kept company with the best men; how every thing bespoke in him the lover of wisdom; and how constant he was, and pious." "Truly," he adds, "one cannot say how much gentle customs and modesty, with other virtues, conduce to all arts, and particularly to that which has such a connection with intelligence." Gentil Bellini, in a grand painting which represents a miracle effected by a portion of the cross, placed under it this simple and affecting inscription :—"Gentilis Bellinus amore incensus crucis, 1490."

John of Fiesoli belonged to the Dominican order, in which he was so revered for sanctity, that the brethren styled him the angelic. "Brother Angelico might have led," says Vasari, "a very happy life in the world, but as he wished, above all things, to provide for the salvation of his soul, he embraced a religious life, without renouncing his no less decided vocation for painting, reconciling thus the care of his eternal happiness, with the acquisition of an immortal name amongst men." Vasari concludes that such an extraordinary talent as he possessed could only be the attendant on the highest sanctity, for to succeed as he did in religious subjects, the artist himself must be religious and holy. Called to Rome by Pope Eugene IV., his paintings in the Vatican, of the histories of St. Lawrence and of St. Stephen, admirable as they were, did not make such an impression on the pontiff as the soul of the artist, so that the see of Florence, being vacant, he conceived the idea of conferring upon him the Archiepiscopal office; but the humility of brother Angelico prevailed, and it was the praise with which he then spoke of brother Antoninus, that occasioned the latter to be made Archbishop of Florence by Nicholas V. At the court of Rome he lived as in his cloister, and Pope Nicholas was obliged to compel him, on obedience, to moderate his austerities. He never painted a crucifixion without shedding many tears, and worked at that, as also at the figures of the blessed Virgin, always on his knees. Michael Angelo said, that it was humanly impossible to paint such a blessed form as he composed of Mary, in his picture of the Annunciation : the painter must have beheld her. And Goerres says, that in this, as in many other of his works, besides the exquisite grace and beauty resulting from skill, it is impossible not to recognize a still higher beauty, evincing all the characteristics of mystic vision. James the German, on his return from the Holy Land, furnished another instance of this wonderful combination of art and purity. Of his heroic obedience as a monk, a curious instance is recorded : on one occasion, having placed a beautiful painting on glass in the furnace, the prior, to prove his merit, ordered him to take his black cap and go into the streets to beg alms; he complied without a word, and remained absent many hours; on his return he went anxiously to the furnace, and found that all had succeeded; the painting, in the lines and colors, had become faultless, and in fact incomparable.* Lippo Dalmasio, in whom the traditional piety of the old

* Goerres Christliche Mystik ii. 155.

Bolognese school was so conspicuous, may be added to these great examples, for he like Jacopo Avanzi would paint nothing but images of the blessed Virgin, and he never sat down to paint without having fasted the day before, and gone to communion on the morning itself, in order to purify his imagination and sanctify his pencil. In his latter days he embraced the monastic life, and continued to paint Madonnas, which he distributed as alms among the people. Guido discerned something supernatural in his paintings, and affirmed that no study or talents could give the power of combining, in a figure, such holiness, modesty, and purity. He used often to be seen in an ecstasy before one of his pictures, when uncovered on some festival of the blessed Virgin. That the artist of the middle ages regarded himself as the Preacher's assistant, is expressly affirmed by Buffalmacco, one of the pupils of Giotto; "As for us painters," saith he, "our sole business is to make saints, holy men, and holy women, on walls and over altars, in order that by their means, men, to the great despite of demons, may be more disposed to piety and virtue."*

It was the spirit of mutual edification which gave rise to the confraternity of painters, under the invocation of St. Luke, in 1350. They had their periodical meetings not from ambition to communicate their discoveries, and receive homage from each other, but simply to sing the praise of God. Evidence of the number of the pure, results not only from observing the character and works of the artists themselves, but also from an examination of the state of the public mind, in those ages, in relation to art, and of the taste of that society which so highly appreciated and encouraged them. Morenzo Costa painted for the chapel of John Bentivoglio, in the church of St. James at Bologna a portrait of that nobleman, with his wife, his four sons, and his seven daughters, beneath an image of the blessed Virgin: and the father's prayer is thus expressed,—

"Me, patriam, et dulces carâ cum conjuge natos,
Commendo precibus, Virgo beata, tuis."

It was for the confraternity of St. Mark, and of St. John the Evangelist, that Gentil Bellini executed many magnificent paintings. Capaccio traced the legend of St. Ursula, in a series of eight great pictures, for the confraternity which bears her name, the history of St. Jerome, and that of St. George for another confraternity, and the history of the Protomartyr, for the brotherhood of St. Stephen. Mansuetti was similarly encouraged at Venice, to paint for two confraternities of St. Mark and St. John.

Now from this hasty glance at artists, and the condition of art in the middle ages, it is clear that much and unobjectionable evidence, of the kind which we require, can be collected from them. If there be any doubt, let men only consider whether they deem it possible, that such a race of artists and of patrons could return, unless there were to take place a great purification of the public mind, and a

* Vasari,

change in manners to correspond with such works and with such patronage. Were another Savonarola to arise, and to appear in the metropolis of modern civilization, it is much to be feared that we should not see philosophers and poets, artists of all kinds, sculptors, painters, and engravers, offering themselves with enthusiasm to him, to be the docile instruments of the social reform which he would propose to effect, as was witnessed in Florence, when the friar of St. Dominick preached penance. It was not till the fifteenth century that artists, and patrons of arts, began to exhibit a taste for the style and subjects of heathen antiquity, after which epoch, the Christian school of painting, banished from learned capitals, will be found in the monasteries on the Tuscan mountains, where, in the next book, we shall have occasion again to mention it.

The pagan taste has, in its turn, been superseded by a style, which consists in an attempt to follow mere unsanctified nature ; so just is the remark of Rio, that, " the philosophy and manners of men are discernible from their works of art." The present school of painting, therefore, derives inspiration from other sources besides purity of heart.

But this is ground from which I gladly turn as one who thinks every step lost until he regain his path.

CHAPTER IV.

WE have proceeded but a short distance on this pleasant way, which unfolds the human spirit purged from sinful blot in generations that are gone by, and we have already a glimpse at the marvellous reward conferred upon it ; for evidence crowds in upon us from all sides, to illustrate how the blessed clean of heart, during ages of faith, were enabled, even in the present life, to attain in some degree to the vision in which it is declared their beatitude will everlastingly consist. " Mundus Deus," saith St. Jerome, " mundo corde conspicitur." Facts bore witness that he erred not. But what shall we say of the intellectual illumination consequent on such a vision ? The light of Christ had kindled innumerable souls, which each in turn became instrumental to its diffusion throughout the nations. Truly the earth may be said to have rejoiced, irradiated with such brightness, and the whole world to have felt that it had lost darkness, before the light of the splendor of the eternal King. Well might Mother Church, adorned with the lustre of such beams, rejoice with the angelic crowd of heaven, and call upon her children at the wondrous splendor of this holy light to invoke with her the mercy of Al-

mighty God. The ages which we have hitherto surveyed as bearing fruits of humility, meekness, mourning, justice, and mercy, must therefore now pass before us, in relation to that knowledge of truth which is implied in the vision of God; consequently, whatever forms part of their philosophic history must now be investigated.

The gift of understanding, according to St. Augustin, makes men possessors of the sixth beatitude. "The sixth operation of the Holy Spirit, which is intelligence, relates," saith he, "to the clean of heart, who, with a purified eye, can behold what eye hath not seen."* And the author of the Moral Mirror, ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, observes that men ought to be moved to seek purity of heart, because, acquiring or recovering it, they acquire or recover the splendor of knowledge, according to what is written:—"Spiritus intelligentiæ mundus subtilis et quanto mundior tanto subtilior."† "Therefore," he continues, "it is said, blessed are the clean of heart, for they shall see God—at present by grace, in contemplation, and hereafter by glory, beholding him without veil, face to face."‡

Indeed, from the beginning and all through the middle ages it had been shown that, as Savonarola says, even for advancement in human philosophy, and especially in metaphysics, cleanness of heart, which appeases all the passions of the mind, was indispensable.§ The influence of moral purity upon the intellectual character of the ages involved in this history presents an immense field which might have furnished additional evidence in proof of the number of the clean of heart during the predominance of faith; but as it affords likewise all the requisite illustrations to explain the temporal fulfilment of the divine promise respecting the reward ordained for them, it will be best to change our line of argument, and henceforth, assuming that this purity existed, confine our view to its intellectual results. Nevertheless I would not pass on without remarking that we might have produced this additional store of evidence if it had been required, as every one conversant with antiquity will perceive; for that the philosophical history of these ages, and all the vast store of mystic literature connected with it, yields direct and incidental evidence of moral purity—the former in attesting the graces of eminent men, the latter in exhibiting results which, without cleanness of heart, could not have been obtained,—is a proposition which, I presume, need be only announced to be universally admitted.

Socrates inquires why the greatest number of the philosophers are perverse men: he does not make it a question whether they are or are not perverse;‖ and, contrariwise, we might ask why not alone the greatest number, but all the eminent teachers of Catholic philosophy were holy men. He tells of all who mentions one. Would you take examples? "A lover of justice and goodness, a foe to wicked-

* De Serm. Dom. in Monte. † Sap. 7.
‡ Vincent. Bellov. Spec. Mor. Lib. i. par. iv. dist. 21. § Triumph Crucis, Lib. i. 13.
‖ De Repub. Lib. vi.

ness and malice, rather deservedly than accidentally styled Innocent," is the testimony of Gunther to the character of Pope Innocent III.*

"Thomas was an angel before he was the angelic doctor," says Labbæus, of the angel of the school.† "The most learned and most holy Thomas of Aquin," says Bishop Fisher, "I more willingly mention, because the impiety of Luther could not endure the sanctity of that man."‡

Alexander de Hales ascribes such innocence and purity to St. Bonaventura, that he says, "Adam does not seem to have sinned in Bonaventura." Staudenmaier remarks that "the acute and deep scholastics, as Erigena, Anselm of Canterbury, Hugo of St. Victor, Bonaventura, Thomas of Aquin, and others, were at the same time also high moral characters, pure, in harmony with nature, exhibiting the wonderful phenomenon of an interior Christian life." Again, a type of philosophers in those ages was Stephen Langhton, as described by the old writers,—"A man illustrious in life and science—a man mighty in life, in renown, in science, and in learning." Highly remarkable, too, are the very terms in which these witnesses convey their opinion of such men: as where Rainer, whom Pope Innocent III. sent to Spain, is described as "a man equally to be revered for science and for religion, for both are most acceptable to God and to men;"§ and Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, on the accession of King John, as "a man of a profound breast, a pillar of stability to the realm, and of incomparable wisdom."‖ The reader must perceive at once that it would be quite useless to multiply testimonies of this kind, for when we have merely named any of the great luminaries of the school in the middle age every one understands instinctively vessels of all grace; and if the admirable change which cleanness of heart had effected in the manners of the intellectually great and learned should not, at first sight, forcibly strike every reader, he may be assisted by reminding him of the testimony borne by a beloved disciple to the virtue of the wisest and best of the ancient philosophers, which yet amounted to no more than this: *Καὶ ὃ πάντων θαυμαστότατον, Σωκράτη μεθύοντα οὐδεὶς πώποτε ἑώρακεν ἀνθρώπων.*¶

We shall soon, however, have occasion to observe that the teachers of truth in these ages expressly maintained the necessity of wishing, as St. Augustin says, to purify the soul in order to see truth—not of wishing to see truth in order to purify the soul.** They continually reminded each other, with St. Thomas, that, "they are styled salt before they are called light, by Truth itself, because life is before doctrine, for life leads to the knowledge of truth."†† Their constant supplication was that which the holy Joseph of Cupertino was heard to utter in his ecstasy,—"Fiat Domine cor meum immaculatum, ut non confundar!"‡‡ Let us pass on, therefore, at once to view the happy spirits cleansed from sin on earth, in rela-

* Gunther, Hist. Cptana IX. in Canisii. Lect. Antiq. iv.
† Inter Elog. P. Lab. 64.
‡ In Confut. Libri de Cap Babil.
§ Gesta Innoc. III.
‖ Matt. Par. 138.
¶ Plat. Conviv. 35.
** De Util. Cred.
†† S. Thom. in c. 5. Matt.
‡‡ Goerres Die Christliche Mystik, ii. 257.

tion to intellectual good, to trace the influence of moral purity upon the philosophic character, and to receive the evidence in general which can be collected from the writings of these ages, in proof that the divine promise had even a temporal fulfilment. At the outset of this investigation we are presented with one of the many results exhibited in the intellectual history of the ages of faith, which indisputably, without purity of heart, could not have been obtained; for the first fact which forces itself upon our notice is the predominance of an intellectual as well as of a moral conscience. There is no closing of eyes to this fact, that during ages of faith the former reigned, if not uninterruptedly, at least to an unparalleled degree, so as to influence the whole public mind and constitution of all Christian nations. From whatever side we proceed to examine the truth of this statement, we shall find that it is solidly grounded and beyond refutation; for in the first place, the intense and devoted love of truth which influenced men is a fact that cannot be set aside. To the lowest member of a Catholic state, in ages of faith, as well as to the philosopher in the schools, and to the statesman of the type of Suger, in the court of princes, one might have applied the magnificent words of the Greek poet,—

Θάσσεις ἐν ἀψευδεῖ θρόνῳ.*

Each one, from merely adhering to the church, and drinking from its living streams, became fixed and fruitful, and might be truly said to sit upon a throne, and as a presiding judge to have dominion such as no earthly power could overcome or bend. The constancy of the two Dominicans who chose to die with Savonarola rather than cease to render public testimony to his innocence, for they were charged with no other crime,† may be witnessed as an example; for if men were thus immovable, ready to die rather than not bear true witness for their neighbor, what could prevent them from bearing witness to the truth of that glorious vision of God, which embraced all things in one?

Truth prevailed accordingly, and that is to say every thing; for I mean truth not scientific of curiosity, but moral and religious, of life and manners—truth mystic and holy, placing a curb upon the passions of men, annihilating their pride, prostrating selfishness, effecting all interests, determining all relations, directing all views—Catholic truth, joyous and blessed indeed to the clean of heart, but full of difficulties and inconveniences to the slaves of passion, that is to all men but those whom grace made pure. This return of multitudes to the understanding of their own honor is, after all, the grand pre-eminent event which has characterized the ages which we are considering; for how irreparably lost to such truth was the vast majority of the human race previous to their commencement! The most acute and practical of the ancient philosophers said, that "it was impossible to turn the multitude to understand the beautiful and good, since, living by

* Eurip. Iph. in Taur. 1242.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iii. liv. 23.

passion," saith he, " they pursue their private pleasures, but they fly from suffering and grief, and they have no conception how truly sweet is the beautiful and good, for they have never tasted it. And what discourse could correct these? It is not possible, at least it is not easy, to change by discourse the things which have been transfused into the manners of men from old time."* " The parts of the philosophic nature," says Socrates, " are seldom born united in one and the same person, but in general they exist dispersed and separated; for men that have the talent of learning with facility, and the gift of memory, that have wit and penetration and the other qualities which are of a like nature, are seldom born with a disposition to generous and noble sentiments, with a desire to live decorously, orderly, in peace and steady fixedness of condition, *οἷοι κοσμίως μετὰ ἡσυχίας καὶ βεβαιότητος ἐθελειν ζῆν;* but such persons, by the quickness of their disposition, are carried away in whatever direction they happen to take, and steady fixedness is totally foreign to them—*καὶ βέβαιον ἅπαν ἐξ αὐτῶν οἴχεται.* How must this disorder of the heart pervert and obscure the judgment! On the other hand," he observes, " those who are of steady fixed manners, not easily changed, and in whom confidence can be placed, are but ill disposed for learning; for they are hard to be moved, and hard to be instructed, being, as it were, stupified with the touch of a torpedo, under the influence of sleep and yawning whenever they are obliged to do any thing; and we have shown that it is necessary to possess both these elements, or else never be qualified to fill any important office."†

This is a sad picture of the intellectual state of our nature; nor will it appear less deplorable, if examined with the eyes of men in ages of faith, for that will only serve to give a more aggravated idea of the depths from which it had to return when brought to the light of faith and to the purity of the clean of heart. Man, when he was in honor, did not understand, but fell to a similitude with beasts, " because," observes Vincent of Beauvais, " he swelled against truth, illuminating himself; he incurred infirmity, blindness, and all kinds of vanity: and therefore it is said, ' non intellexit;' because the father of lies favoring and suggesting, and iniquity lying to itself, man stood not in truth, but, closing his eyes to the light, remained in his blindness; thus pride impelling from himself and by himself, he is precipitated to the lowest depths, that is, to the things which delight cattle; and while he pours out all his entrails on the earth, all within himself disappears; and while breathing only after visible things, he is compared to silly beasts, though in comparison with beasts he is convicted of greater folly, and therefore to their school he is sent by the wise. ' Interroga jumenta,' says one of them, ' et docebunt te;' and another sends man negligent of salvation to the ant, that he may learn wisdom from her."‡ In fact, it was a general observation, that

* Aristotle, Ethic. Lib. x. cap. 9. † Plato de Repub. Lib. vi.

‡ Vincent Bellov. Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. i. c. 1.

from not cultivating religious feeling men gradually subside into mere animals, and that then the next step is to trample upon the pearls of the faith; so that, in consequence, after the religious revolution of the sixteenth century, one of the Papal nuncios, who was a Dominican, told the people in the Low Countries that of necessity they would all embrace the new opinions if they did not amend their lives.*

"In the lost children," saith Richard of St. Victor, "the light of the eyes faileth; for often, from the depravation of the will, the acuteness of the intelligence is clouded over. He who loses celestial desires, and involves himself in the love of earthly things, must incur the darkness of errors, and, as if from the distilled clouds of heaven, be tainted with a certain dew of seduction. The domination of vice by degrees softens the mind, and renders it constantly weaker and weaker."† And this, no doubt, explains the sentence of Simonides, that opinion violates truth :—*τὸ δοκεῖν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν βιάζεται*, which they should recollect who ever lay such stress upon what "seems;" for oh! what not in man deceivable and vain!

"All who are in mortal sin," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "are rebels to light, to the uncreated light, to the holy and true God, and to the judgment of right reason."‡ "Reason before sin," says Hugo of St. Victor, "comprehended more easily and perfectly what now with great difficulty and less perfectly, and from a distance, it can see; many things also it knew then, which now it doth not know."§ Again, "Truth does not come willingly without goodness, or, if it come, it does not come from those parts and from that region where is salvation."‖ "Of necessity, while the mind is corrupted within, the intelligence is deceived in the judgment of things without."¶ "But where is charity, there is brightness: ubi caritas est, claritas est."**

"Falsehood does not arise," says St. Augustin, "from the things themselves which deceive us, since they only show to the senses their exterior form, according to the beauty they have received; nor is it on the other hand, the senses which lead us into error, since being affected conformably to the nature of the body to which they belong, they bring only their own affections to the soul. It is sin which deceives souls, when they seek what is true, without that truth which they abandon."††

"Sin is partly in the intelligence," says the angelic doctor, "and therefore falsehood can be in the intelligence," which St. Augustin observes, remarking that "no one who is deceived understands that in which he is deceived." St. Bernardine of Sienna traces the ignorance and errors of men to three sources, which are all excluded where the heart is pure. He cites the words, "diminutæ sunt veri-

* Touron, iii. 20. † Ric. S. Victoris de Eruditione Hominis Interioris, i. ii. c. 26. 29.
‡ B. Dionysii Carthus. de Fonte Lucis, Præfat. § Quæst. Circ. Epist. ad Rom. i. 269.
‖ Hugo S. Vict. de Sacram. Lib. ii. p. 14. c. 9. ¶ Id. de Sapientia Anim. Christi, Præfat.
** De Sacram. Lib. ii. p. 13. c. 11. †† S. August. de Ver. Rel. 67.

tates a filiis hominum ;" and adds, " plurally—to denote a triple truth,—the truth of justice, which fails by avarice—the truth of life, which fails by luxury—and the truth of doctrine, which fails by pride."* Hence arises the phenomenon remarked by Paschal, that there are minds excellent in all other respects, which cannot in any manner consent to certain notions, though nothing can surpass them in clearness, and though, as Savonarola says of the Catholic doctrines in general, they admit of proof which amounts to mathematical demonstration.

These facts as to the origin of error convey an important testimony to the moral purity of those ages, in which the great truths of the Catholic religion were so generally admitted and acted upon, both by nations and individuals ; and we shall find them multiplied and confirmed if we proceed to reflect upon the causes which, in subsequent times, have occasioned nations and individuals to lapse into a state of ignorance respecting the same truths, or to regard them with avowed hostility. The scholastic divines distinguish the peccatum ignorantiæ and the peccatum ex ignorantiæ.†

"There is a triple ignorance," says the Master of the Sentences : " that of those who are unwilling to know, which is itself sin—that of those who wish to know, but cannot ; which ignorance excuses, for it is not sin, but only its punishment —and that of those who merely are ignorant, which is simple ignorance, which excuses no one fully, but only so far, perchance, as to mitigate punishment."‡ Of the first, St. Augustin speaks in these terms :—" Man with a perverse mind sometimes fears to understand, lest he sould be compelled to do what he might understand ;"§ which ignorance is noticed by the Psalmist, also, saying, " Noluit intelligere ut bene ageret."

In remarking that of this ignorance, in which clearly men of pure hearts could never be involved, we can discover comparatively but little trace during the middle ages, one must acknowledge that the generations of those times were exempt, in great measure, from the trials to which later have been exposed ; for the Catholic religion was then in wondrous manner diffused, and provided with means of extending through all lands the knowledge of its truth ; but when we come to speak of the ardor and affection with which that truth was explained, confirmed, and illustrated, we shall gather sufficient proof to convince us that, if by a mysterious permission of Almighty Providence, the pillar had been partially removed and the light of faith intercepted from any land, these were not the men who would have quietly resigned themselves to such a destitution, shut their eyes to the beams that might rekindle it, or taken refuge in ignorance, pretending it to be involuntary.

" Many things are unknown," says St. Bernard, "either through negligence to know or indolence to learn, or shame of inquiring," but according to St. Thomas,

* S. Bern. Senens. Epist. 21. tom. iii.

† S. Bonavent. Declar. Termin. Theolog. op. tom. vi. p. 211.

‡ Mag. Sent. Lib. ii. Distinct. 22.

§ De Verbis Apostol. sect. 18.

"ignorance, which is caused by a fault, cannot excuse the subsequent fault." As St. Augustin says, "it will not be imputed to you, as a fault, that you are ignorant, but that you neglect to seek that of which you are ignorant."* This is the terrible reproof to which the conduct of men, who refused to hear the holy church, has ever been obnoxious. The heathens evinced not more anxiety to learn what was really the Christian doctrine, than many of those who were separated from its authoritative teachers in latter times.

"Hic solum humanam curiositatem torpescere," says Tertullian, and the experience of eighteen centuries has only confirmed the truth of his observation. "Never speak of the Pythagoreans without light," was a Pythagorean maxim,† which might have suggested a reasonable caution to many eloquent declaimers in modern times, who could not be accused of neglecting to speak concerning that of which they were ignorant; for when truth had retired from some lands, bestruck with slanderous darts, many loved to speak of Catholics in the dark, without knowing any thing about them. Many, too, when the Catholic religion was explained to them, acted like that Trojan of the poet, who, hearing the sentiments of the real Helen, supposing that it is only one who resembles her in person, exclaims, "your mind indeed is far different from hers. You have well said 'May the Gods reward you,' but may she, whom you resemble only in body, perish miserably."‡ But let us hear more fully what the angelic Doctor says on this subject: "If ignorance made sin involuntary, it would follow that all sin was involuntary, which is against St. Augustin, who says, 'that all sin is voluntary.' Ignorance," he continues, "is threefold in relation to the will, concomitantly, consequently, and antecedently: the first is where there is ignorance in an action, yet if there were knowledge the action would still be performed; such ignorance causes not the involuntary: the second case is where ignorance itself is involuntary, and this may be in two ways, as where the will chooses ignorance, that the guilt of sin may be diminished, and this is styled affected ignorance: the other manner is where a man can and ought to know, and this is the ignorance of evil choice, from passion or habit preceding; but when such ignorance exists it does not make an act involuntary. Antecedently is ignorance, in regard to the will, where it is the cause of doing what otherwise would not be done, and such ignorance causes the involuntary."§ We must be reminded, from time to time, that passages of this kind are valuable, not merely as conveying the opinion of illustrious philosophers, but as showing what was the universal conviction of mankind, constituting in reality historical facts; for to learn what was the general opinion of men in a particular age, or the state of the public mind respecting the causes and the guilt of indifference to truth, is to be made acquainted with a fact, and one too of no small importance to the success of a philosophic study of history.

* De Libero Arbit. Lib. iii. 19.
‡ Eurip. Helen. 160.
† Iamblich. Adhort. ad Phil. in fin.
§ S. Thom. Sum. p. I. Q. vi. art. 8.

That such should have been the conviction was, indeed, but a necessary consequence of moral purity, for what could be conceived more contrary to it, than a resolution to follow every inclination of nature blindly, in order to avoid the responsibility of knowing the Creator's will? "No excuse can be drawn from such ignorance," says Savonarola, who seems to deny that there can exist any other kind to prevent men from embracing the Catholic faith; for he says that, "whoever, although born in a land where it was unknown, should turn to God, with the natural light of reason and a pure heart, and implore him to show truth, his prayer would be heard; and either by an internal inspiration as to Job, or by angels as to Cornelius, or by an apostolic man as to the Eunuch by Philip, the necessary light would be imparted."*

Of the great intellectual result, arising from the multitude of spirits purged from sin on earth, we should form, however, an inadequate idea, if we confined our observation to the general desire of escaping from a state of ignorance, without extending it to the positive proofs of fervor and sincerity with which truth was invited and received. But as these have been already witnessed during the course of the preceding books, in which we have seen the predominance of faith, and the devoted love with which the Catholic religion was embraced and practised, it will be more conducive to the end of exhibiting the happy consequences of attaining to the requisite qualification for this sixth beatitude, if we turn our attention, at present, to the causes which have occasioned the rejection or abandonment of the same truth, by those who ought to consider themselves as its natural defenders; for by such contrasts effects are often clearer seen. And if it should be found that these are indeed the sharp parts of which I spoke, in the beginning, as inevitable, it must be remembered that, independent of the vital nourishment which may be drawn from them, the position of these persons is one that challenges inquiry; for as one of their own body has lately said, "Men who appropriate to themselves a title which others claimed a right to enjoy, must expect their pretentions to be subjected to a somewhat rigid scrutiny; nor are they even entitled to complain, if they incur a certain degree of obloquy and invective." Such we conceive to be the case as respects those who were pleased to assume to themselves the title of reformed Christians. Not indeed that I mean to bespeak a justification for myself, as if it were my intention to set down against them aught in malice, but, conceiving that their writings afford the most useful illustrations of the consequences which ensue from a want of that supernatural cleanness of heart, which eminently characterized Catholic generations in ages of faith, I must be permitted freely to make use of them for that purpose, not contrasting such men with ourselves, since, as far as regards nature, the result might cover us with shame, but comparing them with those we follow. Nor do I feel it necessary to disclaim an intention of charging all such persons with insincerity,

* Triump. Crucis, Lib. ii. 16.

since the denial would rather imply that I was conscious of having harbored the idea that such an intention was possible—a weakness, to use the gentlest term, from which I feel myself free.

That any man should write otherwise than conscientiously,— I do not mean otherwise than what is generally implied by that term, for it is pretty evident that men on ordinary occasions, can find in their consciences exactly what they please,—but otherwise than they would write or dictate if laid on the bed of death, would be incredible if we were not surrounded with things, and if we did not find within ourselves at least the seeds of things incredible, though most true. Here unhappily we are not under the necessity of insisting much upon mere presumptions. The history of these divisions, which St. Paul classes among carnal sins, which records such a succession of vain men, pursuing the changing honors of the world as giddy children who run after butterflies, heedless of the ground beneath their feet, furnishes abundant proof, that an intellectual conscience is an indication of purity of heart, which mankind, in hostility to the Catholic church, has never given.

"You must follow truth—*πάντως καὶ πάντη*," says Plato, "or abandon all claim to the love of wisdom."* On that condition its adversaries have done, as yet, but little to swell the list of philosophers.

Antonio Galateus, a great Catholic Physician, makes a remark which was very characteristic of the spirit of the middle ages, when even the schools seemed to be animated with the generosity and courage of that chivalry, which was so much then in vogue. "Nor do I think it," he says, writing to Summonti, "a less sin not to assent to truth, than not to defend truth—in defence of which so many martyrs of Christ, so many prophets, so many philosophers are dead."†

This, I repeat it, was the spirit of that ancient society which was subject to the Catholic church. But if we turn to investigate the manners and spirit arising out of the civilization which succeeded, notwithstanding an increase of pretension, we shall find a very different state of things, yielding evidence on which it would be difficult not to believe, that a great revolution, in regard to such sentiments, had taken place. Without alluding to men resembling Strepsiades, whose sole desire really seemed to be to become masters of unjust reasoning, we find, as advocates of the new opinions very influential personages, in whom, unquestionably, a devotedness to truth was wanting, even when they did not regard it with hostility. Many adopted, in reference to Catholics, the policy of Seneca, who, as St. Augustin remarks, "never names the Christians, not daring to speak well of them lest he should contradict the common opinion of his country, and not wishing to speak ill of them lest he should wound his own conscience."‡ Perhaps, however, no class of men came forward in greater numbers, to swell

* De Repub. Lib. vi.

† De Civ. Dei, vi. 11.

‡ Ant. Gal. Callipolis descript. Thes. Antiq. Ital. tom. ix.

the ranks of those who advocated the new philosophy in Europe, than that which was long before described by John of Salisbury. "Some there are," saith he, "who, as if imitators of the Academicians, choose from fancy rather than from reason what they follow. Whatever this man has caught up he thinks derived from the secret depths of philosophy. Prepared to contend for a tuft of wool, he thinks whatever sounds strange to his ears to be untenable. Whatever he himself advances is authentic and holy. When other men speak he contradicts them instantly, though he is oppressed with such intellectual poverty, that if you take from him one or two words he is dumb, and more silent than a statue: you would think him marble, and to have learned silence in a school of Pythagoras or a cloister of monks."* Men are not indeed to be censured for being poor, but if they attempt to deceive others by pretending riches, it is but right to put others on their guard against them.

St. Athanasius says, that the most decided of the Arian bishops did not dare to expose their real sentiments in Christian pulpits. "Cautious," he says, "in general men of the world, they speak only in a vague and general manner of the Son of God; and the Catholic people attach to this word a Catholic sense." St. Hilary makes the same remark, and adds, "This impious artifice of not saying what they think, is the cause why the bishops of Antichrist do not utterly destroy the Christian people, who take their expressions in the natural sense. They hear Jesus Christ called God, and they believe that he is what they call him. Sanctiores aures populi quam corda sunt sacerdotum."†

This passage might recall to the reader's mind other adversaries, and transport it to later times, when there were with the Christian sects, as there had been of old with the philosophers, the *βιβλία ἐξωτερικὰ* and the *λόγοι ἀκροατικοὶ*, spoken of in Alexander's letter, as also the *ἐγκύκλιοι λόγοι*, of which the Stagyrite in his Ethics speaks. When an intelligent observer surveyed the fair professions which were opposed with such assurance to Catholicism, and discovered that after all they were never, for the most part, any thing but a greater or less degree of that unbelief which is now styled Rationalism, and that they owed many of their most distinguished ornaments to this contrivance, his only answer to their boastful advocates might have been in the poet's words,—"O heaven! that such resemblance of the truth should yet remain, where faith and reality remain not!"

This contrast to the simplicity of the clean of heart can be discerned at an early stage of the revolution. Erasmus at first only objected to the violence of Luther. "I reserve myself," he says, writing to him, "wholly for the work of literature; and it seems to me that one is most likely to succeed by moderation. Thus it was that Christ acted and subdued the world; thus did Paul abolish the Judaic religion. Omnia trahens ad allegoriam." Michelet remarks, that "as the Cæsars of old in their triumph had a voice to warn them, so had Luther in his

* De Nugis Cur. Lib. vii. cap. 9.

† S. Hilarii cont. Auxent. c. 6.

day of glory ; for in his joy he could discern the faint murmur of unbelief saying memento mori ; and in fact Zuingle, notwithstanding the mystical style of his writings, was a decided herald of that troop." The same policy has been adopted in these latter days, even by a bolder race of spirits, who, after exhausting all the sophisms of their Gallic leader, in order to subdue the very name of Christ, have suddenly shifted sails and steered their bark to join the hosts of those who confine their hostility to Rome, who thoughtlessly admit the new allies, as if there could be no reason to suspect a belief which shows us men detesting Christ, who also detest Antichrist.

But, passing on, let us notice in our poor humanity, separated from the living sources in which it is made pure, other indications of an unsound double heart, which in the ages of faith were much more rarely found. Amidst these hosts were many who were sometimes forced by evidence to admit the motives of credibility, and yet who refused to believe. This was not a novelty, " Pontifices et Pharisæi," says St. Augustin, " sibi consulebant, nec tamen dicebant, credamus."* " With such men," as Pelisson remarks, " the secret objection was so much the greater evil, as they never sought a remedy for it. They entered on no explanation, even within their own minds, but by a certain confused and undeveloped idea fancied themselves secure ; but incredulity," adds this philosopher, " excuses no one before God, nor should it before men, until the question has been decided by a deep and mature deliberation of the grounds for believing or for not believing."† Their interior stains were manifest, therefore, by their neglecting to engage in such deliberations, notwithstanding the peculiarity of their position, which made them of absolute obligation. The words of Cotta to Velleus were applicable to them :— " Vestra solum legitis ; vestra amatis : cæteros causâ incognitâ condemnatis ;"‡ so that one might address them in the style of Socrates, and say, alluding to the promises of which they are so bountiful, " O happy men of wondrous nature, who can accomplish such a work so easily ! Your words indeed are admirable in many respects, but in this above all others transcendental,—that you make no account of many men who are venerable and esteemed not a little, but only of such as are like yourselves."§ If, indeed, there be any book by Catholics inconsiderably written and condemned by authority, any extravagant legend, any base concession, like a traitorous deliverance of the towers of the celestial city,—that they read with greediness, and then laid claim to impartiality ; but, as Cardan remarks, " It did not excuse Pilate when he said, ' Tui te mihi tradiderunt,' for he ought to have inquired into the truth, and discharged the office of a just judge." In the time of James I. the new teachers shunned any discussion with the old, though Walsingham says they used to boast that none appeared to argue with them, when in fact none were

* Tract. xlix. in Joan. † Pelisson, Réflexions sur les Differends de la Religion, sect. iv.
‡ De Nat. Deorum. § Plato, Euthydem.

permitted.* At present, undoubtedly, we hear of public disputations before a select audience, but it is only to remind one of the sophist Protagoras saying to Socrates, "It will be sweet to discourse concerning these things, in presence of these persons who are here with me;" when the sage perceived at once that his sole desire was to show off his abilities before Prodicus and Hippias, that is, to provide for gaining more money.† How sweet is it for many thus, before chosen auditors, to hold up infidels and persecutors of the church, like John of England, as representatives of its faith—how sweet to discourse concerning the baneful influence of Romanism, visible in men who in their hearts detested Rome, and were its bitterest enemies—how sweet to repeat all that Middleton and Robertson and others of that school have written, having the rich and credulous for hearers, who think their national glory must for ever set if there should be lack of contributions to the speaker's fund! Truly, when thus challenged, the Catholic should reply in the words of Æschylus, to one who said, "But you?—what do you wish to answer?"—

Ἐβουλόμην μὲν οὐκ ἐρίζειν ἐνθάδε·
Οὐκ ἐξ ἴσου γὰρ ἐστιν ἀγὼν νεῶν·‡

The wishing to discourse before a multitude of such men, he might continue, in the words of Plato, "seems to me as a thing justly reprehensible."§ St. Augustin suggests the only rational method, saying, "Lay aside the study of parties, and seek the grace, not of conquering, but of finding truth."‖

A disingenuous use of erudition is a symptom of interior disease, from which the adversaries of the Catholic Church have at no time been wholly free. Chrysippus, the most cunning interpreter of the dreams of the stoics, as Cicero calls him, attempted, in the second book of his treatise, De Natura Deorum, to accommodate the fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod, and Homer to the things which he had laid down in the first concerning the gods,—ut etiam veterrimi poëtæ, qui hæc ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur.¶ One is forcibly reminded, by this passage, of the literary curiosities presented by modern writers, who show, with a great Prussian historian, St. Boniface protecting the Church of Germany from the tyranny of Rome, and with an English historian of the Anglo-Saxons, how early the corruptions of Rome began to infect the English Church—for by that admission he thinks to explain away the fact of its Catholicity—and with another distinguished writer of our country, Sir Thomas More, discoursing, like an Anglican minister, in a London clubhouse. Such is the learning, whether conveyed in a Grandfather's Tales, or in the more pretentious volumes of a Family Library, which the watchmen of the reformed camp proclaim to be the one only cure for "the melancholy and dangerous spirit which leads the vast majority of

* Search, &c. p. 2. † Plato, Protag. ‡ Ranæ. § Pato, Euthydemus.
‖ De Mor. Manich. c. 3. n. 5. ¶ Cicero de Nat. Deorum, i. 15.

their host to 'doubt whether they ought to convert Catholics or be converted themselves.'" That it is incompatible with purity of heart even to make choice of such representations as the best sources of information on the subject in debate, is an assertion which implies, I conceive, nothing uncharitable; for, as St. Augustin says, "What can be more full of temerity than to inquire concerning the sense of books from those who, in consequence of some secret impelling cause or other, have declared war against the writers and authors of those books?"*

If St. Theresa could say, "We do not live in times in which we can attach faith to all kinds of persons, but only to those who conform their lives to the life of Jesus Christ," no one in these days, assuredly, has any just ground to consider himself injured, if he should hear his contemporaries similarly admonished.

The prodigious power of prejudice, which so often reduces the best understandings to a level with the most imbecile, has been employed from the earliest times against the Catholic Church; and this must certainly be traced from the intricacies and defilements of the human heart. How could the judgment be the original offender here?

Truly it falleth out with these Catholic haters as with the good women spoken of by Sidney, who are often sick, but in faith they cannot tell where; so the name of Catholic or Roman is odious to them, though neither its cause nor effects, neither the sum that contains it nor the particularities descending from it, give any fast handle to their carping dispraise. This is an evil to which even the history of old philosophy shows that our nature has been always liable.

Socrates, in his Apology, expresses a greater fear of the ancient calumnious reports, which had been long propagated among the people respecting him, than of the specific charge brought against him by Anytus, however dreadful that might be. "These, O men!" he says, "are far more formidable, which have persuaded most of you from your childhood to believe these false charges against me,—such as that there was a certain Socrates, a sophist and vain speculator, making the worst cause appear the best;—these reports, O Athenians! these reports are the accusers that I have most reason to dread. They are many in number, and they have long been actively employed against me, addressing themselves to you in that age when you were least able to refute them, being boys and youths; while there was no one to stand up in my defence. Therefore I have two sets of accusers—the one comprising these men who now bring a specific charge against me; the other, those who have long since been accusing me: and I am old and slow in speech, but my accusers are indefatigable and active through the energy of evil—*οἱ δ' ἐμοὶ κατήγοροι ἅτε δεινοὶ καὶ ὀξεῖοι ὄντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θάττονος τῆς κακίας.*"†

The contest between the Catholic Church and her adversaries could not be

* De Util. Cred. c. vi.

† Plato, Apol. 39.

more faithfully described than in these words. Such are, in fact, the two sets of her accusers, both adopting courses that indicate the blot of sin in hearts not purged away. In general, their rule seems to be to accuse, without stopping to examine on what ground they accuse : so it pleaseth them to take things not conceded, and to make of them what they wish. Then we hear them cry out indignantly, saying, that every thing is contaminated with the demon's touch, and that what we treasure most is a curse to ourselves and to all other men ; but 'tis they " who, lost in stormy visions, keep with phantoms an unprofitable strife, and in mad trance strike with their spirit's knife invulnerable nothings."

St. Augustin says, " that men being inclined to condemn whatever is contrary to the custom of their age and country, and to approve of nothing but what is according to it, it follows, that if any thing in the Scripture should be foreign to the custom of the hearers, they forthwith set that down as a figured locution. So, if the opinion of error should preoccupy the mind, whatever the Scripture may assert in contradiction to it is thought to be figurative.* But the Scripture," he adds, " prescribes only charity, and condemns only cupidity, and in that way forms the manners of men." Charity would thus correct the judgment. We are, therefore, again obliged to descend to the heart to find the seat of the evil. If there had been felt there the purifying influence of love, men would not thus cling to the slightest obstacle and rest content, as we find so many do, with the force of such negative arguments as would never for an instant delay them in their temporal speculations. Thus, because St. Polycarp, writing upon other matters, does not mention that supremacy of Rome which his disciple, St. Irenæus, combating the heretics, speaks of as a thing unquestioned, therefore some conclude it cannot be proved as old as the apostolic age.

Every flimsy conceit of this kind is then received as a heaven-descended shield, which can be produced, they think, like that made by Vulcan, *φοβήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν :* though, as Bossuet said of a reply by Claude, " It would be better to give no answer to us at all, than such an answer." On the other hand, in thus tracing prejudice to its source, it would be inhuman to press hard upon those afflicted with it, as if it were an evil not to be acquired without pains, when it is obviously the predominant malady of our common nature, which nothing can remove but the supernatural purity of heart, which confers beatitude. Above all, when it is promoted by the instructions of youth, there is ground for commiseration. On purely rational grounds no one has a right to expect argument to avail against the force of education and example ; few can surmount such difficulties : " Magni est ingenii revocare mentem a sensibus et cogitationem ab consuetudine abducere." As the poet saith, " Custom maketh blind and obdurate the loftiest hearts."

" Beware," said Socrates, to one who was about applying to Protagoras for

* De Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. cap. 10.

lessons, " how you play at chances for the dearest interests belonging to you ; for there is more danger in purchasing instruction than food or drink for the body. Food or drink purchased from the dealer can be tried before it enters your mouth, and you can determine what is to be eaten or drunk and what not, and how and where it should be received,—so here there is no danger ; but lessons of instruction cannot be proved first by pouring them into a vessel, but having once received instructions into the soul, one must depart either injured or benefitted."*

There was, however, at the first, and there will continue to be to the end of time, an especial source of hostility to the Catholic religion, which indicates interior impurity of a far deeper dye than that which leads to the dominion of ordinary prejudice. The influence of the passions and of the affections upon the judgment was so fully discerned by the ancient philosopher, that we are told his supplications to Heaven were limited to a prayer that he might be fair within ; and in fact, where the heart is given not to God, but to creatures—where the habit is acquired of seeking exterior consolations, and of contracting attachments to things of earth, there can be no dependence upon the acutest intelligence. To the men who embraced the new opinions in the sixteenth century, might have been addressed the poet's admonition :—

" You have known better lights and guides than these ·
Ah ! let not aught amiss within dispose
A noble mind to practise on herself,
And tempt opinion to support the wrongs
Of passion ———."

The moral restraints of the Catholic religion, and her correcting hand, are more than sufficient to shut out her truth from passion's slave, and him who still to worth has been a willing stranger. Mariana, speaking of Carilla, Archbishop of Toledo, who reproved Don Pedro the Cruel for his debaucheries, and who was hated by him on that account, says that his reasons for hating the archbishop were so much the stronger as they were unjust : odii causæ acriores, quia iniquæ.† The religion cannot be loved of which the minister incurs such hate from complying with its requisitions.

The great characteristics of men who oppose it on this ground are not those of Plato's philosopher, " a hatred of falsehood and a love of truth,"‡ but a hatred of what is not habitual and pleasing to them—of what is not associated with ideas that inspire self-esteem, and a love of what custom, domestic interests, and the innumerable bonds of the world have made dear to them. Such lovers of glory, as Plato would call them, are very angry if we only mention the name of authors who have written to prove the truth of the Catholic religion : " We feel no inclination to look into them," they say, with an expression of contempt,—nay, like Epicurus, they are ready to make war against dialectics, and deny the sense of the words, either

* Plato. Protagoras. † Lib. xvi. c. 18. ‡ De Repub. Lib. vi.

yes or no, thinking to be acute too; though Cicero asks, in allusion to such reasoners, "Quo quid dici potest obtusius?" 'Tis passion hangs these weights upon their tongue. But what is this, unless being angry with truth? And how stained must be the heart in which such aversion dwelleth!

Who ever attempts to recommend it must then expect to hear such words as Paris addresses to Antenor," do not persist in saying to me that this creed is true, for it pleaseth me not."

——σὺ μὲν οὐκέτ' ἐμοὶ φιλα ταῦτ' ἀγορεύεις·
οἶσθα καὶ ἄλλον μῦθον ἀμείνονα τοῦδε νοῆσαι.*

Indeed, if you will hear men, of deep mysterious vision into the secrets of the spiritual world, you will be inclined to think that the implacable hatred, which some in different ages have evinced against this holy cause, could only be accounted for by tracing it to a certain instinct, which tells them, as St. Anselm says, "that the consummation of the saints will be to such as perish interminable grief and everlasting ruin." Doubtless, ancient poets say with more truth than is often imagined, "that the crimes of ancestors cause men to experience the enmity of the avenging ministers of Heaven." How else can one explain the language that now finds favor among men of noble descent, and in every other respect, of gentle manners? 'tis like the drops from the heart of the Furies bearing death to mortals. Who will appease the bitter strength of the black wave? But every where the mists are gathering between truth, and all but the clean of heart. Where nations have been separated, the very affections of nature interpose, as they did in the first age of the Church. St. Clement of Alexandria met the difficulty in this manner. You say "it is not well and honorable to turn aside from the custom of our fathers. Why, then," he adds, "do you not continue to use the nurse's milk to which they first accustomed you? why do you increase or diminish the substance they left you? If they left you an evil and Atheistic custom of life, why should you not seek the truth, and your real true Father?† Where the heart is not purified by humility, wisdom herself becomes an obstacle, and men conclude that their position without the Church, verifies the maxim of Cardan, that it is sometimes better to persist in a bad choice than afterwards to vary one's course by choosing a better.‡ Though Homer would suffice to convict them of error in following it, since he makes a heavenly tongue declare, that the minds of the good can be converted; στρεπταὶ μέν τε φρένες ἐσθλῶν.§

Nor is this all; for the mind is blinded to the light of truth, oftener, perhaps, by regarding the dazzling brightness of its own virtues, than by involving itself in the clouds of vice. Men of the best and sweetest natures engage in holy offices of charity and instruction, in emulation of what they read in Catholic books, and the very zeal and energy with which they pursue them, may, unknown to them-

* II. VII. 357. † Protrepticus, c. x. ‡ De Vita propria Lib. 1. c. xi. § II. XV. 213.

selves, be in exact proportion to the depth of the secret wound, which the fiery dart of truth may have inflicted on their conscience, at some former period of their lives, and they remember it not. It is sad to return to treat grosser and more vulgar stains, but one cannot overlook the instance remarked by our own poet, where he says, that "gold is poison to men's souls, doing more murders in this loathsome world." This, beyond all doubt, it is, which often clouds the brow, whenever the serene light of truth is perceived breaking in from a distance. When the interior blot remains untouched, it avails but little to remind men of their soul. "Riches are a soul to wretched mortals," said the oldest poet of the Greeks.* Hence the fog doth often rise to vitiate the spirit's beam; this the holy Bernard knew, and therefore he writes in these terms to Gillebert, Bishop of London, commending his spirit of poverty. Avarice is dead; to whom is not such a word sweet? How truly wise must you be who have destroyed the greatest enemy of wisdom? Truly this is worthy of your priesthood, and of your name. It was right that you should confirm your eminent philosophy by this testimony, to furnish this compliment to your long studies. It was not a great thing for Master Gillebert to become a Bishop; but for a Bishop of London to live like a poor man, this is clearly magnificent.† We read in the life of St. John Climacus, that he not being held by affection for any thing mortal, but nourished only by the sense of eternal things, escaped free from noxious sadness. Pride, ambition, and the love of pleasure, are the chief sources of intellectual blindness, so that Christ struck at the root of the cursed tree of false knowledge, when he said, "siquis vult venire post me, abneget semetipsum et tollat crucem suam." Witness those lovers of pleasure, of whom St. Clemens Alexandrinus speaks. "Let them take up their cross," he says, "and they will cease to be Atheists under the name of philosophers."‡

Only let this divine precept be obeyed; and no class of men, in order to win the world's praise, or led away by a love of singularity, to forsake the Catholic form of sound words, will be heard, uttering crude and unauthorized fancies, recklessly scattering the seeds of presumptuousness and delusion: men, who, as far as their meaning can be distinguished from that of Catholic divines and moralists, hold nothing peculiar to themselves, on the great doctrines of redemption, unless, indeed, they hold what is absurd and pestilential, will not then pretend to be the reformed, or the sole depositories of evangelical truth: but, on the contrary, every tongue will repeat St. Augustin's words, "there can be no just necessity for breaking unity:" then we shall hear no more of professed teachers of truth, coming with deep premeditated lines, with written pamphlets, studiously devised to accuse any set of men in mass, without hearing them, without studying the cause of their position in society, or knowing what are their sentiments, and defaming them by categories, extolling the wisdom and the institutions of the

* Hesiod, Op. et Dies. † S. Bernardi Epist. xxiv. ‡ Stromat. Lib. i. c. 11.

ancient Catholic society, and with the same breath denouncing those who follow that wisdom, and who would perpetuate those institutions, in their true spirit, as a perfidious faction, which must be either converted to the modern creed, or conquered with the sword ; turning the sails of their speech thus to every wind, after the manner of Jewell, and those other counsellors, whose arts detected, caused the first doubts to Francis Walsingham,— at one time dogmatizing and bearing testimony against the Church, like that which the Jews bore against her Divine Founder, which did not agree together : hoping to convict of crime that Church which Truth itself declared, should be purified so as to have neither spot nor wrinkle, nor any such thing, at another adopting the style of the Academicians, who doubt of all things, and know nothing, demanding, what is truth ? Where is truth between these opinions ?

St. Bernard does not treat this wound without applying the knife deeply. "Why, O Pilate," he exclaims, "dost thou interrogate the Lord aside, that he should whisper to thee what is truth ? Does it concern thee ? That which is holy must not be cast to dogs. Seek rather to taste faith, but ask not in the interim for what satiates the intelligence."* This indeed is stern language, but, on the whole, such a complaint, and even such a prayer from men who seek not things, but the search of things, not the truth but the examination, deserve no other answer. As for the declaration, that they cannot return to the house of unity, such a defence involves too many contradictions to be of the least avail.

"Philosophy, says Novalis, "is wholly depending on the will. What I will, that I can."

But to others, who ask for truth with humility and sincerity, the constant reply of the Catholic church might have been expressed in the verse of Sophocles :

——— τὸ δὲ ζητούμενον
ἁλωτόν· ἐκφεύγει δὲ τἀμελούμενον.†

for within the range of necessary truths, one may truly say with the Roman poet, "Nihil tam difficile est quin quærendo investigari possit."

As for that opinion, ascribed by Varro to the new Academics, that all things are uncertain," The city of God," saith St. Augustin," detests such a doubt as madness, for however its soul may be oppressed by the body, so that it can only know in part, yet of the things which it comprehends in mind and reason, it has a most certain knowledge."‡

Yes, assuredly, the teachers of the ancient wisdom would say, if they could observe what now takes place on earth, "Let men restore the old roodloft of their churches, with a view to its symbolic sense, and we shall soon hear that the adorable sacrifice of the mass is again offered upon their altars. Only let them take up their Redeemer's cross in practice, and every thing will return to its pristine

* De divers. Serm. xv. † Æd. Tyr. 110. ‡ De Civ. Dei, Lib. xix.18.

beauty. For after all, the best answer that could be given to their objections, by one who loved the men, and horribly spotted is the heart which loveth them not, would be to show them a crucifix. The deep scholastics would adduce it as their most forcible, most subtle, most profound argument: for what, they would ask, can resist the speechless lesson contained in this great symbol of the whole Catholic doctrine? Come, methinks I hear them say, let us hear why they remain aloof from us. What do they think of the judgment of this world?—Show them the crucifix. What of penance and mortification?—Show them the crucifix. What of riches and advancement, and a life devoted to subtle ambition?—Show them the crucifix. What of the wisdom of this world?—Show them the crucifix. What of obedience, involving the submission of their own will to the unsearchable commands of Almighty God?—Show them the crucifix. What of the pride which leads them perhaps to justify, under the cloak of a more evangelical religion, their own absurd and dangerous depreciation of morality, and to neglect the duty of humility, and gentleness, and patience, under insult and injury, and all the rude buffettings of the world?—Show them the crucifix. Yet, what in the days of Scot and Thomas could hardly be conceived, is there something that can resist even this. Need I add, that it is the heart in which the modern philosophy, under any form or title, can have sway. There it will fail; for, as a deep observer has remarked, one who, through a long life, has watched it narrowly, that "philosophy, and I know not what habit it may not sometimes assume, is vain in its thoughts and proud in its discourse. It has the pride of the Stoics, and the license of Epicurus; it has its sceptics, its Pyrrhoniens, its eclectics; and the only doctrine which it has not embraced is that of privation."*

If the judgment of those who delivered over the deposit of faith to the disputations of men, had been really unshackled, the error would not have lasted a single day. Had those who came after them been content to begin with doubts, as they were bound to do by their own principles, they would not have been slow to end in certainties; for the ingenuity of truth is such, that, where she gets a free and willing hand, she opens herself faster than the pace of method and discourse can overtake her. Remark the complaints of Milton, "of the unavoidable dangers of unlimited controversial reading," where he says, "how many of our priests and doctors have been corrupted by studying the comments of Jesuits and Sorbonists, and how fast they could transfuse that corruption into the people, our experience is both late and sad,"† a complaint repeated lately by one invested with such authority as the Anglican opinions could confer, who affectionately recommended a disciple to cease from examining the books of Catholics, alleging for reason, that he had never known any one to indulge in such curiosity who did not end by adopting their creed.

And here I would remark that a great advantage of studying the works of

* Bonald. † Of Unlicenced Printing.

Plato, consists in the facility which it gives of detecting the intricate windings of the passions, and of dissolving the complicated ties in which they shroud the understanding. All men are sophists with the exception of the clean of heart, and many who with subtilty attack sophists, are themselves but of their college ; and it is well to have this fact attested and explained by so clear and unimpeachable a witness. Nevertheless, without having read Plato, the instinct of the holy race would often detect fallacies, where the understanding of the prudent might otherwise have been imposed upon, proving itself a still more secure guide in speculation, as well as in life and manners ; for we find, as Cardan remarks, "that with many men, there is nothing so vile or flagitious, which will not admit of defence or palliation."* Socrates has to oppose a sophist, who can prove, by clear and admirable reasoning, that he may and should pursue his own father before a court of justice,† and clearly the instinct above mentioned, is not predominant among those who demonstrate the wisdom and necessity of resisting the Church, their mother, or congenial with that muse which falls into ecstasy, as Gilbert says, at the bare sound of unmasking priests, styling vain, ambitious, and absurd, what the holy and the pure call virtue.

It is a just remark of Quintilian, " that it is as much easier to accuse than to defend, as it is to inflict than to cure a wound ;"‡ but if men perish through the seductions of iniquity, it is because their hearts, by sin, were wounded, and with the dulcet charity of truth had not been made whole.

One may observe too, that truth was sometimes on the tongue, without enabling any one to conclude from it that the heart had been made supernaturally clean. Thus, for instance, truth was sometimes on the lips of men who sought to possess themselves of what they envied in the Catholic church, by means which they quaintly termed underpinning the people's faith : but it was evident that the fountain of truth was not the sole source from which they drew inspiration, since they were contradicting themselves at almost every word. Indeed, to Catholic ears, their resolution to imitate what they termed the policy of Rome, with the parenthetical comment that it is undoubtedly successful, sounded like nothing but the language ascribed to the father of lies, in the old legends, which represent the demon, in order to ensnare more souls, mimicking the church of God. Truth was often heard announced by men, who attacked Catholics, using against them their own arguments ready provided, adopting in their polemics the policy of Gylippus, that famous general of Sparta who, in building the wall that was to effect the deliverance of Syracuse, made use of the very stones which the Athenians had prepared to secure its capture and destruction.§

Oh how wisely and beautifully do eloquent men discourse, when truth and their own interest or affection may be conjoined, without any material or intellectual sacrifice on their part ! How every thing is then represented in its natural

*Cardani de Sapientia, Lib. v. † Plat. Euthryphro. ‡ Lib. v. 13. § Thucyd. Lib. vii. 5.

light, yea, with what exact and subtle penetration are all the exquisite harmonies of the Catholic philosophy developed. What doctor of the church could write better on justice, order, unity, obedience, gratitude, prudence? Nothing is wanting. You have a distinct recognition of the duty of adhering to the object and specific terms of original charters, and to the real particular intention of founders—and of respecting the oaths constructed by them. You have a demonstration of the value of incorporations—the recognition of their rights, duties, and personality—of the necessity of authority in matters of faith—of revering the wisdom of past ages—of the charter of the church, as intended to guard and transmit a certain deposit of truths. You have even a recognition that the principle of private masses in Catholic worship, was holy and divine. But what skills it to speak catholically, if men do not speak consistently? — To talk of fulfilling to the letter the object of founders, when, if they were to do so, they would have to resign all that they possess? Who can be moved at their complaint of the decay of humility and obedience, when he knows that if they had ever evinced one or the other, their system would have been, from that moment, at an end? Where is the advantage from now saying, yes, yes, when they began by a climax of negations?—saying no, first to their brethren, then to their rulers, then to the pastors of the church, then, when he condemned them, to Christ's vicar? Of what avail, in short, are all the truths they utter, all these wise Catholic axioms so fluent on their lips, unless to convey the solemn condemnation of their own system from its infancy?

As philosophers, at least, they cannot come forward without unpardonable effrontery; for every system in general, whatever be its nature, must follow its own principles, good or bad; otherwise no one should condescend to listen to it, since it destroys itself, as a syllogism which would deny in the conclusion what it had established in the first or second proposition. This single consideration may convert, in an instant, the most beautiful compositions into a tissue of absurdity. In support of the new systems, men were sent forth more ingenious and powerful than Dædalus, who, as Socrates would say, could make their ideas not only move, but even describe a circle.* But such skill belonged not to the clean of heart.

Surely there must have been something very wrong in the interior, when minds could acquiesce in the most contradictory propositions, and suppose that it was an enlightened and reformed state of Christian belief to adopt a system like that Academic philosophy which embraced all the most opposite opinions, and which Cicero, therefore, calls the philosophy *τὴν ἄνω κάτω*. One cannot observe the aspect of literature at the present day without being converted to Plato's opinion, that "the soul to pursue philosophy, must of necessity possess not alone memory, the ability to learn, grandeur, elegance, and grace, but also the love of truth, and a certain affinity to truth, as well as a love of justice, courage, and temperance."†

* Plato, Euthyphr. † De Repub. Lib. vi.

The experience of the schools continues to prove that from the study of philosophy by degraded natures there can be, as he says, nothing good expected. "When minds unworthy of instruction apply to it, what thoughts and opinions," he asks, "do you suppose will proceed from them? Will they not be sophisms, and whatever is opposed to legitimate conclusions, and unworthy of those who possess true wisdom?"* The holy fathers and the schoolmen never supposed that truth was unconcerned with ethics, and that the intelligence could succeed while the heart was without discipline. They only say, "Easily does the holy and divine consort with what is related to it in the soul, and through a certain familiar light does the mystic ray descend upon man."† "To those alone who seek the truth through love does the light shine."‡

All perturbations of mind are called diseases by the ancient philosophers, who teach that soundness of mind consists in a certain tranquillity and constancy;§ and where this tranquillity and constancy, this love of truth and justice, are not found, it is in vain that truth be even found. Then, as St. Ambrose saith, "men are quick to superstitions, but slow to things divine; they have eyes, and see not; they move in darkness; while they think that they fly with subtle words, they are only disturbed like bats at the splendor of true light."‖

Little boots it to bring arguments to men like Swift, who insult the faith of Catholics after the manner of Dionysius, adding impious jests to robbery and sacrilege. As Michelet observes, both Eck and Cochleus were men of great ability; but what could their talents avail against the ridicule of Luther, who smote the Church and derided her, like those who struck her Divine Founder in the face, saying, Prophetiza nobis, Christe, quis est qui te percussit? Ridicule was in the order of that day. What, said the prudent, can be expected from the logic of the clean of heart, at a time when twenty thousand copies of the mocking colloquies of Erasmus (who, by the way, was the Voltaire of the sixteenth century) are sold in twelve hours? It is for them to be silent while the laugh goes round, for which the world ere long a world of tears must weep.

It is not, surely, a breach of charity to affirm, that if the adversaries of the Church had been in the number of the clean of heart, they would not have fought against her with rumors, rushing forwards with a Trojan clamor resembling the cry of birds when she demanded reasons from them; their discourse would not always have steered clear of certain topics, passing on one side, and involving itself in obscurity, in order not to move and meet fairly certain questions, as Socrates says, *παρεξιόντος καὶ παρακαλυπτομένου τοῦ λόλου, πεφοβημένου κινεῖν τὸ νῦν παρόν*. They would not have sought to escape from those who asked them to give a reason of their innovations, by riding over them, as Æschylus says, as if with a furious horse, crying out popery, like the giant, which Dante

* De Repub. vi. † S. Clem. Stromat. Lib. vii. ‡ Id. Lib. vi. 15.
§ Cicero, Tusc. iii. 9. ‖ S. Amb. Serm. XLIII.

saw in hell, that shouted Baï ameth sabi almi—no sweeter hymns becoming his fierce lips.

Above all, such wrath would be far from the noble mind, and never would it have been witnessed on the tongue of such men as Milton, where notwithstanding, whenever the name of Catholic occurs, it is invariably found, indicating assuredly some terrible disorder at the core; for a consciousness of truth, even in the vulgar heart, produces a great calm. They would not have assumed the privilege of grammarians (and what Cardan says is only allowable in their contests), have inveighed against others with rustic insolence, and indulged in personal invective. Such, however, is the constant phenomenon presented in this contest, in which men of vast intelligence, not profiting by the grace of God to embrace the Catholic religion, are seen lashed into a fury against that which they know must be the truth. In short, they would not have shown so much regard to these hereditary imputations, of which, as Johnson says, "No man sees the justice till it becomes his interest to see it; since it does not appear that they are produced by ratiocination or inquiry, but received implicitly, or caught by a kind of instantaneous contagion, and supported rather by willingness to credit than ability to prove them." Impressions of such a nature would never have gained admittance where clouds had not risen from within to shroud in darkness the understanding. Men whose hearts were pure would have attended to the cautions so repeatedly given by the old teachers, to beware of deceiving an opponent with dialectic syllogisms and the sophisms of false conclusions.* They would not have been content with ex parte statements for a foundation, but would have said with Minerva in the Eumenides,—

Δυοῖν παρόντοιν, ἡμίσυς λόγος πάρα·†

Truly, in affirming that it is otherwise with them, I speak not without having had means of observation. I have read many eloquent, and, if you will, masterly and "adamantine" treatises, composed with a view to prove the truth of the new opinions in religion; but I could never bear a higher testimony to any one of them than that which is given by Cicero respecting the speech of Lucullus: "Me oratio Luculli de ipsa re ita movit, ut docti hominis, et copiosi, et parati, et nihil prætereuntis eorum quæ pro illa causa dici possent; non tamen ut ei respondere posse diffiderem."

To talk of answering them, however, generally speaking, argued but little experience or but slight discernment. Ages have only, in succession, verified the truth of what St. Clement of Alexandria says, that "all heresy at the beginning has ears to hear not what is proper for it to hear, but only such things as minister to pleasure."‡ The words of the Roman philosopher seem as if they had been expressly written to describe those who profess it: "I know not in what manner the majority of them would rather err and defend with pugnacity the

* Isidori Etymolog. Lib. ii. 7. † 428 ‡ Stromat. Lib. vii. c. 16.

opinions which they love, than receive without obstinacy what may be consistently advanced."*

At the epoch of the great religious revolution, it was well known that the majority of printers and booksellers were determined to favor Luther. They printed the Catholic replies so barbarously that it was difficult to read them, while of the Lutheran they gave beautiful editions. The bookseller too spared no pains to facilitate the sale of each new pamphlet, directed against the Church, and at the same time, threw every difficulty in the way of propagating those written in its defence. Clearly such arts were arguments of weakness, and gave proof of no advance in that freedom of opinion, which springs from purity of heart, though intellectual emancipation was emblazoned on the new banners. To liberators of this kind, the defenders of truth might have replied. These after all are not your opinions; it is not you that are interested for, as St. Augustin says, "what is so little yours as yourself, if it depend on another, that you are what you are?" "quid tam non tuum quam tu si alicujus est quod es?"† for, in short, to hasten from this cruel spectacle, was it not a fact visible to every one, who was not deliberately blind, that the innovators in a few instances were masters of their own opinions? What so little belonging to them as their own intelligence? The judgment of one belongs to a king, whose ruling passion it is to compose a new religion for his subjects, with as close adherence to antiquity as is possible without divine faith and submission to the Holy See; that of another depends upon a circle of learned and acute men. Many belong wholly to their friends and relations, and some to all the world; for what liberty has the poor intelligence, when the only beatitude which the heart desires, is the ability to say with Creon

νῦν πᾶσι χαίρω, νῦν με πᾶς ἀσπάζεται.‡

To have treated therefore with discretion persons separated from Catholic unity, the first question should have been that which Truth itself proposed, "quem quæritis?" The point to determine was, not what they believed (the majority were ready to believe any thing,) but what they loved; consequently it was unnecessary to inquire respecting what they had read or seen, for they might have read every thing and seen every thing, without being the better qualified to assist at a free discussion. The first, and indeed sole object of investigation should have been the state of the heart; if that were not clean, the intelligence was not free, and it was useless to proceed. They more needed the divine than the logician: the latter could no nothing, "nihil enim facile persuadetur invitis."§

When a man of faith beheld the contest of those who wanted that light—contest deplorable, and without even human glory, reminding him of the Homeric lines:

* Lucullus. † Tract. 29, in Joan. ‡ Soph. Œd. Tyr. 595. § Quintil. Lib. iv. 3.

ἔνθα δ' ἅμ' οἰμωγή τε καὶ εὐχωλὴ πέλεν ἀνδρῶν,
*ὀλλύντων τε καὶ ὀλλυμένων.**

Though he were ever such a skilled antagonist, he naturally and justly expressed reluctance to engage in it; but such sentiments in him arose not from distrust, for he might have used the great Dante's words, and said,

"——The anguish of that race below,
With pity stains my cheek,
Vhich thou for fear mistakest."

But the prospects of success were different when other assistance was called in; for it was impossible to say what might not result from hearing the divine, meek and persuasive, who had made the purification of human hearts his study, when, in the manner prescribed by Richard, of St. Victor, he would say, "whatever you desire in the world, whatever in it you fear to lose, give it up willingly, for freedom of heart. Having bought a field, dig deep, as those who search for a treasure: but, alas! whence shall I get this gold and silver? to dig I am not able; to beg, I am ashamed. I know what I will do. I will go to my Father, the Father of mercies, from whom is every good and perfect gift, who gives to all abundantly and spareth not. I will pour forth my prayer in his sight, and I will disclose my poverty before him, and I will say to him, Lord, thou knowest my folly, and my substance is as nothing before thee. Grant me understanding that I may have the gold of true riches."†

Socrates, after showing the error of certain men, who pretended to superior wisdom, who being in the third degree removed from truth, sought to be regarded as first, concludes with this reflection, "nevertheless, we must forgive them for having this pretension, and not reprove them," for we should love every man who says, "that he makes any account of wisdom, and manfully exerts himself to obtain it."‡ Such was the conclusion to which Catholic philosophers came, when they had been obliged to institute investigations of this painful nature; they made them, with hurried step, as passing through a sad but necessary ordeal, and hastened on to show with St. Bonaventura, "to those who loved wisdom, and who exerted themselves to obtain it." How by the gift of piety, the spiritual day which disperses before it all these clouds and deceitful shadows proceeds, and is consummated in the world of the soul.

The ancient philosophers discerned the need of some fresh illumination to dispel the darkness of human hearts, and Plato proceeds on one occasion to show, in what manner any one might lead men, so involved, to light? "as some," he says, "are reported to have been conducted from Hades to the gods; which," he adds, "would be not by the turning round of a shell, as in the vote by ostracism; but by turning round the soul from a nocturnal state to the true returning

* Il. VIII. 64 † Ric. S. Vict. de Contemplatione, p. 1. Lib. iii. c. 5. ‡ Euthydemus.

road of reality, which is that of philosophy." "Therefore," he concludes, "we must seek what kind of learning has this power, or what is the instruction which can draw the soul from what is generated to what has existence in itself;" *ἀπὸ τοῦ γιγνομένου ἐπὶ τὸ ὄν.** These intellectual obscurities were not identified by the philosophers of the ages of faith, with any particular position in regard to truth; for they knew that more or less they encompass all men who are not divinely drawn within the radiance of its everlasting beams.

In all studies, not alone divine, but human and secular, the teachers of Catholic wisdom acknowledged two great luminaries to enlighten the intelligence, — the greater the love of God, and the less the love of their neighbor.† "The light of his countenance," says Hugo, of St. Victor, "is signed upon us all by nature, which is common to all; but joy is given to the heart of individuals by grace, which is imparted to us one by one.‡

"Since the rising of the corporal sun upon the earth makes corporal day, during which men have to labor in their corporal works, for the necessities of the body, how much more," saith Bonaventura, "must the presence of the eternal sun, the Holy Ghost, cause a spiritual day in the human soul, in which all spiritual works must be accomplished for the relief of spiritual wants." It is to be observed also, that as in the external day, there are three hours distinguished— the morning, noon, and evening; so in the spiritual day of piety there are three hours distinguished: the morning, which is the beginning of piety shining upon its own subject; the noon, which is the fervor of piety shining to the divine worship; and the evening, which is the inclination of piety to our neighbor.

At first, therefore, the gift of piety shining from the eternal sun, like a certain dawn and commencement of spiritual light, begins the day in the soul. "Pie agentibus dabit Dominus sapientiam," as it is said in Ecclesiasticus, "and wisdom is the inextinguishable light of piety; and the more that piety is exercised, the more will the light of wisdom be given, till it increases to the perfect day." Similarly the work of impiety diminishes the light of piety in the mind, and produces darkness. Whence it is said in the Proverbs, "the path of the just is as the shining light which proceeds and increases to the perfect day." The gift of piety in this its first hour inclines man to have compassion upon himself, and makes him consider how miserable will be his soul if it should be separated from God. From which inspiration the mind is illuminated, and then the gift of piety shines in the soul without a cloud, as the light of morning, like the early sun illuminating the east. Thence the gift of piety proceeds, and makes the noontide of spiritual day in the soul, inclining man to offer, both internal and external worship to God, as the principle of his creation, and the end of his beatitude, both by interior and exterior operations, and then there is a meridian light in the human

* De Repub. vii.

† Ermenrici Monach. Angiensis de Grammatica, apud Mabil. vet. Analect. 420.

‡ Annot. Elucid. in Ps. c. 5.

soul shining without clouds. Lastly, the gift of piety in the soul terminates the spiritual day, when it inclines the mind to have compassion upon others; for in the work of charity it is consummated, or otherwise it has been observed, that the knowledge of creatures is but an evening light when compared with that light of piety, which inclines the soul to adore God; for to incline to anything but to him, unless it be on account of him, is not the leisure of Mary, but the occupation of Martha, "who was troubled about many things, while only one was necessary."*

From this point the way before us, though far, lies open to the end of the present book; for henceforth we have only to remark the distinguishing characteristic of the Catholic generations in ages of faith in relation to wisdom, to show how they valued it, and confirm our statement by a rapid glance at the series of historic personages connected with the school— to observe what was their method of philosophy — in what they made it consist — in what light they regarded the wisdom of the ancients— what were the prominent features of their own philosophy— and what were the advantages resulting to it from their position in regard to the Church. Finally, we have to inquire, in what manner the divine promise was fulfilled in them, and in what sense it was true that they, while living upon earth, beheld God? This task which remains, is indeed arduous, but let us advance with courage; for, as Plato saith, "dispirited men have never raised aught that could endure."

CHAPTER V.

THAT men, in ages of faith, loved and cultivated wisdom, might easily be demonstrated from the very accusations brought against them by the sophists of later times; for the facts which gave these writers most offence, the acknowledgment of the ecclesiastical authority, the submission of the people to their clergy, prove that wisdom was the first thing in their estimation; since otherwise, an idea would not have been stronger than force material, nor would he, who commanded intelligence, have been able to retain his dominion, though in exile or in chains.

"During the middle ages," as a late profound historian remarks, "through all life predominated the word of the Founder of the Church, that his kingdom is not of this world; but through that very knowledge the Church attained to its supreme power over all Europe; and never was it so energetically displayed, as

* S. Bonavent. de Septem Donis Spiritus Sancti, cap. II.

when the Holy See was attacked with most violence, whether by princes or people."* Socrates said, "that there are three races of men—the philosophic, or that of men loving wisdom; the ambitious, or those loving contention and glory; and the covetous, comprising all who love gain: and, he added, that there are three kinds of pleasure corresponding to these."† Without doubt, this threefold division of humanity might have been traced in the ages which we are surveying, as well as in all other periods of the world. The clean of heart at that time discerned and deplored it— "O, how often do we seek truth itself," exclaims Richard of St. Victor, "not for truth's sake, but for vanity; and having found truth, love it, not in truth, but through vanity; and what is most miserable, we trade with the words of life for the gain of death."‡ Hugo, of St. Victor, no less recognized it: "I see many studious," he says, "but few religious. They love reading, not religion; nay, from the love of reading they contract a hatred for religion, wishing to have the chief seats, and receive salutations from the people as great doctors;"§ you can trace, therefore, still the ambitious and the covetous tribe. But the extraordinary extension and predominance of the race loving wisdom, during the ages of faith, is a fact which no historian has been able to pass by unnoticed, though the majority of later writers have systematically perverted and misrepresented it.

"Ignorance is an atrophy of the soul; but knowledge is its food :‖" so speaks the early Church, through the mouth of St. Clement of Alexandria, and the same judgment of the Catholic society is pronounced in the middle ages by St. Bonaventura, commenting upon the words of the Apostle, "it is your reasonable service;" for he adds, "easily will the spirit of error delude you, if you neglect science; nor hath the cunning enemy any machinations more efficacious to remove love, from the heart, than that of causing you to walk negligently and without reason; for God is wisdom, and he wishes himself to be loved, not alone affectionately but also wisely," "Sapientia est Deus, et vult se amari non solum dulciter sed sapienter."¶ All activity, according to the schoolmen, springs from the entrance of knowledge; the state of knowledge is the happy rest of contemplation, heavenly peace!

The Church, collectively, prays that she may ever advance in spiritual progress,** and the desire of her individual members may be learned from those ancient rituals, by which it appears that there was a mass expressly for obtaining wisdom.†† In ages of faith men valued wisdom; probably it was that love which gave them faith. Who now values wisdom? Schleiermacker, speaking of a nation, which at present assumes the right of giving laws and philosophy to all Europe, says, "these proud men, respected far more than they deserve, know of no other redemption but gain and profit. Their zeal for knowledge is only a mere pretence, a

* Hurter Geschichte Inn III. 425.
‡ De Erudit. Hom. Inter, Lib. i. c. 3.
‖ Stromat. Lib. vii. 12.
** Prayer on the Feast of St. Dominick.
† Plato de Repub. Lib. ix.
§ Ex. Miscellan. Lib. ii. tit. 52.
¶ S. Bonav. Meditat. Vitæ Christi, cap. xliv.
†† Annales Camaldulensium, append.

sham fight ; their wisdom of life, a false bauble set with art ; and their holy freedom itself serves only too often to selfishness : they are never in earnest unless where it is a question of handling things of some sort or other ; for knowledge serves them only to trade withal, and of its dead wood they make masts and rudders for their commercial life's voyage."*

If such be the testimony of a friend, or at least of one who approves of their position, in regard to the Catholic wisdom, what might not be said by those who esteem that position itself, an evidence that the truth or a due sense of the importance of truth is not in them ? Even setting aside the religious view, methinks one might reasonably prefer to such a state of things that enthusiasm in the old schools of philosophy, which made it necessary for king Ptolomy to prohibit the lectures of Hegesia, the Cyrenaïc, or the disciple of Aristippus ?† "The danger which he sought to obviate," argued ignorance, "but how much better was the desire from which it sprang, than the apathy now pervading breasts, perhaps equally as ignorant ?" "Sophists," says Novalis, "are persons, who, attentive to the weakness of philosophy seek to make use of it for their own advantage, or for certain unphilosophic unworthy ends. They have, in truth, nothing to do with philosophy, they are its bitterest enemies."‡

Men value science, and love to pursue physical truth : though in a country eminent for its pretensions, we are told by one who engaged in such pursuits, "that those who have hitherto cultivated science, knew, or should have known, that there was no demand for it, that it led to little honor, and to less profit."§ Still many illustrious men labored at this mine, and, doubtless, with a disinterested love ; but of wisdom, in the divine sense of the term, of the higher and nobler study that can unfold its everlasting gates, who is heard to say with Job, "non dabitur aurum obrizum pro ea, nec appendetur argentum in commutatione ejus ? Non adæquabitur ei aurum vel vitrum, nec commutabuntur pro ea vasa auri ?" Yet, the monks and hermits of the middle ages, who left all for it, yea, many kings and secular men, who, in affection, had followed them, though retained in the world by a sense of duty, might assuredly have said it, and would as assuredly have been believed by every one around them, to say it with truth. The schoolmen were not like those trencher philosophers, which, in the later ages of the Roman state, were usually in the houses of great persons, of which kind Lucian maketh a merry description of the philosopher, that the great lady took to accompany her in her coach, and would needs have him carry her litte dog, which he doing officiously, and yet uncomely, the page scoffed and said, "that he doubted the philosopher of a Stoic, would turn to be a Cynic. They were not like the philosophers of whom Diogenes said, in answer to one who asked him, why they were the followers of rich men ? answering "soberly and sharply," as Lord

* Reden über die Religion, 15.

† Cicero Tuscul. i. 34.

‡ Schriften, ii. 133.

§ Babbage on the Decline of Science. 1830.

Bacon observes, "because they knew what they had need of." We have contrasted monks with sophists, but what shall I say of those who loved monks? The type of royalty in the middle ages was not a soldier, not a lawgiver, not a mock pageant, who could judge of his dishes rather than of intelligences; but it was the kingly state of man in primal innocence, when an angel might have said to him,

> "And thou, thyself, seem'st otherwise inclined,
> Than to a worldly crown; addicted more
> To contemplation and profound dispute."

Many courts of feudal barons even were then little academies, still and contemplative in living art. "Beatitudo est gaudium de veritate;" these words of St. Augustin express the whole mind of the ages of faith. The moderns are astonished at the monuments of their indefatigable researches, which have come down to us, and here they can learn the secret of all this intellectual activity; it was the conviction, not that glory and profit should be the prize of learning, but that the joy of knowing truth was beatitude. The act of wisdom, according to the angel of the school, "is a kind of beginning and participation of the glory of the blessed spirits in heaven, and therefore it approaches the nearest to that felicity."* Peter the Venerable says, "they who approached to the wisdom of angels, must also have aproached to the beatitude of angels; for the wisdom of angels is on that very account true wisdom, because it is happy."†

"The rational mind," says Hugo of St. Victor, "is one, and it generates from itself intellect, one from one; and when sometimes it beholds how subtle, how true, how convenient, how pleasant it is, it soon loves it, and rejoices itself in it; it sees and it is amazed, and it wonders how itself could ever have found such a thing: vehemently it desires always to look at it, always to possess it, always to be delighted with it: it pleases by itself; it pleases on account of itself; nor is there any thing which is sought beyond it, because in it all is loved. In that, contemplation of truth is delectable in visions, sweet in possession, delightful in enjoyment. With it the mind rests and never feels weariness, because by that one, yet not solitary companion, it is gladdened. Wisdom is life, and the love of wisdom is the felicity of life;—Sapientia enim vita, et amor sapientiæ est felicitas vitæ."‡ "Amongst all the occupations of men," says St. Thomas, "the most perfect, the most sublime, the most useful, and the most agreeable, is the study of wisdom."§ "Who doth not desire to be initiated in such mysteries," exclaims the greater Christian philosopher, John Picus of Mirandula; "who, casting aside all thought for human things, despising the goods of fortune, and neglecting the body, doth not long for this divine banquet, even while on earth, and moistened with the nectar of eternity to give the mortal animal in exchange for immortality! Who doth

* S. Thom. 1. 2. Q. 66. art. 5. ad. 2.
† S. Pet. Ven. Epist. Lib. iii. 7.
‡ De Tribus Dicbus, cap. 21, 22.
§ S. Thom. Adversus Gentes, c. 2.

not wish to be agitated by these Socratic furies, sung by Plato in the Phædo, that, with the rowing of wings and feet, he may pass hence from the world, which is given up to malice, and be borne with the swiftest course to the celestial Jerusalem!"*

"Philosophy can be pretended," observes Quinctilian, confirming his assertion by adducing the example of those who sat for a short time in the schools of philosophers, in order that afterwards, in public sad, at home dissolute, they might acquire authority by despising others.† Philosophy can be pursued from unworthy motives. When Plato came to Syracuse, and Dionysius was seized with zeal for philosophic study, the royal palace used to be covered with dust from the crowd of geometricians which attended; but when Dionysius fell from this ardor for philosophy, and devoted himself again to wine and dissoluteness, immediately, as if metamorphosed by Circe, forgetfulness, discordance, and ignorance took possession of them.‡

The love of wisdom which inspired Catholic generations, in ages of faith, had nothing in common with such shows of philosophy, nor could its effects have arisen from any passion to which they were subordinate.

"Hæc sunt sola quæ quærere debent homines veritas et bonitas." Thus speaks the whole school through the mouth of Hugo of St. Victor.§ Where the ancient institutions and modes of thinking have given place to those of the civilization which arises out of the modern notions, the approved language of instructors is not precisely this: if it were, indeed, their very structures, the stones themselves would cry out against them, as Pugin, in his architectural contrasts, might convince us. There are a few other things about which men would be told they might justly be troubled; and, in fact, so far from thinking that truth and goodness are proposed as the only objects worthy of an earnest pursuit, I do not perceive how one can avoid concluding that thoughtlessness and indifference to truth, which does not concern personal respectability, are even studied as amongst the necessary arts of life. For do we not witness every day the evidence of truth, on being thrust home, treated precisely as was the remembrance of death by Justice Shallow, "Oh, to see how many of mine old acquaintance are dead! We must all follow—certain, 'tis certain; very sure, very sure; death, as the Psalmist saith, is certain to all; all shall die. How a good yoke of bullocks at Stamford fair?"

We have no occasion to look so far back as to the civilization of the ancient world, to find a verification of the truth of what Socrates remarks, in the sixth book of Plato's Republic, where he says, "at present, those who apply while young to philosophy, and who seem to be the greatest philosophers, attach themselves to what is between economy and money-making, and they keep aloof from the most difficult branch, which consists in discussions, for this I call the most diffi-

* Joan Picus Mirandula de Hominum Dignitate. † xii. 3.
‡ Plutarch de Sig. Ver. Amicit. ix. § De Sacramentis, Lib. ii. p. 14. c. 9.

cult. In after-life, if, when invited by any one who perseveres in philosophy, they consent to hear their discussions, they think they do great things and suppose that it is something which is gratuitous on their part, unnecessary, and quite of secondary importance, as an accidental exercise at the side of their real business. But when they come to old age, with the exception of a very few, they are extinguished much more completely than the sun of Heraclitus, inasmuch as they are never again illuminated."*

This callous insensibility to truths, which are above the business of mere secular life or the ends of ambition, was evidently playing a great part in the contest of the two systems which divided the Christian world. An instance in which it was very manifest, is mentioned by a recent author, who relates, that a philosopher of the modern opinions, who was conversing with a Catholic priest, acknowledged that it would be more judicious in his party to renounce all idea of appealing to the authority of the Fathers to confirm them ; but added, " still you must admit that we have Augustin on our side, with respect to the Eucharist." " Indeed," exclaimed the other, opening his breviary, and showing the words of St. Augustin in testimony to the Catholic faith. What followed ?—" You are right," was the reply. " Let me note the passage down, for I shall be amused to see how it will puzzle my good brethren in our college." He only thought of displaying his own erudition. Alas ! how far behind the Roman philosophers. " Ego enim, si aut ostentatione aliqua adductus, aut studio certandi ad hanc potissimam philosophiam me applicavi : non modo stultitiam meam, sed etiam mores et naturam condemnandam puto."†

It is certain, also, that the influence of the love of wisdom in ages of faith, upon life and the order of society in general, produced results wholly unlike those of the intellectual cultivation at present.

Philosophy, according to the views entertained respecting it in the middle ages, is something different from and something higher than merely the means of serving one or other of the various branches of academic learning and science, of furthering one or other especial object or pursuit of life. Repeatedly, moreover, did the scholastic and mystic philosophers enforce what the wise men of antiquity had observed, that when the whole life is dissipated and lost in external employments, pleasures, or endeavors after profit, so that nothing peculiarly internal, no such feeling or sentiment, nay, not even once a real inward thought remains or can find room ; there also, philosophy can find no hearing for the words of inward life, and can hope for no corresponding echo for her higher thoughts, nor for that deep sentiment from which she proceeds.‡ Frederick Schlegel points out the distinction between the academic instruction of modern times and philosophy in the true sense of the word, and as it was understood in the middle ages. " This," he observes, " is something very different from the science of any particular profes-

* De Repub. Lib. vi. † Cicero, Lucullus. ‡ F. Schlegel Philosophie der Sprache, 15.

sion or faculty pursued by young men who are preparing for the various employments of civil life. Philosophy," he adds, "will never suffer herself to be studied as it were aside, only once and for a short time, as a superfluous article of luxury: it is only with entire earnestness and with the fulness of love that she can be attained, and indeed, the true beginning itself consists in this earnestness of thought and in this highest love."*

Language like this would now be thought to denote some young and dangerous enthusiast of the Romantic school, and yet it is only what we find on the tongue of the holy fathers. "I wish to prove to you, my dear Eudoxius," says St. Gregory Nazianzen, writing to that rhetorician, "that you should take care not to neglect philosophy, for which nature has given you such an opening, and not to apply to any other profession for which you would be less qualified. This is what you should do, not only because the philosophy to which I exhort you is the most elevated of all things, but also because it is what is, besides, peculiarly adapted to you. Now it is a proverb which forbids us to attempt to stop the course of a river; and a poet has wisely interdicted music to him who is destined for horsemanship, lest he should succeed neither in horsemanship nor in music: what, then, are the symptoms of this natural aptitude which I remark in you?—the tranquillity and simplicity of your life and manners, and a soul totally estranged from all that relates to disguise, to cunning, and imposture; and besides, the elevation of your genius and of your thoughts, and a certain instinct which carries you, without an effort, to meditation. I might add too, that you differ from the generality of rhetoricians in this respect— that you know how to blush. Beware, then, how you renounce what you have already acquired of philosophy— how you prefer a second place in a secondary profession to the first in the most sublime of all professions. When you may rise like the eagle, be not content to excel among the populace of birds. How long shall we suffer the inflation of pride on account of vile and fleeting things? How long shall we abandon ourselves to these vain dissipations and multitudinous illusions? How long shall we be moved to ecstasy by vain applause? Let us forsake these chimeras; let us become men, casting off these dreams, escaping beyond these shadows; let us leave to others these pleasures and luxuries, which at the bottom contain more bitterness than charms; let envy, let circumstances, let fortune (for these are the names given to the inconstancy of things here below) occupy, agitate, and distract other men: no more speak to us of thrones, or principalities, or riches, or honors, or elevations, or of that despicable glory which, after all, dishonors us much more than contempt and derision when it gets possession of our soul, nor of all these vain representations of theatres which occupy the world. For us, let us fix our affections upon wisdom, let us desire to want every thing else but God, who alone is our wealth, for eternity."

* Id. 10.

Such was the voice, too, from the Palatine schools, as well as from the cloisters of the middle age—such was the desire of wisdom in those whose hearts were clean. Thus intense and undivided was the noble love that glowed within them. It was not merely a pure intellectual choice—it was also a hearty zeal and passionate affection, which urged their rapid steps tumultuous, by eagerness impelled of truth and goodness. But how can our lukewarm breasts conceive this intenser fervency? How can we comprehend the emotions, the clear spirit of him who raiseth Aquin above Arpinum's name; who, when on earth, while explaining a book which treats on the mystery of the blessed Trinity, observed not that the flame of a taper had burned down to his hand and scorched it, so spiritual and impassible had already become the fleshly weeds through brightness of celestial vision.

The language of the middle ages, in reference to philosophy, had less resemblance to that of the modern schools than to the celebrated sayings of the ancients, "that the precepts of wisdom are of such divine sweetness, that they should be enjoyed as ambrosia and nectar, and that all who seek happiness must learn to philosophize."* It was more opposed to the maxims of later moralists than to the replies of Pythagoras and Anaxagoras, who, being asked for what end man was created, replied, that he might behold the sky, and that he might contemplate the heavens.

On referring to ecclesiastical history, we find that studies were always dear to the Church. As Berthier remarks, "the inconveniences of science appeared to her, in all ages, as infinitely less to be feared than the consequences of ignorance or of a superficial instruction." † The zeal of the Holy See to promote studies was displayed in every age. The most important canon laws are made to yield to this object. Thus the fourth Lateran council, which restricts all clergymen to one benefice, adds this exception: "Nevertheless, when sublime and learned persons are to be nonored with greater benefices, when reason demands it, the Apostolic See can give a despensation."‡

In conformity with which provision, Pope Honorius permitted Michael Scot, while studying Arabic and Hebrew, to have more than one benefice. The zeal of Urban IV. for science and philosophy may be collected from the letter addressed to him by Campanus of Navarra, which is given by Tiraboschi. It was, in effect, owing to his encouragement that St. Thomas of Aquin undertook his work on Aristotle. Of the general desire, in this respect, we have only to open any of our ancient books to find proof. Hear Hugo of St. Victor speaking of his studies in early life:—"I can affirm that I never despised any thing which belonged to erudition, but I have often learned many things which others treated as a joke or a madness. I remember, while I was only a scholastic, to have studied carefully

* Jamblich. Adhortat. ad Philosoph. cap. 204.

† Discours sur les Etudes aux Siècles, xii—xv. Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. xiv. ‡ Cap. xxiv.

to know the names of every thing that I saw ; I used to commit to memory all the sentences, questions, and oppositions, with their solutions, which I had learned in the day ; I used to describe geometrical figures with charcoal on the floor. I do not mention this to you in order to boast of my science, which is nothing or but little, but that I may show you that he proceeds best who proceeds with order—without making any great jump. Many things, indeed, you may find in histories and other writings which, taken by themselves, seem to be of little or no utility ; but yet, if you consider their connection with other things, you will find that they are useful and necessary. Learn all things, and you will find afterwards that nothing is superfluous. Science cribbed and confined is not pleasant."*

Alanus de Insulis speaks to the same effect :—"Learn," he says, "as if you were to live for ever ; live, as if you were to die on the morrow. So the apostle says, 'Libros lege ; et affer tecum libros duos.' When you commence any reading, do not relinquish it the next moment, but adhere to it faithfully, and do not as if through disgust pass on to another."†

But without visiting the avowed worshippers of Wisdom, who devoted themselves wholly to converse with her in cloistered shades, let us hear only a few eminent Catholic men remaining in the world. "I will take this praise to myself," says John Picus of Mirandula," and to be praised for this I shall not blush—that for no other cause have I philosophized, unless in order that I might philosophize ; nor have I ever hoped or sought any reward or fruit from my studies and lucubrations, excepting the cultivation of my mind and the knowledge of truth ; of which I am so covetous, and with which I am so much in love, that having abandoned all care of private or public affairs, I have given myself wholly up to contemplation ; from which no accusations of the envious, no reproaches of the enemies of wisdom, ever have been able or ever shall have power to determe."‡

Marsilius Ficinus, in a letter to Benedict Caluccio, writes in these terms :—"I shall continue to defend religion with all my strength ; not that religion wants such defence, for it stands by God's will in despite of enemies, but because I then only seem to myself to live happily, yea, rather, then only to live, when I either write or speak or think upon divine subjects."§ Whole nations were characterized by this spirit. "When the Spaniards apply themselves to letters," says an ancient writer, "it is never for the sake of gain, but only through the love of knowledge."‖ Even until these days of purification the Spaniards were said to prefer their morning walks and conversations philosophical, on the Puerta del Sol at Madrid, the Zocodover at Toledo, the Plaza de Santo Domingo at Seville, and the Plaza de Vivarrambla and the Zacatin at Grenada, to all the spectacles and amusements of Paris or London.

* Hugo S. Vict. Eruditionis Didascalicæ, Lib. vi. c. 3. † Sum. de Arte Præd. cap. 36.
‡ Joan. Pic. Mirand. de Hominum Dignitate. § Mars. Ficin. Epist. Lib. i.
‖ Lucii Marinei Siculi de reb. Hispaniæ. Lib. i.

But let us again hear the Italian philosophers of the middle ages. Hermolaus Barbarus, patriarch of Aquileia, writes as follows to Antonio Calmo, patriarch of Venice :—" Take courage, Antonio, thou who didst call me sleeping and reluctant to the priesthood! I bear these adverse with more constancy than formerly I enjoyed prosperous things. The Lord hath sent me help from his holy place, and hath strengthened me out of Sion. Let some trust in chariots, others in horses ; we will invoke the name of our God. Again I say, be of good courage, Antonio ! We have risen, and are standing upright ; mirabiles elationes maris, mirabilis in altis Dominus. I who have philosophized so many years for others ought to be able, for myself also, to philosophize. I see the game of fortune, I understand the force of the tempest ; I consider and estimate the full extent of these calamities ; I am happy and at peace. For letters was I born, to letters was I dedicated, without letters I cannot live, though I can live without the things which are obstacles to letters. I have borne many honors, in the republic, with what favor, it is not for me to say. During twelve years my time was lost to letters. These events have now released me, and I return to them. O happy calamity, which restores letters to me and me to letters, or rather me to myself! O felicitous overthrow, which gave me back peace ! O delightful tempest, which brought me security ! O sweet bitterness, which conducted me, after a long tossing on the waves—do not say after shipwreck—into the sweetest port !"*

Literature is not an unknown word in the ancient writings, as some have supposed. In the proem of the translation of the History of the Normans, written in the thirteenth century, we are told that knowledge and science are acquired " by literature ;" but to appreciate with justice the passages which enforce its importance, we must recollect that by letters men in ages of faith understood a study which was subservient to the highest purposes. " Dum secularibus literis instruimur," says St. Gregory the Great, " in spiritualibus adjuvamur ;" and that this remark was verified in the very philosopher whose words are above quoted will appear from reading his letter to Picus of Mirandula, in which he says, " I wish we might sometimes live together, that we might philosophize together on nature, on God, on holy manners. I cannot express how much I long for this. I beseech you, if you ever deem me worthy of your benevolence, grant me now, as Hermolaus the priest, an equal or higher place in your affections, that him whom you loved as a pagan of the world you may more ardently embrace when made a soldier of Christ."†

Beautiful are the words of Petrarch :—" Thou knowest, O Lord, before whom is all my desire, that I have never sought more from letters than that I might be made good. Thou who searchest the reins and the heart knowest that even in youth I was never so desirous of glory as not to prefer being good to being learned."‡

* Ang. Politian. Epist. Lib. xii. † Epist. Lib. xii. ‡ De Ignorantia Sui Ipsius et Aliorum.

Angelo Politian defends learning and poetry by appealing to the judgment of Martianus Genazanensis, who, although of incredible severity of life, and a preacher most revered by his people, yet disdains not to cultivate both.*

In the middle ages there was not heard the trivial declamation of certain poets against prose, or of certain prose writers against poesy, of naturalists against metaphysicians, or of mathematicians against those who did not study mathematics; but all sciences, all arts, all modes of cultivating or of imparting the perception of truth and beauty received a homage from society and from men of holy zeal. "Gyrum cœli circuivi sola."† "Metaphysical science may speak thus," says Duns Scotus, "for it is like a circle which contains all things. Vide arcum, et benedic qui fecit illum; valde speciosus est in splendor suo, et gyravit cœlum in circuitu gloriæ suæ.‡ The metaphysic habit," he continues, "is a certain mystic bow, darting the arrows of truth against the enemies who are of falsehood; and therefore, is it, as it were, a refulgent bow amongst the clouds of glory. Behold it, therefore, and bless God who made it; for it encompasseth the heavens, that is the whole university of creatures, and especially of such whose habitation is in heaven. It says 'circuivi' for this science goes round inquiring from all things truly, without deception, and generally without exception; and therefore, in a figure, it is as the river Phison, of which we read in Genesis that it flows round the whole land of Evilath, where gold is produced, that is, wisdom. Evilath is interpreted foolish, and such are all human sciences of themselves, metaphysics excepted. Lastly, we read Sola, for amongst all human sciences that alone excels. She sits alone, admired and venerated by all as a queen in the sight of all creatures."§

Richard of St. Victor, in a very curious passage of his treatise on the condition of the interior man, traces the causes and consequences of a neglect of learning. "We see many," he says, "who after giving brilliant proofs of their study and excellent fruits of science, when perhaps to some honorable grade promoted, or when they undertake the care of any administration, immediately begin to despise the discipline of their learning, and thenceforth to hold themselves at leisure only for secular business, to destroy in one day all the followers of wisdom, and to publish their hidden secrets. What would these do if they received the kingdom of Nabuchodonoser? How many, again, do we see, who, after long application to spiritual exercises, and after having received the gift of contemplation, when perhaps by any temptation or fatigue fallen from that sublime height, lay aside all care of spiritual studies, and expose themselves every hour to all wandering and vain discourses. What else do they but kill their wise men? Mark what they do in observing the progress of Nabuchodonoser. First, he orders all the wise men of Babylon to be killed, and presently after the wise men of the Jews are sought for to be slain. Behold by what degrees the studious mind often is dis-

* Politian Miscellaneorum Centuriæ Prim. Præfat. † Eccles. 24.
‡ Id. 43. § Duns Scoti Metaphys. Procem.

solved, loses its vivacity, and falls gradually from the highest to the lowest state. First, it abandons the care of secular and afterwards of spiritual learning, gives itself up wholly to exterior affairs, and kills in itself, as it were, all the followers of science and wisdom by deserting all study of human arts, all instance in contemplation, meditation, reading, and prayer. Of the wise men of the Jews it is said that they were sought out for destruction—that is, an occasion or some way of excuse is desired, that with more safety and freedom, and with a more secure conscience, the dissolved mind may cast away the studies of sacred erudition; for thus we sometimes pretend weakness of body, sometimes charity, that, deserting the contemplative life, we may devote ourselves to exterior business. Thus an occasion, and as if opportunity of place, is sought out for killing Daniel with the other wise men of the Jews."*

The love which men in ages of faith entertained for wisdom, and the ardor with which they sought to promote intellectual cultivation, and to prevent poverty from becoming an obstacle or an excuse, which is the reason alleged by Lothaire in 820 for constituting academies,† may be inferred also from the multitude of scholastic foundations which then arose, and from the extraordinary honors conferred upon them. Having already visited the schools and universities of the middle ages, we shall not be detained long at present in confirming this observation by reference to history, though we cannot avoid arresting our course to remark a few prominent facts which demonstrate the efforts which were then made to provide for the extension of all studies which had truth and goodness for their end.

From the earliest age, as we observed before, the school was a general appendage to the Basilica. According to Landulph senior, the church of St. Ambrose at Milan, in the eleventh century, could boast of two philosophical schools which were well frequented, the professors of which were supported by the archbishops. Most churches elsewhere had similar institutions. The university of Paris grew by degrees, beginning in the church of Nôtre Dame, with theology, having its school of arts at the church of St. Julian; then having schools in the abbey of St. Victor, and four halls in the Rue au Foürre. In process of time it acquired its schools of decretals and medicine, while masters used to hire any rooms they thought fit to give their lectures in, until about the year 1250, when colleges, which were nothing but hospices built through charity for lodging and teaching poor scholars, began to be erected, of which the first was the Sorbonne.‡

When the opinion became prevalent that the interests of philosophy could be better served by universities than by the separate monastic schools in which they had before been cultivated, the number of the former which arose throughout Europe gave remarkable proof of the zeal and ardor of those times for learning. Before the pseudo-reformation sixty-six were established, of which sixteen were

* Rich. S. Vic. De Eruditione Hominis Interioris, Lib. i. P. i. c. 7.

† Murat. Script. Rer. Ital. 1. 11. 151. ‡ Pasquier, Récherches de la France, liv. ix.

in Germany, Paris and Bologna being the two first cities to institute them in a regular form. In the latter, in 1260, there were ten thousand students; at Oxford, in 1200, there were four thousand. At Paris, in the sixteenth century, there were forty thousand scholars; in the single college of Guienne, at Bourdeaux, there were two thousand five hundred scholars; the university of Toulouse was equally flourishing.*

Designedly, however, these institutions were not suffered to concentrate themselves in capitals. After the troubles in the university of Paris in 1228, when students removed thence to Rheims, Orleans, Anjou, and even to England, Italy, and Spain, Pope Gregory IX., while exerting himself to the utmost to prevent that university from falling to pieces, observed that "nevertheless division and dispersion are very necessary for the interests of science itself." The multiplication of universities proceeded, therefore, under the highest sanction: that of Montpelier was founded in 1180, those of Orleans and Toulouse in the first half of the thirteenth, those of Lyons and Avignon in the fourteenth century. In Italy, the universities of Ravenna, Salerno, and Pisa were founded in the twelfth, those of Arezzo, Ferrara, Padua, Perugia, Piacenza, Sienna, Treviso, Vercelli, Vicenza, and Naples, in the thirteenth, and that of Pavia in the fourteenth century, when that of Palermo also took its rise. The universities of Salamanca, Valencia, and Coimbra were founded in the thirteenth, those of Toledo and Alcala in the fifteenth century. The German universities were of later origin than the Italian: those of Prague, Vienna, Heidelberg, Cologne, and Erfurt, arose in the fourteenth, those of Leipzig, Freiberg, Treves, Tubingen, Mainz, and Louvain in the fifteenth century; that of Cracow, in Poland, was founded in 1347.

The object of the Holy See and of the Episcopal Order in founding and promoting these academies, may be learnt from the bull of Pope Urban VI., approving of the proposed university at Kulm, in the north of Prussia, where the schools of Thorn, Elbing, and Danzing, under the Teutonic order, had been long famous; for it contains these words:—"Faith itself may be thus extended, the simple instructed, equity preserved, judgment cultivated, and the intelligence of men illuminated. Let there be, then, a fountain of science, from whose plenitude all who desire to be imbued with learning may be refreshed." In consequence, however, of the death of Winrich, and other events, this projected institution was not established, and the monastic school alone remained.†

Stephen Pasquier remarks, that the connection with the church and the episcopal authority was in general indicated even by the locality, as in the instances of Paris, Toulouse, Orleans, Lyons, Poictiers, Angers, Bourdeaux, Bourges, Cahors, Nantes, Grenoble, Valence, and Rheims, where the universities were all annexed to cathedral churches; of those in France, Caen, which was founded by the English, being the only exception.‡

* Monteil. Hist. des Français, tom. v. 253 † Voigt. Geschichte Preussens, v. 491.
‡ Récherches de la France, IX.

With respect to the magnitude and religious grandeur of these institutions, there are sufficient details on record from which we can form an opinion. Thus, in Louvain, were forty colleges, of which four were devoted to teach philosophy, which till lately retained the name of the signs that had first distinguished them —the Lily, the Castle, the Falcon, and the Boar. Many abbeys had also houses here for their students. At Douai there were sumptuous colleges belonging to the abbeys of Marchiennes, Anchin, and St. Vaast.*

Gozechenus, the scholastic, in his epistle to Valcherus, his ancient disciple, speaks of Liege in these terms :—"This flower of Gaul, like another Athens, flourishes in the study of liberal discipline, and, what is better, shines in the observance of divine religion ; so that, as far as relates to letters, you may feel no want of the academy of Plato ; and as to what concerns religious worship, you need not wish for the Rome of Leo."†

The zeal and charity of private persons were the great sources of their magnificence. In the university of Paris three chairs were founded by private men : the first of theology, by Robert de Sorbon, under St. Louis ; that of mathematics, by Peter Ramus, in 1568 ; and the third of theology, to explain the Scriptures, by aid of the fathers and of the Greek and Hebrew tongues, in 1606, by Jean de Rouen, provisor of the college of our Lady at Rouen. The care and superintendence of the universities was an object of the greatest solicitude to the sovereign pontiffs ; for these learned incorporations, unlike those of the present day, were practically convinced that they stood in need of reform from time to time, and always willing to submit to it. That of Paris underwent several reformations : the first was by Cardinal St. Stephen, legate of Pope Innocent III., in the year 1215 ; the second was by Simon, cardinal of St. Cecilia, legate in 1278 ; the third, which was of more importance, was made at Rome in 1366, in presence of Boniface, chancellor of the university, by two cardinals delegated by Pope Urban V. ; the last and most signal was by William Cardinal d'Estouteville, legate in 1452.‡

The schools of Paris enjoyed singular privileges, and the highest reputation throughout the Christian world. John Picus of Mirandula observes, in his Apology, that the academy of Paris had lately laid down certain articles of which the English said that they did not pass the sea, and that, he might add, that they did not pass the Alps. "Nevertheless," he continues, "I have used the phrase as Thomas places it, and the common way, calling the common way of theologicians, that which is now commonly held at Paris, where especially flourishes the study of theology ; so that my own conclusion, on account of my reverence for the university of Paris, I only propose as probable."§

With strict justice, in fact, as well as eloquence, does an ancient professor in that capital allude to the college in which he delivered his remarkable lectures,

* Les Delices des Païshas.

† Ermenrici Monach. Angiensis de Grammatica apud Mabil. Vet. Analect.

‡ Pasquier, Récherches de la France, liv. ix. 25. § Joan. P. Mirand. Apologia.

saying, " From the thirteenth century, and the time of St. Louis, the name of Sorbonne recalls the great school of France, or rather that of the world. All that was illustrious in the middle ages has sat on these benches. The Irish subtilty of Scotus, the African ardor of Raymund Lully, the poetic ideality of Petrarch—all have met here. Those who could rest nowhere, the authors of the Jerusalem and of the Divina Comedia, the exile of Florence, the wandering contemplatist of the three worlds, met here for an instant. In the seventeenth century this inclosure, renewed by Richelieu, witnessed the first essay of the Christian Plato, Malebranche. Such are the noble traditions attached to this place. This house is old however much they may whiten its walls ; it has seen much ; many ages have lived here—all have left something here."*

That the love of truth and wisdom which inspired the clean of heart could influence even the government of states aud the public mind of nations, during ages of faith, might be inferred from merely observing the honors and privileges conferred upon those who were engaged in the pursuit of learning. Although we before touched on all this ground, I think the reader will not regret paying it, in passing a second visit. Luther, during his calmer intervals, lamented the decay of the universities and the disuse of the honors with which kings and people had treated wisdom. " Formerly," says he, " masters of art were honored : one carried lighted flambeaux before them. It was a great festival when doctors were made. One went round the city on horseback ; one put on one's best clothes. All that is no more ; but I wish that good custom were revived."†

Such a wish, indeed, was not consistent with his assertion at other times, that " the devil never invented more cunning and more pernicious means to root up utterly the gospel of Christ, than the design of founding the universities ;" or with his opinion that the academies are figured by the idol Moloch, supported on the authority of Master Philip Melancthon, who, in his book called Didymus, commends Wicklyf for a wise man,—" qui omnium primus vidit academias esse Satanæ synagogas." However, I have not here to reconcile Luther with himself or with Master Philip. I merely cite his words, on the occasion, to show that the privileges and honors of scholars had a side which even he could not disrelish. Stephen Pasquier mentions some of the privileges of the scholars of Paris. By edict of Philip-le-Bel, in 1299, their goods could not be seized for debt ; by that of Louis Hutin, they could transport their goods wherever they chose, without molestation ; by that of Philip le Valois, in 1340, they were exempt from all taxes, and they could not be summoned from Paris for any trial. Philip-le-Bel, in granting privileges to the university of Lyons, endeavored to reconcile the citizens to the advantages conferred upon the scholars, by reminding them that the state is adorned and honored by studies, and that it is therefore for the interest of the citizens themselves to bear cheerfully

* Michelet. † Michelet Mem. de Luth. iii. 107.

the superior privileges which are granted in order to promote learning.* All scholars were noble, and carried swords. If a scholar travelled, all farmers were bound to supply him, at least for hire, with a horse. On arriving at a town, where all lodgings were hired, the citizens were bound to yield him up one; and, as we before observed, no master of a house could eject a scholar who lodged with him. Artizans who might annoy him by noise or offensive odors, were obliged to remove their shops or manufactories elsewhere. The scholar who studied at Paris or Toulouse, was a Parisian and a Toulousian, and enjoyed all the privileges without the charges of citizenship. Not only did the scholar pay no tax, but it was a punishable offence to put him on the list of contributors.†

Of the dignity with which the persons of the studious were invested, proof might be seen in some curious monuments of the middle age, which were solemnly erected to attest the punishment of those who had forgotten it: thus at the corner of a street in Paris, on a wall of the Augustinian monastery, was represented the wrong which had been done to Friar Peter Gougy, of that order, doctor in theology, and how the sergeants who had injured him were punished at the demand of the rector of the university.‡ The servants of Messire Charles de Sanoisy, Great Chamberlain of France, and the king's favorite, having rashly attacked some scholars in a procession of the university in the church of St. Catherine, of the Vale of Scholars, by sentence of the king's council the house of thatpersonage was demolished, and Sanoisy obliged to found and endow a chapel in favor of the university, and to pay besides to it one thousand livres; which sentence was executed, but the house afterwards was rebuilt by consent of the university, which in Pasquier's time was called the Hostel de Lorraine; but with this condition, that there should be a painting attached to the wall, representing the whole history and the judgment.§

With this liberality of rulers, the zeal and ardor of the people corresponded. The schools of philosophy in the middle ages were not then filled with boys of sixteen years of age; the greatest number, as Gervaise remarks, were grown-up men, many of them married and fathers of families, who thought it neither frivolous nor dishonorable, after discharging the duties of their state, to hear a master of philosophy.‖ The diligence of more youthful disciples was, however, well secured by wise provisions, which verified the saying of Alanus de Insulis,—

> "De nuce fit corylus: de glande fit ardua quercus:
> De parvo puero sæpe peritus homo."¶

Philip, Abbot of Good Hope in Hannonia, in the diocese of Cambria, writes to Engelbert, who was at Paris, and exhorts him to persevere diligently in study, adding, "for not merely to have been at Paris, but at Paris to have acquired learning, is honorable—non enim Parisius fuisse, sed Parisius honestam scien-

* Pasquier. Récherches de la France, liv. ix. 37.
† Monteil, Hist. des Français, tom. v.
‡ Pasquier, IX. 27.
§ Récherches de la France, III. 29.
‖ Vie d'Abailard, Lib. i.
¶ Alani de Insulis, liber Parabolarum

tiam acquisisse honestum est."* Pope Alexander IV., writing to the master and scholars of Paris, in 1256, mentions their ardor for study, "to which," he says, "they have sacrificed every thing;" and of Paris he says, "Hence proceeds an illustrious progeny of doctors, a high race of learned men, by whom the Christian people are illuminated and the Catholic faith is strengthened."†

Many of the disciples and masters of the middle ages might have said with Abailard, "I was so inflamed with the love of study, that, renouncing the pomp of military glory with the inheritance and privileges of my ancestors, I left the court of Mars that I might be educated in the bosom of Minerva."‡

To form a notion of the enthusiasm which men of great intellectual powers excited in the schools, we must attend to a few details in the early life of that celebrated philosopher, before the tendency of his disputations was obnoxious to reproof. When, through the jealousy of Guillaume de Champeaux, his first master, he was obliged to remove from Paris to Melun, to give lessons on philosophy, such numbers flocked there to hear him that the classes of Paris seemed deserted: then, being encouraged by this admiration, he ventured to approach nearer to the capital, and opened classes at Corbeil, which is only five or six leagues distant from it, and thus the disciples of the two schools of Champeaux and Abailard could dispute in fresh combats. Guillaume de Champeaux, even after becoming a monk in St. Victor, continued to give his scholastic lessons, and to instruct a crowd of pupils in rhetorick, philosophy, and theology. Abailard, on returning from Brittany, used to frequent these lectures of his old master, notwithstanding the jealousy with which his triumphs had been received by him. Nevertheless, his school of philosophy, on the hill of St. Geneviève, was opened, as he said, in order that from that eminence he might batter his adversaries in the schools of the university, under Champeaux, at St. Victor. We have the letter of Folko to Abailard in these terms, "Rome which used to infuse science of all arts into hearers, sends her students to be instructed under you. No distance of country, no height of mountains, no depth of valleys, no road, however infested with dangers of all kinds, can detain those who are hastening to hear you. The interjacent sea and the terrible raging of the waves, doth not intimidate the crowd of English youths, who, despising all perils, flock hither on hearing of your name. Remote Brittany destines her animals to be nurtured here. The people of Angers, having overcome their wildness, converse, with you in their sons: Poitou and Ireland, Normandy, Flanders, Germany, and Suabia, revere your genius: I omit mention of all inhabiting the city of Paris, as well as those from the most distant extremities of France, who so thirst to be taught by you, as if no discipline could be found where you are not." In this curious passage the facts are hardly exaggerated.

* Budæus, Hist. Universit. Paris. tom. ii.

† Wadding Annales Minorum, tom. iv. an. 1257.

‡ Epist. 1.

When Abailard, after his ignominious punishment, having renounced the world, had retired to St. Denis, where the abbot insisted upon his resuming his ancient exercises to satisfy the general anxiety to hear him again lecture, such a multitude of disciples flocked to hear him that there were not sufficient provisions in the country to support them. More than three thousand came together from all Latinity, from Italy, Germany, England, Spain, Flanders, Brittany, and all provinces of France. From this school came forth Guy du Châtel, soon afterwards Pope under the name of Celestin II., the famous Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, Gaudefroi, Bishop of Auxerre, and many of the cardinals and prelates of the Roman church. Abailard could reckon among his former scholars, twenty cardinals and more than fifty bishops. Such was the fascination of his manner, that he could not even get rid of those whom he wished to dismiss. After embracing the monastic state, he had changed his style and devoted himself wholly to divine subjects : thenceforth he made use of dialectics and philosophy only as a preparatory means of exciting attention, and from that time also he refused to take any thing from his scholars.

The reader must not suppose that this enthusiasm, inspired by Abailard, was a novelty in the history of the schools. The epochs which had not witnessed similar examples, were, in fact, distinguished and deplored as forming exceptions ; and the intervals between teachers, of different degrees of merit undoubtedly, who attracted the same love and reverence, were, as we shall soon see, few and brief : in short, the desire of intellectual riches played, in the middle ages, nearly the same part as that performed by the love of pleasure in later times ; for as the public ways are now periodically thronged with those who, in brilliant equipage, follow dancers from theatre to theatre, as each capital can succeed to attract them with its gold, so used they formerly to witness the humble crowd of those who thirsted after the vision of truth, and who went, through love of it, from school to school, following, and on foot too for the most part, the renowned doctors and teachers of philosophy, who moved from city to city, as each could succeed to win them with its poverty and its love of Christ. How many dusty-footed disciples followed Albert the Great, who taught at Strasbourg, Ratisbon, Cologne, Paris, and Rome, having the same hearers in each city.

We read in an ancient chronicle of the north, that the nobles of those regions send their sons to Paris, and not only such of them as are to be promoted to clerical orders, but also those who are to be educated in secular things ; and that these, being imbued with literature and the idiom of the tongue of that land, not only make great proficiency in arts but also in theology.*

Charles de Bourgueville, after studying at Caen, says that he removed, with some of his companions, to Angers and Poitiers, to pursue his studies successively at these two universities.†

* Arn. Lub. iii. 5.

† De Bourguveille Récherches de Normandie.

We have a letter from Angelo Politian to John Teixera, Chancellor of Portugal, giving an account of the progress of his sons, whom he had sent from that distant kingdom to study under him. "You have sent these boys into Italy," he says, "in order that they may be formed to manners, to letters, and to all ingenuous arts, befitting the highest fortune: but I believe they brought with them from home paternal manners, so that they do not so much receive as furnish examples. Nothing in them is foolish, nothing vicious, nothing immodest, nothing bad. Theirs is not a shameless front, an elate, supercilious brow, a licentious eye, a sharp tongue, an inconstant countenance. Finally, there is nothing in their air, or face, or gait, which can offend. Daily they frequent the churches. Towards their masters they are not only assiduous but full of alacrity: they conquer their more learned fellow-disciples in humanity and kindness, and they wholly refrain from associating with those whose manners or fame would injure them. No contest takes place between them except in study, no where are they oftener or more gladly occupied than under the eye of their preceptors, or in the company of their condisciples."*

The general opinion of the middle ages respecting the advantages which resulted from this custom of visiting different countries for the sake of study, which, in deed, we had occasion to notice in an earlier stage of our inquiry, is expressly adopted by Hugo de St. Victor, and as he tells us, from having himself experienced its truth. "A foreign land," he says, "is conducive to Philosophy. It is a great beginning of virtue for the mind to learn by degrees to change these visible and transitory things, that afterwards it may also relinquish them. He is as yet delicate to whom his country is sweet. He is brave to whom every soil is his country. He is perfect to whom the whole world is a place of exile. The first fixes his love upon the world, the second scatters it, the last extinguishes it. I have been an exile from a boy, and I know with what grief the mind sometimes deserts the narrow space of a poor cottage, with what liberty afterwards it may despise marble courts and golden roofs."† During ages of faith, however, innumerable things conspired to remove the sadness of banishment from the mind of a stranger scholar. The clean of heart could feel at home in every land, for their desires were fixed on God, every where present; and from the sources of purity and love, they could not be separated.

Strangers were, if possible, loaded with still greater favors than others in the schools of the middle ages. "Felix exilium," exclaims John of Salisbury, alluding to Paris, "cui locus iste datur."‡ Hear how John Vaseus, of Bruges, speaks of his own experience, "Certes the Spaniards receive me not as a foreigner, though they are most gracious to foreigners, but as a fellow countryman, and as one too who had deserved well of his country. When I first began to profess

* Ang. Polit. Epist. Lib. x. † Hugo S. Victor Eruditiones Didascalicæ Lib. iii. cap. 20.
‡ Joan. Salisb. Epist. 24.

publicly at Salamanca, with what zeal did the scholastics interpose with the Rector of the Academy that an honorary stipend might be decreed to me by the Senate, in which were but three persons opposed to me!"*

In fact, nations contended for the possession of learned men, with an incredible emulation; all Spain exulted in retaining Dominicus Calagurretanus, the pride of the Palantinian university, Juliano Pomerinus, Joannes Gerundensis, Raymond of Barcelona, Garsias Hispalensis, Vincentius Ferrarius, Alfonso Tostado, Dominicus Soto, Melchior Canus, and others, who were the boast of Salamanca, Ludovicus Vives, the pride of Valentia, and Lupus Herrera, and Laurentius Balbus Liliensis, whom the Complutensian academy presented to the world.† Huber, in his sketches of Spain remarks, "that learned men and philosophers in that country are looked up to as conferring dignity upon their respective provinces. Their acquirements are like a public treasure, only deposited in their hands for the honor of the city, shown to strangers with a kind of patriotic pride, and defended zealously for the advantage of the neighborhood." The love and study of wisdom seemed even hereditary in many families. The noble house of Sancta Sophia at Padua, produced a continued series of philosophers and illustrious physicians. Such studies gave titles of nobility, as in the case of James Dondo, or Horologio, physician and astrologer, who left that name to his posterity, from having constructed the wondrous clock on the tower of the city. If a ruler in the middle ages could have had such a desire as that of Antoninus Pius, who took upon himself to prescribe the proper numbers, who should apply to each profession in different cities; he could never have declined determining the number of philosophers, by alleging that Emperor's reason, that, "there were so few who philosophized." The ambition of men of all professions, was then directed to the acquirement of this scholastic or universal wisdom. Lawyers, as well as physicians, were then justly entitled philosophers, as may be witnessed in William Durandus, who was a great poet in the vulgar tongue of Provence, a great theologian, as well as legist and practitioner at the bar; his Speculum Juris having as much authority in law as the Sentences of Peter Lombard had in theology. In fact, as our old English writers upon law observe, the office of judges was then one of the contemplative life, for they used to sit in court till twelve o'clock, when they dined, and the rest of the day they tell us was devoted to contemplation.

The love of wisdom, which belonged to the clean of heart, shone conspicuous in the ranks even of feudal nobility. Jovianus Pontanus says, "that in his old age, after a long life spent in great affairs, he considers it a subject of boast that he had seen such a man as Andrew Matthew Aquaviva, Duke of Adria, who was slain in 1503; a Prince philosophizing in the midst of wars, combining ducal

* Joannis Vasæi Brugensis Rer. Hispanicarum Chronic. cap. iii.

† De Academiis et Doctis Viris Hispaniæ Narratio Alfonsi Garsiæ Præfat.

rank and imperial cares, with literary labors, and investigations of nature, both with dignity, neither without its peculiar beauty and praise. This nobleman and philosopher was of such piety that he seemed intent every hour of his life on repairing or building churches, assisting the poor and relieving the oppressed, so that the hereditary piety of the house of Aquaviva, one of the seven principle families of the kingdom of Naples, having been illustrious in the seventh century, and eminent in the crusades, which has given also a martyr to the society of Jesus, seemed to have attained an increase in him. Amidst all his occupations of learning, for he gave editions of many books, he used to visit monasteries in order to edify his mind by conversations with saints ; and many religious houses had splendid proofs of his munificence."*

Reader, here break we off suddenly, for I perceive there approaches to us as if through dim aisles afar, an august procession, which will attract and charm every eye. There are about to pass before us some great shadows of the clean of heart, who, even while on earth beheld God, and who as philosophers, were deemed wonderful by revering nations.

To hope for a view of all, or for a narrow scrutiny of any, would be inconsistent with the limits allotted for the completion of a course, in which we may not linger ; but a hasty glance at some of the most prominent of the sapient throng, for wisdom upon earth, splendors of cherubic light, will be attainable with aid of former guides, who have been accustomed to conduct upon this way men of less insight into the spirits that are past with time.

* Paul Ant. de Tarsia Hist. Cupersanensium, Lib. ii.

CHAPTER VI.

THE lofty lights which minister to Holy Church have long been passing, when those which illuminated the middle ages came first in view; Justin Martyr, Clemens, Augustin, Gregory, Athanasius, had been followed by an unbroken line of sages, who, on their way to paradise, having had their hearts made pure, philosophized in the school of the cross, diffusing around them beams of a celestial radiance. In combating the early heresies, the Church found the importance of having dialectic force at command, and therefore accepted the service of the Stagyrite. Nemesius, Bishop of Emessa in Phœnicia, in the year 380, followed him in his anthropological writings, and the Roman Boethius in the fifth age, whose work, "De Consolatione Philosophiæ," written in prison in Pavia, was received with general admiration, kings, as our Alfred, giving versions of it in their respective languages, translated and commentated many of his treatises, as also some of those of Plato and Porphyry. By him was the knowledge of Aristotle propagated in the west. This holy sage, whom Scot Erigena styles Magnificum Boethium,* together with Cassiodorus, and other lovers of wisdom of that time, adopted in union, many expressions and thoughts of both Plato and Aristotle.

In Spain, under the west Goths, Isidore, Archbishop of Seville, promoted encyclopædical studies through his work on etymologies, as did in England the Venerable Bede, whose learning was prodigious, while his industry and ability were great in all branches of study. In the east an acquaintance with the philosophy of the Greeks was more prevalent. Jacob, of Edessa, translated into Syriac the dialectic writings of Aristotle; the study of whose philosophy was also greatly promoted by the writings of John Philoponus, and of St. John Damascene.† In the fifth century science began to decay in France, nor did it revive till the time of Charlemagne, yet in this fifth age we find not a small number of great and learned men in every department, theologians, philosophers, historians, mathematicians, physicians, poets, and orators. Although in the fifth and sixth centuries, after the infusion of the Germanic barbarians into Gaul, there was little spirit of original inquiry, we have great characters, presenting the high personality belonging to an heroic race. The whole history of this period is comprised in the biographies of saintly bishops and priests, the heroes of Christianity, of that

* De Div. Nat. I. 56. † Tennemann Grundriss der Geschichte der Philosophie.

time, who, in believing, nourished such a flame of holy love, that all the world still re-echoes with their praise. The literature also of that period consists chiefly in these biographies, for Christianity had penetrated so deeply into the human nature that all things were in life. The times were too stormy, indeed, for the study of philosophy to make much progress; but great and pious and heroic men abounded: they had no leisure or inclination to speculate—they held the Christian truth more in the unity of sentiment and feeling than in the defensive form of science. Glorious bishops and lights benign of this period, were Remi of Rheims, Avitus of Vienna, Rurich of Limoges, Cæsarius of Arles, Eleutherus of Tournai, Cyprian of Toulon, Ferreolus of Usez, Germain of Paris, Viventiolus of Lyons, Nicetus of Treves, Marius of Avench, Pretextatus of Rouen, Veronus of Cavaillon, Gregory of Tours, and Fortunatus of Poictiers.* The Church had yielded the elect during eight centuries, when the great spirits which are now about to pass before us as representatives of the clean of heart beholding God, came forth to sanctify and guide the world.

In surveying the history of the philosophy of the middle ages from the year 800 till the seventeenth century, we find that there are certain epochs easily determinable, which must guide us in the order of observation. To the first period, which Tenneman distinguished as that which felt the reign of pure realism, belong the many splendors which here come into view, whose radiance we discerned from a distance, while observing in a former book those, who, through meekness, possessed the intellectual riches of the earth. Alcuin, or Albin, whose name alone is sufficient to disprove the opinions of those, who speak of the darkness of that age is the first of the majestic figures in this procession. York, in 736, beheld his birth—Parma, while he was travelling to Rome with Sanbald, his Archbishop, his first interview with Charlemagne, who there invited and pursuaded him to reside in his kingdom. On his removal thither, he was accompanied by some of his scholars, as assistants in teaching the Trivium and Quadrivium, of whom Wizo, Fredegisus, Agobard, and Sigulf are specified. When the schools were established, Alcuin had among other disciples three brethren of the imperial house, Adelhard, Bernarius, and Wala, sons of Bernhard, the brother of Pepin; the first was Abbot of Corby, and was succeeded by his brother Wala. Not so learned as Bede, though, perhaps, a more profound thinker, he is decidedly after him the first remarkable man of the Germanic Christian world, and the soul of all the noble enterprises of Charlemagne for the civilization of the west. He evinced no great speculative talent—his efforts being all directed to practical Christianity; his chief work of a different nature was his treatise De Ratione Animæ, which he dedicated to Gundrada, a sister of the Abbot Adelhard and a relation of the Emperor.

Among the eminent disciples grouped around him, we may distinguish Raban

* Staudenmaier, Johan Scotus und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. 1.

Maur, afterwards Abbot of Fulda, and Archbishop of Mainz, in which city he was born in 776, who introduced Alcuin's dialectics into Germany ; Hatto, who succeeded Raban at Fulda ; Samuel, a master in the same abbey, then Abbot of Lorsch, and finally Bishop of Worms ; Haimon, Bishop of Halberstadt ; Adelbert, Abbot of Ferrieres, and Aldrich, Archbishop of Sens. The rest belong to the great schools of the ninth century, which were Fulda, St. Gall, Reichenau, in the diocese of Constance, Hirschau, in that of Spires, and Corbie in Piccardy ; which were all the centres of other schools. Paschasius Radbert, Adelhard the younger, Hildemann, and Odo, Warin, founder of new Corby, and Anscharius, the Apostle of the North, were all from Corby in Piccardy. The throng which follows is composed of the eminent philosophers of the ninth age : these are Bertold, the monk of Mici ; Jonas, Bishop of Orleans ; the Holy Smaragdus ; Frothar, Bishop of Toul ; Walafrid Strabo, Abbot of Reichenau ; Freculf, Bishop of Lisieux ; Ebbon, Archbishop of Rheims ; Amolon, Archbishop of Lyons ; Liutbert, Abbot of Hirschau ; Andradus, chorbishop of Sens ; Aldrich, bishop of Mans ; Probus, monk of St. Alban's ; Florus Diaconus, Prudentius, bishop of Troyes, and John Scot Erigena, for whose birth-place three kingdoms contended. This slender figure of stature very diminutive is he. Tennemann concludes, that Ireland—Staudenmaier, that England gave him birth. Brought into France by Charles le Chauve, whose court he afterwards left, and as some say, by constraint, on account of the offence which was taken at certain opinions, or at the too subtle manner of his philosophizing, he finally returned to England, where he died, according to some at Oxford in 886, while the more common belief is, that he was murdered by some scholars at Malmesbury, in proof of which his epitaph is cited ; for at one time on his tomb these lines were inscribed,

> " Conditus hoc tumulo sanctus Sophista Johannes
> Qui ditatus erat vivens jam dogmate miro ;
> Martyrio tandem meruit conscendere cœlum,
> Quo semper cuncti regnant per sæcula sancti."

William of Malmesbury relates, " that the monks venerated his bones almost as much as those of St. Aldelm." In fact, Anastasius, in his letter to Charles the Bald, styles him " virum per omnia sanctum." The constant tradition of the middle ages, till Mabillon wrote, was that Erigena had been called to England from the court of Charles the Bald, by Alfred, that he taught in Oxford, and was slain at Malmesbury by revolted scholars. Staudenmaier supposes, that he owed the name Erigena to his having only studied in Ireland, while another recent historian is convinced that his writings furnish intrinsic evidence that he was Irish born. What we know with certainty, however, respecting him, is the extent of his learning, which included the oriental tongues, his love for the philosophy of Aristotle and Plato, and the importance which he ascribed to philosophy in general, as the knowledge of the grounds of all things. Scot, notwithstanding his

unhappy rashness, had a clear penetrating intelligence, but along with that acuteness, which made him the chief of dialectitians, he united a deep interior religious feeling, so that his mysticism is as remarkable as his dialectics. His life was spent in contemplation, while his manners were spotless and pure; his activity was exercised in speculative theology: through his influence and example the study of the Greek philosophy became prevalent in the west. His opinion respecting Plato* and Aristotle, has been mentioned before; the Fathers he prized immensely, especially Dionysius the Areopagite, to whose view was shown clearliest the nature and the ministry angelical while yet in flesh he dwelt; him he styled, "magnum et divinum manifestatorem;" and by means of his translation of the work on the celestial Hierarchy, a fountain of mysticism was opened for the middle ages. Alluding to St. Gregory Nazianzen and his commentator Maximus, Gregory of Nyssa, and Augustin, he says, "it is not for us to judge the intelligence of the holy fathers, but to receive them piously with veneration, yet we are not forbidden to choose that which may seem most consonant with the divine language."

Unhappily he laid too much stress upon the subtilties of human philosophy. William of Malmesbury says, "that his great work De Divisione Naturæ on account of its solving the perplexity of some questions, is very useful, if we pardon his deviating in some things from the Latins, while fixing his eyes intensely upon the Greeks; therefore, he has been thought heretical; and Florus wrote against him, for, in fact, there are in this work many things, which, unless they were diligently discussed, might seem abhorrent from the faith of Catholics."† This work, in the form of a dialogue between a master and his pupil, was the first philosophic and theological system seen in the west. As in the thirteenth century, the Albigenses thought fit to pretend that it favored their opinions, though it is clear they did not understand it, and as at all events it opened a dangerous door for the pride of human reason, Pope Honorius III. caused all copies of it to be sought for and burnt. His work on the Eucharist has been long lost, and the critical researches respecting it have only rendered the nature of its contents more undiscoverable. Paschasius Radbert, monk at Corby in Piccardy, and in 844, after the deposition of Wala, Abbot of that cloister, sent to the monks of the recently founded abbey of New Corby, in Germany, a treatise on the mystery of the Eucharist, in which he seemed anxious to elevate faith to knowledge. In this respect, Staudenmaier thinks that he opened a way to the perverse, and some suppose that Scot merely wrote against certain expressions in that work, and that it was not his intention to teach any doctrine, but that which the Church has always held.

Fredegard, a monk of Corby, was the first to take offence at Radbert's work, and thirty years after a controversy arose respecting it, in which Raban Maur,

* De Divis. Nat. i. 33.

† In. Lib. v.

Matramnus, Erigena, Haimo, and an unknown writer took part ; but what opinion Erigena held we cannot discover. It is more improbable than probable, that his work still existed in the eleventh century, and that it was really his work which Berenger cited as his.* It was at all events condemned at the council of Vercelli in 1050, and at Paris, under King Henry the First, but the person of Scot has been always held in respect, as his errors were without pertinacity. "In no manner," says Staudenmaier, "did he evince indifference to the Church in his researches, but on the contrary, he more than all things loved and prized it ; so that his errors are not to be ascribed to his will, but to the strong passion for knowledge, which can mislead men when they pursue objects with impetuosity, from particular points of view."† The ancient writers invariably mention him with a certain affection, "Potuit errare," say they, "hæreticus esse noluit." Throughout the middle ages his memory was cherished, as one entitled to esteem and respect, perhaps, however, chiefly on the ground of his translations. He had the glory of having Hugo of St. Victor for his commentator, and of having his writings frequently mentioned by Richard of St. Victor, who evinced a familiar acquaintance with them.

Now, if the mind's eye pass from light to light, further on and still within this first great family, we may distinguish the deep discerning Gerbert, monk of Aurillac, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., who studied at Seville and Cordova, and taught in the schools of Bobbio, Rheims, Aurillac, Tours, and Sens : then follows the hallowed spirit of Lanfranc, born at Pavia, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury. "To know all the admirable talents and genius of Lanfranc," says Orderic Vitalis, "one ought to be Herodian in grammar, Aristotle in dialectics, Cicero in rhetoric, Augustin and Jerome, or some other doctor of the law and of grace in the Holy Scriptures. Athens in her glory would have honored Lanfranc, and would have desired to be instructed by his wise precepts."‡ With him we must notice the Cardinal Peter Damian, from Ravenna, whose skilful use of dialectics in theology was called for by the heretical publication of Berenger. This jewel that is next, lustrous and costly, which great renown hath left, and not to perish, is St. Anselm, the disciple of Lanfranc, a light to marvel at, born at Aosta, in Piemont, elected prior and abbot of Bec, and afterwards archbishop of Canterbury ; he was called by his contemporaries the second Augustin, in regard to the penetration and dialectic skill with which he pursued religious philosophy. His "Monologium or Exemplum Meditandi de Ratione Fidei," is a work in which he unites the learning of God and of divine things with the grounds and principles of natural reason. Of extensive erudition, but still more distinguished for his dialectic power, comprehensive in his views, and as remarkable for acuteness, clear in his conceptions, and connected in all his reasonings, St. Anselm laid the foundation of the scholastic metaphysics.

* Laufs. Theol. Studien und Kritiken. 1. 755—80.

† John Scotus und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit.

‡ Hist. Nor. Lib. iv.

Albericus says, in his Chronicle of the year 1060, "that philosophy came to the Gauls in the days of the illustrious men, Lanfranc and Anselm." Hildebert of Lavardin, archbishop of Tours, stands next after Anselm in acuteness and dialectic ability; but he is thought to have excelled him in clearness and harmonious cultivation of mind. He united a singular mental cultivation, familiarity with the classics, independence, taste, and sound practical understanding; his Tractatus Theologicus, often ascribed to Hugo of St. Victor, and his Moralis Philosophia, formed the first popular system of theology. More versed in mysticism were those we next see,—Othlo, a monk in the cloister of S. Emmeran, in in 1090, and Honorius of Augt, near Basel, who were inclined to the Neoplatonic Augustinian theology. Now come into view the great luminaries of the second period of the scholastic philosophy, comprising the contest between nominalism and realism, from Roscellin, at the end of the eleventh century, till Alexander of Hales. The use of dialectics, and especially the explanation of Porphyry's Commentary upon Aristotle's Organon, *περι πεντε φοων;* the various meanings of the Platonic and Aristotelian schools respecting metaphysics, gave rise to the division of nominalist and realist, which partly following Plato, partly Aristotle, conduced to the further exercise of dialectic acuteness; this began with John Roscellin, a Breton by birth, and a canon of Compiegne or of Beauvais, in 1089, who maintained that general ideas were nothing but names or words, flatus vocis. This led him to an heretical interpretation of the Trinity, which he was obliged to recant at Soissons in 1092, having, in addition to his misfortunes, suffered himself to calumniate Lanfranc, Anselm, and Robert d'Arbrissel.*

The scholastics divide this controversy into the two heads of universalia ante rem, and the universalia in re or post rem. To show the manner in which the general was involved in the individual, stood forth the celebrated dialectitian, William de Champeaux, who died in 1120, as bishop of Chalons, with his scholar and adversary, Peter Abailard, of the school of Paris. The latter was a grammarian, orator, poet, musician, philosopher, theologian, mathematician, jurisconsult; he knew five or six languages, he played on instruments, he was ignorant of nothing in history, sacred or profane. It is consoling to know that, if the first period of his life shows him dark and turbulent, the last beheld him amongst the cleansed, reflecting beams of the celestial vision. Some, perhaps, through a fond desire of defending him throughout, have asserted that jealousy first incited Alberic and Lotulphe to send his book, "Introduction to Theology," as heretical, before the archbishop of Rheims, who, on their representation, invited Conon, bishop of Palestrina, the pope's legate, to assist at the council about to be held at Soissons. Abailard was summoned to appear there and answer for his opinions respecting the Trinity, which he had attempted to explain by natural reason. So exasperated was the public mind against him, that, on his arrival, his person was

* Longuevalle Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. viii.

not thought quite secure from popular violence. After appearing before the legate, who was a mild and holy man but not a deep scholastic, the matter was referred to the archbishop of Rheims, who being of similar character to the legate, referred it to his theologians, who, as some remark, were the personal rivals of Abailard. Yet Alberic and Lotulphe were unable to fix upon any sentence of the book that could be produced in evidence before a council, so they demanded that the fathers should proceed with other affairs, postponing this question to the last, but as the legate gave permission to Abailard to preach before the people during this interval, the public mind became quite changed in his regard, and he was now the object of general admiration.

On the last day of the council the legate declared that he should be absolved and dismissed. Geofroi, bishop of Chartres, a man of eminent piety and learning, made a noble discourse in his favor, in which he reminded the assembly that all great geniuses are exposed to envy, and recommended, either that Abailard should be permitted to speak in his own defence, or else that he should be sent back to his abbey of St. Denis, where a greater number of doctors might be assembled, and more time allowed to come to a decision on a question of such importance. The contrary opinion however prevailed, and the assembly judged, that his having taught and published without express permission, was enough to warrant his condemnation. Geofroi of Chartres saw the danger, and being unable to ward it off, withdrew.

Abailard was cited to come forward—a brazier stood in the midst. It was announced to him that he was required to burn his book with his own hands; at the same time it was presented to him, and he, without uttering a word, threw it into the fire. The assistants were astonished at such a proceeding, and upon a certain prelate wishing to excuse it, saying that there were such and such expressions in the book, Terricus, an able theologian, smiled and repeated some words from the creed of St. Athanasius, which justified the sentence.

Abailard, being condemned, was committed to the hands of the abbot of St. Medard, of Soissons, and the assembly broke up, to the great vexation of his friends, who intimated that the injustice was so palpable, and the neglect of formalities so un-canonical, that no importance was attached to the decision. Abailard, it is said, felt this stroke more keenly than his former punishment, of which he acknowledged the justice, but he was now in the hands of the best of men: the abbot and monks of St. Medard left nothing untried to console him. They assured him that the late proceedings would not injure him, and, in fact, the legate immediately restored him to liberty and permitted him to return to St. Denis.

His books continued to be read by all the world, and it was not till after many years that the dispute was resumed, first by a Benedictine monk, Guillaume, abbot of St. Thierry, near Rheims, the intimate friend of St. Bernard. This man, on reading the work, was offended at certain passages, and immediately referred it to Geoffrey, bishop of Chartres, and to St. Bernard. To his letter, which was

passionate, the bishop made no answer, and St. Bernard replied in very few words that delay was necessary, and that this was the first intimation he had heard of the kind. Unfortunately the bishop died in the interim, and Guillaume presented a list of heretical errors which he thought could be drawn from the work, which list St. Bernard read. Being moved with zeal for religion, he first went to Abailard and warned him secretly, but not finding full satisfaction he returned, with two or three witnesses, and still found a man inflexible and resolved to defend himself. Soon after this St. Bernard wrote to the Pope, Innocent II., denouncing him as a dangerous person, and in league with Arnold of Brescia. It is to be lamented that such an opinion should have been entertained on the credit of this treatise of Guillaume, for Abailard had no connection whatever with Arnold, and throughout his writings not a word could ever be found disrespectful towards the Holy See.

There was to be a great assembly held at Sens in 1140, on occasion of the translation of certain relics, and Abailard thought that this would be a proper occasion, to justify himself, for which purpose he wrote to Henry, the archbishop of Sens, complaining of the abbot of Clairvaux, and requesting permission to meet him in person, before the council, and to defend himself. The archbishop acceded and wrote to St. Bernard inviting him to attend. St. Bernard, but for the remonstrance of his friends, would have declined engaging in this public dispute, on the ground of not being accustomed to scholastic arguments, and of not thinking it right to have the mysteries of faith made an object of discussion; but he at length consented, and went to the council, relying only on the justice of his intentions, and on the help which he expected from God. The assembly was most august. The King Louis-le-jeune, Guillaume, Count of Nevers, Thibaut Count Palatine, the archbishop of Sens and Rheims, with several other bishops, and a multitude of learned doctors were present. St. Bernard, as the aggressor, spoke first, but before he had finished, Abailard, to the astonishment of all, without attempting a defence, said aloud that he appealed to Rome. His friends gave out that this unexpected resolution arose from his fearing that the influence of St. Bernard, and of the previous accusations brought against him, would have necessarily led to his condemnation. The council was embarrassed, but as he had chosen it for judge, it selected fourteen propositions from those of which he was accused, and condemned them, but without comprising his person in the sentence.

His friends failed not to observe that none of the precautions were taken which are always observed by canonical councils in condemning a point of doctrine, since no time was allowed for consulting the holy fathers, and for deliberating in particular congregations, and hearing opinions, before submitting the questions to the prelates. They pretended also that there was no care evinced to discover whether he really taught such errors; most of them, it is said, are no where found in his writings; but before the invention of printing it was easy to be deceived, for copyists often made an author say the contrary of what he intended,

by omitting a letter, or stop, or point of interrogation. Mezerai remarks also, that St. Bernard, whose natural eloquence nourished only, as he said himself, amidst rocks and forests, animated with the Spirit of God, was far more powerful than the vain rhetoric of the schools, was drawn on to speak and write against Abailard, more through aversion for scholastic disputes, and with a view to show the danger of subtilties, than from any other cause.

Abailard retired from Sens, and wrote two apologies containing his profession of faith. He declared that he had never wished to be a philosopher opposed to the great Apostle, or had set more value upon being a second Aristotle, as he was styled, than on being a Christian, which he was by the grace of Jesus Christ. He remarks that it is difficult to write much without exposing one's self to censure; and he protests that he is ready to renounce whatever opinion may be found contrary to the Church, whose son he is, and from whose dignity he prays that he may be never separated. He was about to set out for Rome, to defend his cause, when he received intelligence that he had been already condemned. After great perplexity and wavering, he resolved, trusting to the sincerity of his intentions, upon continuing his journey to defend himself in person before the Holy See; but having stopped for a night at Cluny, he was induced to abandon this resolution, by the advice of Peter the Venerable, who undertook to bring the affair to a happy issue. This learned and holy abbot, who had long admired him by reputation, was now filled with delight on observing the beauty of his genius and the depth of his understanding. It was he who gave this testimony of him: "Non homini, sed scientiæ deest quod nescivit." Still more was he charmed, with the piety which he joined to his extraordinary abilities, and with the proofs which his conversation furnished, that he loved only God, and wished to love no other but him. He now promised to deliver him from all his afflictions, on condition that he would remain at Cluny for the rest of his life. Finding him at a loss and perplexed, he took him by the hand and led him into a more secret chamber; and there, sitting down, said, "Hear me a little: what do you leave in quitting this stormy scene? You will find new calumniators; you will be always in disputes and combats, either attacking, or defending yourself. Is such a life conducive to salvation? and is it not time, at sixty years of age, to renounce every thing but the great affair of eternity? Believe me, my dear Abailard, it is Providence who has conducted you here to find repose for your last days; and do not suppose that you will be useless: my brethren will profit by your learning, and will regard you as their master. Here you will have no one to envy you, and here you can close your tumultuous life in sweet heavenly peace." The philosopher was won;—for him was about to commence gladness everlasting. Peter the Venerable wrote to the pope; but in the interim a happy incident occurred, in the arrival of Rainard, abbot of Citeaux, and general of the order; a man of eminent piety and learning, who had a few years before succeeded St. Stephen. He was the son of Milon, count of Bar-sur Seine, and he came mounted

on a sorry horse, with one poor brother for all his suite. It is thought that he came at the desire of St. Bernard, to speak to Abailard of reconciliation ; at least the abbot of Cluny employed him for the purpose, and sent Abailard under his conduct to Clairvaux, where they arrived at the end of September, 1140, four months after the council of Sens. Abailard explained on what ground he had advanced the propositions ; and the saint was so convinced of the purity of his faith, that they both embraced and vowed an eternal friendship. Peter the Venerable testified the utmost joy, and, in order to inform the pope of what had passed, sent two of his monks to Rome with letters from himself and from Abailard. In these he assured him that the latter had renounced for ever the disputes of the schools, and that the whole community of Pluny prostrated itself at the feet of his holiness, to beseech him to approve of his remaining in that monastery to the end of his life. The pope granted this permission, and expressed joy at such an issue of so unhappy a debate ; and thus ended the troubles of this great man, who may perhaps have been treated with undue severity, considering the service which he rendered at the time by his writings against the Petrobrusians, Jacobites, Cathari, Henricians, Adamites, and other monstrous sects : though his warmest advocates admit that he ought, for the sake of peace, to have been content to speak the usual language when he held the common doctrine : for it is allowed that he expressed himself, on some points, in a new and unguarded manner ; and that some of the propositions which he really held were erroneous and untenable ; but no man was ever farther from having the obstinacy and pride of a heretic, since he constantly confessed an inviolable attachment and perfect submission to the authority of the Holy See.

On receiving the abbot of Cluny's letter, the pope testified his joy, sent absolution to Abailard, and reinstated him in all his rights and prerogatives; and from that time his life was spent in exercises of piety and preparation for his end. Peter the Venerable, alluding to his subsequent conduct, said that there was never greater nakedness in St. Martin, or more humility in St. Germain. In his room were only a pallet, with table and chair, a wooden candlestick, and a crucifix. The holy Scriptures, and some treatises of the Fathers, formed all his library. His manner was that of the lowest brother in the community. When charged to give instruction, he spoke only of humility and contempt of the world. It was already a citizen of heaven who spoke the language of the celestial country. Attacked with a cutaneous disorder, the abbot, by advice of physicians, sent him for change of air to the priory of St. Marcel, near Châlons-sur-Saone, and only three or four leagues distant from Cluny ; but the keenness of that air, by affording him temporary relief, only hastened his dissolution. On being seized with fever, he knew that it announced his end. After a devout preparation, he expired on the 21st of April, 1142, in the sixty third year of his age. Peter the Venerable, in the epitaph which he wrote for him, after describing the multiplicity of his knowledge and the subtilty of his genius, added,—

"————sed tunc magis omnia vicit
Cum Cluniacensem monachum, moremque professus,
Ad Christi veram transivit philosophiam."

This history has detained us long, but it was well to ascertain the facts relative to a name so illustrious, and which is often made use of for purposes of hostility. The crowd which now presses forward consists of his disciples, of which the foremost are William de Conches and Guilbert de la Porre, bishop of Poictiers, and of their opponents—far greater spirits—Hugo of St. Victor, his illustrious disciple Richard of St. Victor, Hugo of Amiens, archbishop of Rouen, the two Englishmen—Robert Pulleyn and Robert Folioth of Melun, Peter of Novara the Lombard, and bishop of Paris, his disciple Peter of Poictiers, who died archbishop of Embrun in 1205, and, though last not least, Alanus de Insulis, entitled Doctor Universalis, who died in 1203.

Hugo of St. Victor was by birth a Saxon, of the family of the Counts of Blankenburg and Regenstein, in the Hartz Forest. He was born in 1097, and educated in the monastery at Halberstadt, founded by his uncle Reinhard, bishop of that see.* In his eighteenth year he removed to St. Victor in Paris, where he remained till his death, in the forty-fourth year of his age. Of him we shall often have occasion to speak. Richard, endowed by nature with still greater genius, was the dearest friend and scholar of Hugo of St. Victor, and he died as prior of that monastery in 1173. Alanus de Insulis was of immense renown in the university of Paris, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Of him, too, is related a memorable legend, which ancient painters may have rendered familiar to the lovers of their art. He had proposed, on a certain day, to preach on the blessed Trinity, and to give a perfect knowledge of that mystery to his auditors. On the preceding day, as he took a solitary walk on the margin of the stream, he saw a little boy scooping out a small trench, and trying to fill it with water from a shell which escaped through the sandy bottom of the trench as fast as he filled it. "What are you doing, my sweet child?" asked Alanus. "I am going to put all the water of the river into my trench," was the reply. "And when do you think," continued the philosopher, "that you will succeed in this grand design?" "I shall succeed before you will perform what you have engaged to do." "What have I engaged, child?" "Why you said that to-morrow you would, in a sermon, explain the Trinity by your science." Alanus, at this reply, was seized with compunction and terror. He returned home in deep meditation, pondering upon the words so strangely addressed to him, and lamenting bitterly his own presumption. On the morrow, when the hour of the sermon arrived, a great crowd being assembled, Alanus mounted the pulpit, and, instead of a theme, uttered these words: "Sufficiat vobis vidisse Alanum:" and immediately descending, withdrew, leaving the people lost in astonishment. The same day he left Paris and travelled

* Liebner, Hugo von S. Victor und die Red. Richtungen seiner Zeit.

into Burgundy, where he repaired to the abbey of Citeaux and offered himself as a poor lay brother to be a shepherd, and there he remained for a long time unknown.

After many years, when the abbot Peter was about to set out for Rome to attend the council, this poor servant asked permission to accompany him, saying that he would take charge of his horses. The abbot consented, and they arrived at Rome together. On the day of the great disputation, when the abbot was proceeding to the council, Alanus, being still at his side, asked whether he might enter along with him ; but the abbot, in reply, told him to return to the stable and attend to the horses, saying that none but bishops and abbots and great clerks were admitted ; but he entreated him to suffer him to glide in disguised at his side ; and the abbot consenting, he passed and sat down at his feet, and heard the disputation with the Albigenses and Waldenses. The heretics appearing at one moment to triumph, Alanus rose and said to the abbot, " Jube Domine benedicere ;" to whom the other replied in amaze, " Madman, what art thou doing ?" Then again he said meekly, " Jube Domine benedicere ;" and repeated these words thrice, till the pope, observing what passed, called upon him to speak ; when he began with such perspicacity and force of dialectics to confute the heretics, that immediately the error became evident to every one present. " Aut diabolus es aut Alanus !" exclaimed the furious disputant, finding himself worsted. " Non sum ego diabolus sed Alanus," calmly replied the stranger. Thus was he discovered ; and who can describe the scene which then took place ? The abbot would have resigned his dignity to him on the spot, and the Pope Alexander wished to confer great honors upon him ; but he refused them all, and returned to his abbey. It was decreed, however, that he should have always two clerks under him to write down what he might dictate, and there he made many books ; amongst them that which begins " Phœbo Phœbe," and a commentary on the prophecies of Merlin. Alanus died, and was buried in that abbey, and on his tomb were these verses :—

" Alanum brevis hora brevi tumulo sepelivit,
Qui duo, qui septem, totam sibi subdidit orbem.
Labentis sæcli contemptis rebus egens fit,
Mille ducenteno nonageno quoque quarto
Christo devotus mortales exuit artus. *

Amidst thousands of splendors now presented, we can but seek to distinguish few by name whose light still gilds our stormy scene on earth. The work of Peter Lombard obtained for him the title of Master of the Sentences. It was a classified compilation from the Fathers, which became the text book and model for subsequent theologians. The university of Paris celebrated every year his anniversary, as its founder, in the church of St. Marcel, where his bones reposed

* Bulæus, Hist. Univers. Paris. tom. ii.

Petrus Comestor, author of the Scholastic History, and Galterus, who wrote the poem on the life of Alexander, were his contemporaries ; but what have extorted the admiration of modern philosophers were the humane and philosophic mind of Hugo of St. Victor, who was also styled the second Augustin, the philosophic penetration and mysticism of Richard of St. Victor, the copious and lucid classification of Pulleyn, comprising both dogmas and truths of reason, and the exact mathematical applications of Alanus.

We must not suffer to pass here unobserved the eternal light of Sigebert, a monk of Gemblou in the diocese of Liege, born in 1030. Gemblou was an abbey, famous for its studies and its library. He wrote in prose and verse, knew Greek and Hebrew, possessed a universal science, and was withal of most holy life — morum probitate et scientiæ multiplicitate laudabilis. Monks and clerks flocked to his lectures in the school of St. Vincent at Metz, whence he finally returned to his abbey of Gemblou. As his diocese was most attached to the emperors, he could not avoid taking part in the controversy which then divided Europe ; but he was careful to recognize for the successors of St. Peter those whom the church received as such ; and though he wrote some things in his Chronicle little to the honor of some sovereign pontiffs, he related with impartiality the vices and errors on the other side, sparing not the emperor. Sigebert was loved by all the learned of his time, and respected even by the Jews during his residence at Metz. He died in the abbey of Gemblou, and his obit is thus inscribed in the tables of that house : " Dominus Sigebertus venerabilis monachus, Gemblœcensis Cænobii, vir in omni scientia literarum, incomparabilis ingenii, descriptor præcedentium temporum."* Baronius, however, and Bulæus, convict him of some errors.† The ornaments with which he enriched his abbey were acquired by the voluntary liberality of those whom he instructed.

The religious philosophy gained by the writings of these wondrous men ; and the supernatural school, as Tennemann styles it, was every where triumphant, under its chiefs St. Bernard and Walter, abbot of St. Victor, who composed his celebrated book, Contra Quatuor Labyrinthos Galliæ. John of Salisbury, or Johannes Parvus Salisberiensis, the disciple of Abailard, is one who also claims especial notice. He became bishop of Chartres. An admirer of Aristotle, and deeply versed in classical learning, he saw, also, the faults of the philosophic studies of his time, the occasional abuse of dialectics in the pursuit of minute and useless questions, which eventually led Simon of Tournay, Almaric of Bene, in the diocese of Chartres, and his disciple David of Dinanto, to adopt errors destructive of faith, bordering upon a kind of pantheism, to which they may have been led by an injudicious use of the writings of Scotus Erigena.‡ But this abuse had the

* Hist. Lit. de la France, ix. † Hist. Univers. Paris, tom. ii. 41.

‡ Gerson de Concordia Metaphysicæ cum Logica, p. 14. S. Thom. Aq. in Lib. Sent. ii. dist. 17. q. 1. a. 1. Alberti Sum. i. p. Tract. iv. q. 20. vi. 29. xviii. 70.

good effects of leading to greater caution, and to more insight into the danger of misusing reason.

The third period, the exclusive reign of Realism, commenced in 1240, with the writings of Alexander of Hales, at the moment when to human eyes there was every probability of its decline and overthrow. The Aristotelian philosophy was destined now to play a great part in the schools. Hermannus Contractus, the monk of St. Gall, was not the first commentator or translator of the Stagyrite in the west; for a hundred years before him Reinhard, scholastic in the abbey of St. Burchard in Wirzburg, had labored in that capacity.* His writings had been diffused in the west, in the time of Charlemagne, from Constantinople through the Greeks, and subsequently from Spain through the Moors. The love of knowledge and science which distinguished the Arabians had been greatly encouraged and promoted by the caliphs of the houses of Abasside, Al Mansur, Al Mohdi, Harun Al Raschid, contemporary of Charlemagne, Al Mamum, and Moteassem, by means of translating Greek authors and founding schools and libraries. Aristotle, in spite of the authority of the Koran, had directed all their studies of philosophy, under the guidance of Avicenna and Averroes, whose commentaries, however, had nearly superseded the original. The latter seems to have considered the Koran only as a religion for the people, which did not supersede the necessity for a more scientific system for the learned. The philosophy of the Arabians became known to the Christians chiefly through the Jews, who at that time played no unimportant part in the learned world, as the example of Moses Maimonides of Cordova can bear witness. These learned Jews translated the Arabic writings into Hebrew, from which Latin versions were soon formed, which circulated in the universities of Europe. The first translator of Arabic writings was the monk Constantine, named Africanus from the country of his birth. After many long journeys through the east, and strange varieties of fate, he at length sought and found eternal rest in the abbey of Monte Cassino, where he made known the results of his wanderings, and published translations of the medicinal works of the Arabs, and by these were the works of Hippocrates and Galen made known to the west. This was in the middle of the eleventh century. Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II., was another who greatly contributed to propagate the Arabic learning in the Christian world. Then followed Robertus Retinensis, Herman of Dalmatia, Plato Tiburtinus, Alfred and Daniel of Morlay, Aurelius, Eugenius Ammiratus, Philip and Mark, the Archdeacon Dominic Gondisalvi, and the converted Jew John Avendeath, known as Joannes Hispalensis. Great encouragement was given to the two last by Raimund, archbishop of Toledo, who made a plan to translate the philosophic writings of the Arabians into Latin, and employed them for that purpose. Then were published, accordingly, works of Avicenna. Algazelis, Alpharbius, and some others,

* Heeren Gesch. d. Class. Lit. im. Mittelalter, i. 226.

of which the book Fons Vitæ was celebrated in the thirteenth century. Gerard of Cremona now published four original works and translated twenty-two others, and died in 1187. From the year 1100 to 1200 the literature of the Arabs was especially cultivated by the English.* In the eleventh century an Arabian Chronicle was translated into Latin by an Englishman who had studied on the banks of the Ebro. The same zeal drew Adelard of Bath to the Peninsula. In the twelfth century we find the names of three Englishmen capable of translating from the Arabic. In the thirteenth appear as translators Roger Bacon, Grossetête, and the renowned Michael Scot: the former, in his Opus, Majus, shows as familiar acquaintance with Albumazar, Averroes, Avicenna, Alfarabius, Thabeti, ben Corah, Hali, Alhacen, Alkinali, Alfragan, Arzachel, and other Arabic writers, as with Aristotle himself. Hugo of St. Victor, in his letter to the bishop of Seville, Alvarus of Cordova, and also Pope Innocent III., writing to King Alfonso X., complain of the ardor for studying the Saracenic literature. This monarch, as also the Norman princes of Sicily and Italy, were now its great patrons. The former collected more than fifty learned men from Toledo, Cordova, and Paris, and set them to translate the works of Ptolemy and others. The names of these men were, Judas son of Moses, Judas named Alcohan, Moses, John Daspaso, Ferdinand of Toledo, Bernard of Burgos, the Rabbi Zag, John of Messena, John of Cremona, and Abraham. They translated these works into Spanish, from which, subsequently, Latin versions were made. Herman Alemannus, in the thirteenth century, published the Ethics of Aristotle from the Arabic in 1240, as Robert Grossetête of Lincoln had published them from the Greek.

The first scholastic philosopher who made great use of the Arabic learning was Alexander of Hales, who comes now before us. He was of a monastery in Gloucestershire, and surnamed doctor irrefragabilis; he learned theology in Paris, and illustrated in a summa theologiæ the text-book of Peter Lombard, with acute syllogistic reasoning upon the opposite doctrines; in which he was opposed by William of Auvergne, bishop of Paris. He was the first to write a commentary on the Master of the Sentences; but the mystic was no less admirable than the scholastic side of his character. The historian of the Minors demands what could have induced this wondrous philosopher to enter the order of St. Francis, then in its infancy? The reply will indicate how justly he is numbered among the clean of heart; for it was in consequence of his being once exhorted to consider whether he ought not for the love of Mary to embrace poverty; and, as it was his rule never to refuse any thing asked in her name, he resolved to do so. His death was in 1245. He was buried in the church opposite the crucifix. Over his grave was his image sculptured, and under it this inscription:—

"Gloria Doctorum, decus et flos philosophorum,
Auctor scriptorum, vir Alexander, variorum,

* Bulæus, Hist. Univ. Par. ii.

Norma modernorum, fons veri, lux aliorum,
Inclytus Anglorum Archilevita, sed horum
Spretor cunctorum, Fratrum collega Minorum
Factus egenorum, fit primus Doctor eorum."

In a tablet in the wall are added these verses :—

" Quid tibi majorum repetis monumenta per orbem ?
Patris Alexandri gesta, viator, habe.
Hic, placito superum prognatus gente Britanna,
Protinus a puero flexit ad astra gradum.
Non gazæ meminit, nec avorum rura licetur,
Pectore in eximio sola Minerva sedet.
Ergo freta emensus, et vastos æquoris amnes,
Se totum ad studium Parisiense tulit.
Quo vel Socraticos, vel summos quoque Platones,
Ingenio facile dexteriore præit.
Inde solum, et cœlos, et quæ super astra geruntur
Rimatus, didicit abdita fata Dei.
Sic tandem, et meritis et digna laude probatus,
Doctrinæ et verbi fit sator atque pater.
Magnus Alexander, cui mens persancta fuisset
Ac devota diu, et religiosa Deo :
Ipse ego (mox inquit) certamina litis iniquæ
Compescam, non erit cui suus obstet amor.
It vir, et induitur palla vilente Minorum :
Quique magister erat, fit pius ecce Minor.
Nos quid obest (dixit) humilem gestare togellam
Qui pariter gerimus nomen onusque patris ?
Quid contra impediat sublimi in nomine mentem
Cordigeros Fratres continuisse piam ?
Discipulos Christi, quibus est lustrare popellos
Quis ferat ignaros, jussa docere Dei ?
Non tumet irrigua cœlesti flumine virtus :
Nec sese extollit, cui Deus auctor adest.
Mens humilis pergata dolo, conserva Deorum,
Ne fama augescit, nec jacet, ima colens.
Jam primum posthac Doctor fraterculus ibo
Veste sub hac minimus, parta trophæa gerens.
Dixerat, hinc patuit Francisci semper alumnis
Laurea Doctorum, qui tot, ut astra, micant.
Tum demum ex superis captum germinare talentum,
Ne torperet iners, providus instituit.
At schola sacrorum quia nil satis ordine norat,
(Cuncta quidem incertis sparsa fuere locis,)
Hic prudens opifex multa celeberrimus arte,
Compage et nervis consolidavit opus.
Hæc brevibus dixi : quæ cetera multa supersunt,
Non vacat ut noris, qui citus ire velis.
Clauditur hoc saxo, famam sortitus abunde,
Doctor Alexander junctus in axe Deo.

Si quis honor meritis, si qui virtute coluntur,
Hunc animo præfer, hunc venerare patrem.
Ne sorde et culpa pigritieve per otia deses-
Nancisci studio, quæ Minor iste refert.

The lights which now come into view were given to the world at the same time. Amongst them we may distinguish Vincent of Beauvais, who, in an encyclopædical work, gave a general view of the state of science and philosophy, from which, perhaps, we may best learn the grounds of this great controversy between the nominalists and realists. The next is Michael Scot, who, while still residing at Toledo, translated the books of Aristotle de Cælo et Mundo, de Anima, and his Natural History, after the arrangement of the Arabians, in which work he was assisted by Andreas, a Jew.

After him is seen Robert Grossetête, who studied at Paris and Oxford, and died bishop of Lincoln in 1253. He wrote a commentary upon Aristotle. But it is the next which follows of the saintly splendors, Albert the Great, of the family of the Counts of Bollstädt, who brought the Aristotelian philosophy into fuller vogue. Born on the banks of the Danube, at Lauengen in Suabia, in 1193, after his first education at Passau he studied at Padua, and entered the Dominican order. His knowledge of natural philosophy was so great, that in subsequent ages impostors ascribed their magical books to him, as if he had been a magician. Though he made immense journeys, sparing no pains or cost to procure Greek books, he lived chiefly at Cologne and at Paris. He travelled always on foot, and begged by the way. Elected bishop of Regensburg in 1260, he at last renounced the episcopal dignity, and devoted himself wholly to learning in his cloister at Cologne, where, in earlier days, he had St. Thomas for his pupil. Guilielmus de Thoco, in his life of St. Thomas, says of Albert, "that in science he surpassed every man of that age;" and Ulrich Engelbert, the pupil of Albert, says, "he was a man in every branch of knowledge so divine, that he may deservedly be called the amazement and miracle of our times."* Such was his love of poverty, that he used to leave his own writings in the monasteries in which he wrote them, that he might keep nothing of his own. On his return from the council of Lyons, he continued to hold learned conferences in his cloister, till one day his auditors perceived that his memory failed him. This was a divine warning, which he recognized; for in his early years it had been predicted to him by a vision, that he should lose all his science before his death. He therefore renounced all relation with the world, and prepared for his holy passage, which took place in the year 1280. Tennemann is of opinion that he was more a learned man and a compiler, than a deep original thinker. But what is an original thinker in morals? He wrote a commentary on most of the works of Aristotle, making great use of the Arabian authors, and mixing the new Platonic with

* De Summo Bono, Tract. iii. c. 9.

the Aristotelian tenets. With him began the subtle division between matter and form, essentia or quidditas and existentia. Tennemann admits that rational psychology and natural theology are indebted to him for many just views. The former for the conception of the soul, as a totum potestativum ; the latter for the accurate determining and limitation of the knowledge of God by reason. Conscience he regarded as the first law of reason, and he distinguished the application, συντήρησις, and the habitual intimation, or conscientia. All theological virtues are, according to him, virtus infusa. He died with the reputation of great for the present, and of blessed for the future world. Contemporary with him was that celestial joyance which is next in view; and O how lustrous, love seraphic, is thy semblance in those sparkles which are from holy thoughts inspired! Now doth it know the merit of its soul-impassioned strain. This, dear companion, is John of Fidanza, or Bonaventura, from whose living streams you have so often drunk. Bagnarea, in 1221, beheld his birth, and Lyons, in 1274, his glorious flight to heaven. His surname was the Seraphic Doctor. Tennemann says that he had less learning but more genius than Albert, and that his mind was more disposed to mysticism. In his Commentary on the Master of the Sentences, he placed limits to speculation, directed the philosophy of Aristotle and of the Arabians less to the defence of a vain desire of knowledge, than to the determining of important questions, and the reconcilement of contending meanings, as, for instance, to the subjects of individuality and freedom: he attended more to the practical direction of men than to theoretical ideas. "The highest good," he says, "is a union with God, in whom alone man sees truth and finds happiness." Accordingly, in his "Reductio Artium in Theologiam," he leads all knowledge back to illumination, and distinguishes four kinds — an external, inferior, internal, and principal. In his Itinerarium Mentis in Deum he describes the six steps of ascent to God, corresponding with as many faculties of the soul. In speculation, subservient to the highest good, he is mystical from his whole heart. "If it be asked," says the Chancellor of Paris, "who amongst other doctors should be preferred, I answer without prejudice, Lord Bonaventura, of whom one may say truly, that, like another John, he was a burning and shining light. Amongst all Catholic doctors no one seems more fit to illuminate the intelligence and to inflame the heart."

The most eminent admirers of his writings were Henry of Ghent, John Trithemius, St. Antoninus of Florence, and Sixtus of Sienna. The next is the great spirit of Aquinum, not so called from having been born at Aquinum, a Samnian not a Campanian city, but from the name of his family ; for the Aquinas are in many places in Campania, and the saint was born at Belicastro.* He was induced, in opposition to the will of his family, through his thirst after an angelic life and wisdom, to enter the Dominican order in 1243. He studied under Al-

* Gabriel Barrii de Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ, Lib. ii. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. ix.

bert at Cologne and Paris, and received the title of the Universal and Angelic Doctor. His history, composed by Touron, is one of the most delightful books that the hand of man ever traced. Tennemann, and indeed all competent judges, admit that he possessed a truly philosophic genius—vast, almost incredible, knowledge and learning—with a most fervent zeal for the promotion of both. He was a realist, while he certainly admitted that the general did not of itself exist in the reality, further than the possibility ; but he held the object of the understanding, or the abstract form of the thing, for the original existence of the thing ; and he sought, by a development of the Aristotelian theory of thought, interwoven also with the ideology of Plato and the Alexandrians, to give a better holding to this system. He develops the idea of matter and form, as constituent parts of substance and of the principle of individuality. The reasonable soul, whose powers and peculiarities he regarded after the manner of Aristotle, is to him the substantial form of man, immaterial and immortal. The highest object of his application in theology, to which he imparts a philosophic form in his Commentary on the Master of the Sentences, in his work against the heathens (Summa Catholicæ fidei adversus Gentiles), and in his Summa Theologiæ. According to the opinion of Tennemann, he supposed that evil or the absence of good was necessary to the perfection of the whole. He carefully taught, however, that God was only incidentally its author.*

This wondrous work of St. Thomas was the ground of Leibnitz's Theodicee. Ethics are divided by him into general and particular, and are treated of partly in a theological manner, and partly after that of Aristotle.

" They are indebted to him," says Tennemann, " not a little : he maintains an alternate operation between the reason and the will, which is necessarily determined by the highest good, happiness, though it has freedom in the choice of the means leading to it. Such was his intellectual ministry, which left so mighty and imperishable a trace, though but for a short date below the world possessed him. Numerous are the lights whom we may see grouped round his saintly radiance, yielded chiefly by the Dominican and Jesuit orders. Amongst these are Giles of Colonna, the Roman, and Thomas de vio Cajetanus, Gabriel Velasquez, Petrus de Mendoza, Petrus Fonseca, Dominic of Flanders, and Francis Suarez : his contemporary, Petrus Hispanus, who became Pope John XXI. was distinguished for his Compendium of Scholastic Logic, Summulas Logicales. Henry Goethals, otherwise called Henry of Ghent, archdeacon of Tournay, was also a man of deep penetrating understanding : he was a realist, and united with the Aristotelian form Plato's ideas, which he held to be a kind of independent existences : he had, however, many peculiar views in psychology, and he often contradicts St. Thomas. Richardus de Media Villa, surnamed Doctor solidus, fundatissimus, copiosus, a Professor at Oxford, where he died in 1300, was also an acute commentator on the Lombard.

* Sum. P. i. Qu. 49.

Duns Scot, the next of these resplendent forms, was born, some say in Tathmon, near Wexford, others in Dun, in the north of Ireland, at the extremity of the Isthmus of Lecalia, an ancient city, the see of St. Patrick and of St. Columban. Wadding infers that he was from Ireland, from his saying "Sicut in definitione Sancti Francisci vel Sancti Patricii," names which would first occur to him through affection for his order and his native land. The people of Duns, where was a convent of Minors till destroyed by the English, have always believed that he was their townsman; and Wadding rejects the testimony of the manuscript in Merton College, Oxford, which states that he was of Northumberland; for the inscription on his tomb on every one's tongue, contradicts it:

Scotia me genuit, Anglia me suscepit,
Gallia me docuit, Colonia me tenet.

Accordingly the Irish were always his benefactors. It was Maurice, archbishop of Tuam, long time professor at Padua, who published his works: it was Hugo Cavellus, archbishop of Armagh, who corrected them and separated the genuine from the spurious. Scot was born in 1274, the same year in which Bonaventura died, the admirable Providence of God ordaining that as one sun set another should rise upon the earth. When a boy, he was deemed heavy and stupid, but on going to Oxford, where he was taught grammar by two Minor friars, he soon distinguished himself, and became a master in all sciences— logic, physics, metaphysics, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, optics, civil law, canon law, and was saluted as prince of theologians. He wrote many volumes of Commentaries upon the Holy Scriptures, but his chief work, which he wrote at Oxford, is his profound Commentary on the four books of the Master of the Sentences. Called to Paris, he was placed in the chair of theology, when there were 30,000 scholars; he excelled first, in announcing accurate and universal propositions, to which as to principles he referred, and by which he solved all the most subtle theorems; secondly, in unfolding the reasons or essences, or as the Scotists say, "the quiddities and formal reasons of things; for since accidents depend on essences, he saw the importance of knowing them chiefly"; thirdly, he excelled in a natural force of subtle genius; he was remarkable also for not following any one master, but for approving and blaming all alike according to his judgment; yet, though he spared no one, he spoke so modestly and religiously, that no injurious word ever passed his lips or pen. Finally, as a philosopher, he is so Catholic that there never was a suspicion respecting a single line of all his writings; what he wrote or is said to have written at Paris, was, however, much inferior to the fruit of his labors at Oxford. By the guardian, Gondisalvus, in his letter to William Guardian, of Paris, Scot, who was still young, is termed a father of laudable life, excellent science, subtle genius, and of great renown; he defended the doctrine of the immaculate conception at Paris,

with such force, that all conferred upon him the title of Doctor Subtilis, which is attested by these ancient rude verses on his tomb :

> Concepta est virgo primi sine labe parentis :
> Inde genus meriti tantum sibi Papa refundens,
> Doctor Subtilis, dicitur.

In which lines Wadding understands by " Pope," only the bishop of Paris, all bishops being then so styled. He defended that doctrine also in such a spirit of moderation that the passage might be selected as a most admirable specimen of the calm wisdom of the blessed clean of heart ; gentle and not less powerful, clear and yet of unfathomable depth. Thus remarkable was the origin of the title conferred upon him.

In 1308, Scot, after reading at Paris before numerous disciples, received sudden orders to depart to Cologne. The circumstance of his departure gave rise to the sublime. He was taking recreation with his disciples without the city, in the Prato Clericorum, when the letters of his superiors were brought to him ; he read them and then announced to those around, that he was going to set out immediately without returning to the convent, and being asked by the astonished and admiring disciples, why he did not return there first to take up his manuscripts and bid adieu to the brethren ? he replied, " the father general orders me to set out for Cologne, but I do not read that he orders me to return home first to take up my manuscripts, and salute the brethren. So he embraced them, and from the clerk's meadow began his journey to Cologne, where in a few months he was to close his short but glorious course. Men have wondered what could have been the motive of sending him from the first academy of the world to a city where there was not even then a university ; for these things occurred during the reign of the Emperor Albert : some suppose that it was to found that university, and to complete what Albert the Great and Thomas Aquinas had begun there for letters ; others think that it was to oppose the heresy of the Begards, which was then raging ; others, that he was to conclude there as he had done at Paris, the controversy respecting the immaculate conception. Be that as it may, on his approach, the chief men of Cologne, with the clergy and people, went out to meet him, and conducted him with solemn pomp, as if he had been a mighty monarch, to the convent of his order. This beautiful triumph was like a beginning of the angelic escort, that was to conduct his soul to paradise, for the minister of death had then received commission to release it. Here he engaged in prodigious labors, preaching and disputing, and reading lectures, instructing the minds of men and correcting their manners, during the brief space which intervened before the arrival of the octave day of All Saints, when he was called to the society of all the saints, and obtained eternal rest in God. He was buried at the entrance of the sacristy, in the covent of the Minors, but the body was afterwards removed into the choir.

It is wonderful what diverse and strange accounts have been given of his death.

Some say that he was struck with apoplexy, and that he was buried alive through too much haste in placing him in the tomb; but Wadding refutes this assertion, by the mere fact of the solemn religious rite always observed in the convent of Cologne, as elsewhere, which requires that the body should not be interred till the following day, at high mass; besides, there were then many wise physicians and disciples who loved him, who would have first tried every experiment; Bzovius adds, from Paul Jovius, that Scot, on coming to himself, ascended the steps of the sepulchre, beat against the door, devoured his own hand, and dashed his head against the wall; and that his miserable groans had been heard within, though no one came to his assistance; but Minor friars were always placed in the earth, where they can neither groan nor eat their hands: and, moreover, their hands and feet are always bound; besides, if he had been buried so quickly, there could not have been time to build a sepulchre so great as to have steps descending into it, nor could it have been already built, for the friars could not seize upon the tomb of any great noble to place in it one of the order. The same calumnies were repeated of Boniface VIII.; but when, in 1506, his sepulchre was broken open, the body was found perfect, with a sapphire ring, which Cardinal Cajetan redeemed with 100 pieces of gold, on the finger of the hand which he was reported to have eaten. Other accounts respecting Scot, maliciously propagated by venal pens, do not deserve refutation, as they were not heard of till two centuries after his death. The Jovian words are, "Hoc anno volens, nolens, ex humanis abiit Joannes Dunsius."

Wadding hints at facts which may have led to such rumors. The holy man Gero, archbishop of Cologne, to whose election the pope assented by an angelic monition, remaining in an ecstasy, was buried alive by Walamus, the deacon, who desired the Episcopacy, which he obtained, but afterwards being penitent, he went to Rome, and was absolved, on condition of building a new monastery, or repairing an old one; and he repaired accordingly that of St. Martin at Cologne, and endowed it with great revenues for monks from Ireland; so the people hearing that the monastery of the Scotists was built on account of a man buried alive, it was rumored that these foreigners obtained that noble residence at Cologne, on account of the wrong done to one of their nation, who was buried alive; and from a Scot to John Scot the transition was easy. Others say, from a supposed sermon of St. Bernardine of Sienna, that while he was enjoying God in an ecstasy, he passed to the Father, and so was buried ignorantly by the brethren. The passage is as follows—"We should elevate the mind from these sensual to insensible things, as it happened to the subtle Master Scot, who was so elevated in spirit, that the brethren, who knew not his manner, thinking him dead, put him under ground alive; and afterwards his disciples coming and making inquiries, found that it was so, and that he had been suffocated in the earth;" but this sermon is not of St. Bernardine. Still, however sudden, his death was precious and blessed.

Mors justis subita, quem præcepit bona vita.
Non minuit merita, si moriatur ita.

But, in fact, no ancient author mentions that Scot perished by violence or by apoplexy, or that he was buried alive ; the verses on his tomb only imply that he disputed as usual on the very morning of his death, but that it was natural and without horror. His disciple Antonio Andrea declares, that his memory is in benediction, which sufficiently refutes such rumors. The first epitaph placed on his tomb in leonine verses, inspires reverence notwithstanding its rudeness.

Clauditur hic rivus, fons Ecclesiæ, via, vivus,
Doctor justitiæ studii flos, arca sophiæ.
Ingenio scandens, scripturæ abdita pandens
In teneris annis fuit, ergo memento Joannis,
Hunc Duns cornatum, fac cælitus esse beatum,
Pro patre translato, modulemur pectore grato,
Dux fuit hic cleri, claustri lux, et tuba veri.

This inscription could long be read in the library of Cologne. There were added four lines to it when the bones were translated into the choir,

Hic lector Scotus subtilis sit bene notus,
Doctor humi stratus, hac subque nola tumulatus ;
Pro qua orate, Christi veniam flagitate,
Dicentesque pie, tu summe Deus miserere.

In 1509 the sepulchre was more beautifully sculptured, and a more polished epitaph inscribed on brass.

Ante oculos saxum Doctorem deprimit ingens,
Cujus ad interitum sacra Minerva gemit,
Siste gradum lector, fulvo dabis oscula saxo :
Corpus Joannis hæc tenet urna Scoti.
Anno milleno ter c. c. c. cumque adderet octo,
Postremum clausit letho agitante diem.

Placed upon two tablets were also these inscriptions,

Parisius plora, mœstis incede lacernis,
Hic perit in toto, quod volat orbe, decus.
O Sorbona, tuas humiles compone cathedras,
Cultus ab ingeniis fons sacer artis abest,
Straminis in vico placidi certaminis ordo,
Cespitat, heu belli desinit esse caput.
Pondere supremi validos componite luctus
Doctiloqui, pulset tristia corda pavor.
Hunc, posito vultu læto, deflete togati,
Discipulis labor hic omnibus unus erit.

What follows are upon the second tablet :—

" Doctor subtilis solvens sua lustra Joannes
Scotus in objectis ultima verba dedit.
Huic humilis casto Francisci cordula renes
Strinxit, erat sapiens, presbyter officio.
Fervebat studio, nulli virtute secundus.
Quod didicit totum, mox alios docuit.
Concepta est virgo primi sine labe parentis ;
Hic tulit : hic heresi prælia dira dedit.
Inde genus meriti tantum sibi Papa refundens
Doctor subtilis dicitur, inde dedit
Quatuor in scriptis, quæ sunt divina probavit ;
Hinc reliquis vates lumine plus viguit.
Quin et sancta mihi, quæ digna problemata liquit :
Ingeniis nostris fertiliora valent.
Artibus egit opem tuto, nunc ille modernos
Prosequitur pandens, quæ via sit veterum.
Tempora post Christi, propria dulcedine lethum
Venit atrox raptim carcere composito.
Dogmata qui quondam retulit non infimus orbi,
Exiguus cunctis nunc silet exanimis.
Qui ratione stetit, non victus, semper Achilles
Cæno sordidior vincitur ille fimo,
Horrida jam sacros trahitur sub lite voranda,
Hunc subeant vermes, proh nova præda venit.
Ante gradus medios, nola nunc ubi pendet ab alto,
Hic chorus in terris ossa tenet tumulo.
Turba futura canet bona, quæ congessit in unum,
Singula quæ docuit, scripta relicta manent.
Flebile qui busti præsens epigramma tueris
Hanc animam societ, posce Deum superis."

The sepulchre of Scot had an elevation of three geometric palms ; it was covered with plates of brass, in the midst of which was sculptured the image of Scot, holding a book, and having at his feet two lions ; on his right hand were sculptured Guillelmus Ocham, Hugo de Novo Castro, Franciscus de Mayronis, Ricardus de Media Villa, Alexander de Hales, and on his left Nicolaus de Lyra, Petrus Aureolus, and Roger Bacon : at the upper end, at the head of Scot, were three pontiffs, of the family of the Minors, Alexander V., Nicolaus IV., and Sixtus IV. : at the corners were two cardinals, St. Bonaventura, and Bertrand, with their insignia. Wadding says, " such care of the fathers towards the dry bones of this doctor, and such vast riches expended on his sepulchre, I attribute not so much to his doctrine as to his piety." " Truly he was a holy man," as the old poet says, " who, under a mean habit had an angel's heart," all his life was mystical and glorious. What a spirit of renouncement did he evince in that heroic departure from Paris, leaving, a great city, a celebrated academy, a grand convent, friends, disciples, writings, dear offspring of his genius, chairs and honors. With a true philosophic mind, he praised or blamed, indifferently, domestic or foreign writers ; and such was his modesty and submission of his own judgment, that

rarely he names the great authors whom he condemns. For St. Thomas he always evinced the greatest reverence, and he sought to make him agree always with Bonaventura. At Paris, Coimbra, Salamanca, Complutensia, Padua, Pavia, and at Rome, there were chairs expressly set apart for lectures on Scot, from which great advantage resulted : for such discussions were profitable. Ferrum ferro exacuitur, et homo exacuit faciem amici sui. — On this ground the historian of the Minors concludes, that the controversies between the Thomists and Scotists were beneficial to the general interests of philosophy. With a sincere and candid soul, this great scholastic examined truth, and, with a tranquil mind and a heart full of peace, treated on the mysteries of faith.

" You have, with the Prophet Isaiah," says St. Augustin, " the words, 'Venite disputemus, dicit Dominus,' and in many other places of the divine Scriptures. Read these passages, and refer to the Greek codexes, in the same testimonies of the holy Scriptures, and investigate the origin of the term Dialectica, lest you should not imitate, with a wise piety, what all the just have done with God, to whom it has been said, ' Venite disputemus, dicit Dominus,' but on the contrary should condemn it with insulting temerity."*

The obscurity of Scot arose from the profound nature of his subject, and therefore Trithemius says, " The most learned Scot was so profound, that his writings are penetrable only to a few." Tennemann says, that though Scot, as an opponent of St. Thomas, was oftened led into vain and trifling distinctions, yet he joined also with that subtilty a striving after a deeper foundation of truth ; for which end he sought a ground for the certainty of knowledge, rational as well as empirical, and directed his abilities to show the necessity and truth of the divine revelation. As a realist he dissented from St. Thomas, in maintaining that the general, not only in possibility, but in reality, was grounded in the object ; that it was not created by reason, but that it had an actual existence. In psychology he denied the real diversity of the soul's faculties, and maintained its unlimited freedom. In theology he sought to render more strict the cosmological proof of the existence of God, and to demonstrate the divine attributes ; but he showed the impossibility of a theology which should be the result of reason alone. The Scotists, his followers, were in opposition to the Thomists, who adhered to the opinion of the Angelic Doctor.

The latter now pass before us. Giles of Colonna, the Roman, one of their most distinguished lights, was surnamed Doctor Fundatissimus, and Theologorum Princeps. He was born in 1247, and he died in 1316. He was a consistent realist, who held that truth existed as well in the understanding as in the object. The high service which he conferred, consisted in a clearer development of metaphysical problems and difficulties, and in attempts to reconcile the contending opinions with regard to existence, form, matter, and individuality. Near him we may re-

* Lib. 1. Cont. Crescen, cap. 14.

mark Hervay Noel, or Hervæus Natalis, a monk from Brittany, rector of the university of Paris, who died at Narbonne in 1323. His dialectics were profound but more obscure than those of his predecessor.

The Scotists from the saintly throng which moves on the other side, amongst whom no one was more celebrated than the Minor friar, Franciscus de Mayronis, surnamed Doctor Illuminatus et Acutus, and also named Magister Abstractionum, the author of the Sorbonic Disputations—Actus Sorbonici, and celebrated in that age for his commentaries on Aristotle, St. Augustin, St. Anselm, the Lombard, and other philosophical works: he died at Piacenza, in 1325. Amongst the others we may distinguish, Hieronemus de Farrariis, Alvarus Pelagius of Galicia, Antonio Andrea from Arragon, surnamed Doctor Dulcifluus, Walter Burleigh, Petrus Tartaretus the Franciscan, John Baptist Montorius, Joannes Canonicus, Landulphus Caracciolus, Joannes de Janduno, Hugo de Novo Castro, an Englishman, and Petrus Aureolus, who were all eminent among the strict disciples of the Scotist school. Other illustrious men belonged to it, but without evincing an exclusive attachment. Amongst these was Joannes Bassolius, of whom Scot used to say that he alone was always sufficient audience; for, on one occasion, finding but few persons assembled, he deferred commencing, until happening to perceive that Bassolius was amongst them, he began to lecture with alacrity, saying, "Bassolius adest? en auditorium est!"

Amidst the million lights, however, of this period, there stand yet two unnoticed, as wondrous, perhaps, in their respective form, as any that have ever, from our earth, returned to the skies. These are Roger Bacon and Raymund Lullus. The former, who was born at Ilchester in 1214, was styled, in reference to his prodigious knowledge of mathematical, physical, and chemical science, as also for his knowledge of languages, Doctor Mirabilis. We have already had occasion to make mention of his works, in our view of the learning of the ages of faith. He was a master of poetry, rhetoric, all polite learning, all liberal arts, all mathematical science, medicine, all philosophy, all theology and jurisprudence, Greek and Hebrew letters, all history and monuments of antiquity. He sent his disciple, brother John, of London, to Pope Clement IV., with books and mathematical instruments, constructed by himself to be presented to his holiness.*

The second of these saintly splendors yielded a different light. It was in the year 1275 that Raymund Lullus surnamed Doctor Illuminatus, was converted from the vain conversation of the world, to purity of heart, and the love of wisdom. He was born in Majorca, in the village of St. Michael. In youth his mind was averse from all kinds of science, and addicted to a palatine life. His parents, complying with his inclinations, sent him to the court of King James of Arragon, where as seneschal he lived abandoned to every kind of luxury, and consumed his days in vain amusements: he loved greatly to compose metrical

* Wad. An. Minor. tom. iv. 1266.

songs, for which he became celebrated. Amongst those whom he selected for his reckless love, was a certain beautiful lady, whom by no arts he could ensnare. One day, being on horseback and passing through the public place, he observed her going into a church, when, blinded through his amorous fury, all mounted as he was, he followed her into the temple, from which he was driven out by the people amidst general execration. The lady, grieved that a man of such honorable rank and dignity in the state, should become, on her account, a bye-word with the people, began to consider by what way she could wean him from that guilty passion: for this purpose she arranged with him a private interview, and then laying bare her bosom, disclosed to him a horrible cancer which preyed upon it. "Behold, O Raymund," she said, "what it is you love! Ah turn to Christ that affection which you have hitherto cherished for me, and so deserve to receive from him a celestial crown!" Never was grace divine more rapid, in its transformation of a heart, than now. The unhappy man was struck dumb, and, on returning to himself, he fell upon his knees, and resolved to dedicate himself, ever after, to the Lord of each created being. Then, to sustain his first steps, was he vouchsafed visions celestial of Christ upon the cross, and voices were heard issuing from it, saying, "Raymund, follow me." Forthwith, renouncing the pomps of his office, and abandoning home, riches, and friends, he sold all his possessions, and, after making provision for his family, gave the rest to the poor.

His first desire was to preach to the Sarassins, and for this especial end he sought help and light from God. The gift of wisdom was then conferred upon him, so that he, who had before been wholly illiterate, became imbued with every kind of learning. His heavenly life began by visiting different holy places of devotion, as St. James of Compostello, that he might commend his enterprize to holy patrons. It was his wish to proceed to Paris, but St. Raymund, of Pennafort, dissuaded him from it. Returning to his country he applied to grammar, but at Lisbon, in his fortieth year, he first acquired a knowledge of Latin under Thomas his preceptor. He then began to compose a great work in that language, which he transmitted to posterity. In order to convert the Mahometans he learned Arabic. It was on a certain mountain, not far from his house, where he remained during seven days alone, in prayer and contemplation, that he is said to have received extraordinary light from heaven; then constructing a little cell there he remained many months, day and night absorbed in meditation and prayer to God. Wild legends added, that the leaves of the tree, under which he rested, were imprinted with Greek, Arabic, Chaldaic, and Latin characters.

He now persuaded King James to found a college or convent in the island of Daya or Miramar, for thirteen Minor friars, who were to study the Arabic, for the express purpose of being sent to preach to the Mahometans, to labor for whose conversion all his mind was thenceforth bent. For this purpose he came to Rome to arrange with Pope Nicolaus IV. about founding other monasteries and colleges for the oriental tongues. At length he resolved to pass into Africa; yet, when

all was ready, and the ship about to depart, he became discouraged and remained at the port of Genoa ; but when he saw the ship depart without him, he so bitterly condemned his own weakness and pusillanimity that he fell sick, and became profoundly penitent, grieving secretly with such interior affliction, that he was soon reduced to a shadow. On the eve of Pentecost he caused himself to be carried into the house of the Dominicans, when, hearing the Veni Creator Spiritus, he prayed that his sins might be forgiven him. Then returning home, oppressed in mind and body, he sought the habit of St. Francis, but could not obtain it, though he sought it with tears : then with knees upon the earth he received the Eucharist, after kissing the feet of the priest who brought it. Thus did he prepare as a Christian for his death. Hearing, however, that there was then a trireme in the port, bound for Tunis, even in that weak condition, he caused himself and his books to be placed on board. In vain did his friends and many pious men seek to detain him, thinking that he was at the point of death. He persisted in his resolution to embark, and the ship weighed anchor immediately ; and no sooner was the vessel under sail than the clouds began to pass from his heart and his disease to diminish, so that, in a few days, he was wholly restored to health, and arrived at that city in great joy. Here he had frequent disputations with the most learned of the Sarassins, and instilled into many a more humane conception of the Evangelic law, some of whom he hoped to bring wholly to embrace it. But the king took alarm, and cast him into prison, called his seniors and deliberated about putting him to death, but they were moved to withhold that sentence by the gravity of the man, his eloquence, and his reverent looks. However he was driven out of the city, and threatened with instant death if he returned, and while led to the ship he was struck and wounded with stones, and insulted with opprobrious epithets. Before the ship sailed, a Christian was mistaken for him, and on the point of being stoned, so he resolved to depart. though full of grief for having left imperfect the conversion of many.

He sailed thence to Naples, where he remained till the election of Celestine V. Here, in 1311, he wrote a book of disputations with a clerk, in which he speaks of himself as follows,—"I was a man joined in marriage, I had children, I was competently rich, licentious and worldly. I willingly gave up all things for the honor of God, and the public good, and that I might exalt the holy faith, I learned Arabic. Many times I went to preach to the Sarassins for the faith—being taken, I was imprisoned and scourged ; and during forty-five years I have labored, that I might move the rulers of the church and Christian princes to provide for the public good. Now I am an old man, poor, and I am in the same mind, and intend to remain in it till death, if our Lord should grant it to me."

In 1295 he went to Rome, and thence. by Genoa, to the King of Majorca, with whom he had a long discourse on converting the nations. Thence he went to Paris. Whence, returning to his country, he disputed daily on the mysteries of the faith with Jews and Sarassins. Thence he went to Cyprus, to preach to the schismatics,

Jacobites, and Nestorians, when he narrowly escaped death by poison administered to him. Thence he returned to Paris, where he remained till the election of Clement V. In 1312 he came to the council of Vienne, to propose his views for the good of Christendom.

Success so far attended his exertions, that he lived to see founded colleges for the study of the oriental languages, in the pontifical court, at Bologna, Paris, Salamanca, and Oxford, supported by the pontiffs and prelates of those nations, excepting that of Paris, which the king of France, through his singular affection for Raymund, wished to found and endow at his own expense. After leaving Vienne, he visited the courts of France and Spain, to exhort them to repress the Turkish power. Then he passed into Mauritania, having endured opprobrium and insults in many places, till he came at length to the city of Bona, which had been the see of St. Augustin, where he led to the light of faith seventy philosophers, followers of Averroes. Thence passing to Algiers, he there also converted many, but in consequence, he was cast into prison, and left without food for fourteen days, with a bridle placed within his jaws. On being led out of prison, he was publicly scourged through the streets of the city, and banished from the kingdom, and forbidden to return under pain of death. Nevertheless he preached again at Tunis, and at Bugia, where he was again imprisoned. He engaged in a long dispute on the Trinity, Incarnation, and on the sacraments, with Homer a Sarassin. Being liberated and sentenced to perpetual banishment, he embarked in a Genoese vessel, which after a long and difficult course against violent winds, reached the port of Pisa and there was miserably wrecked in the sight of a multitude: Raymund escaped by swimming, and repaired to the Dominican convent, where he was hospitably received and lodged for a considerable time. From this accident he contracted a sickness which confined him many days, and on his recovery he received the rules and habit of the third order of St. Francis.

A second time he went to Pope Clement, to persuade him to procure a general movement for recovering the Holy Land. He now drew up a short history of his life and conversion, by desire of King James, of Majorca. It is thought by some, though without proof, that during this interval he went to England, there exercised the chemical art, produced gold money, and composed those books on alchemy which pass under his name, but it is certain that those books were not written by him. Returning home, with the intention of paying a last visit to his family, he wrote his book De Fine, in which he shows what was the object of all his labors. But now he burned with an ardent desire to close his life by martyrdom. The lively pressure of his zeal appears in all his works, and especially in his book on Contemplation, in which he says, "Men, O Lord, who die through age, perish through the deficiency of natural heat and the abundance of cold; and, therefore, thy servant and subject is unwilling, unless it be thy pleasure, to die such a death, for he wishes to finish his life through the ardor of love and charity, as in love thou didst deliver thy soul for us! Patient

and commiserating Lord, oftentimes have I trembled with fear and cold! Ah, when will the day and hour arrive in which my body, through the great heat of love and the ardent desire and joy of dying for its Creator and Saviour, shall tremble? Thy servant and subject, O Lord, is now preparing himself for a journey, and for pouring out his blood for thee; therefore, before he comes to death, may it please thee to unite thyself with him in such manner that he may never be separated from thee in contemplation and love. O Lord God, most pious, when will the day come in which thy servant shall be bound hand and foot, that his body may be tortured to death for the love of thee his Lord and Saviour! Although I am unworthy, O Lord, to die for thee, nevertheless I will not give up all hope of obtaining this holy and precious death; for as thou, O Lord, didst grant life to thy unworthy servant, which he never merited, so likewise, if it pleaseth thee, thou will grant to him a glorious death, although he be utterly unworthy of it; and if, perchance, O Lord, thou shouldst refuse to me the death of martyrdom, at least I beseech thee grant me the grace of dying, weeping and desiring to die for the love of thee, O Lord, my Creator, and my Saviour—Saltem rogo concedas mihi gratiam moriendi lachrymando, flendo, et desiderando mori pro amore tui, Domine, Creatoris, ac Salvatoris mei!"

With these dispositions, at the age of seventy-nine, in the year 1314, and on the fourteenth of August, he, for the last time, passed to Africa, from the port of Majorca, the chief men of the city accompanying him to the cliffs, whose names are still preserved in the archives of that city. Arriving at Tunis, he encouraged and confirmed the disciples and those who had been already converted to Christ. Thence proceeding to Bugia, in secret conversations and discourses, he instructed some in the Christian faith; at length, disdaining his own indolence and timidity, he came forth in public and preached Christ openly, conjuring the Mahometans by the omnipotent God, who will appear to all men in the tremendous judgment, to fly the errors of that doctrine, and to walk in the light while it is yet day. Full of indignation, the Sarassins rushed upon him, and after inflicting stripes cast him into prison; there in various torments and left to famish with hunger, he ceased not, though in chains, to write and preach, till the magistrates decreed that he should be dragged out of the city and stoned. The satellites cruelly committed him to the infuriated multitude, who exercised on him all manner of barbarity with stones and swords. On his head, which in 1611, was taken out of the mausoleum, in presence of the magistrates and superiors of the Jesuit, Dominican, Franciscan, and other orders, there were observed four great wounds, two by a sword, and two by stones. No part of his body was left sound, and he lay buried under a vast pile. Two merchants of Genoa, Stephen Colon and Lewis de Pastorga, begged that his body might be given to them. On bringing it to the ship they discovered that the spark of life was not quite extinguished—they put to sea, but after two days, and when in sight of his native island, Raymund expired, on the feast of the holy Apostles St. Peter

and St. Paul. Casting anchor in the port of Majorca, they concealed at first the treasure which was on board, intending to take it to Genoa, but scruples of conscience prevented them and they divulged it to the magistrates, who came, with the clergy and all the people, and placed the body in the church of St. Eulalia, intending to bear it to the paternal sepulchre at St. Mark's, but the Minor friars, on the ground of his belonging to the third order, succeeded in having him carried to their church, where they buried him near the tomb of a prince of Portugal, who had died on returning from the sepulchre of Christ. After some years, the convent having been burnt, the body was translated to the chapel of St. Mary with great solemnity.

Such then was the wandering, unstable, and inconstant life of Raymund Lully. Twice he visited both Armenias, Syria, and Palestine; once he visited Cyprus, and, as some suppose, all Egypt, Bohemia, and England; thrice he went to Mauritania and Paris, six times to Rome, frequently he traversed every part of Spain, Sicily, and Calabria; and what seems incredible, amidst such prodigious labors of travelling, he could compose many books, for he wrote wherewithal to form twenty volumes. He who is not moved by the ardor of his faith, and desire of martyrdom, and perseverance in laboring for the religion of Jesus Christ, must, as Wadding observes, "assuredly have an unfeeling heart." The church, however, hath not pronounced a judgment respecting him.

The historian of the Minors defends his writings against the accusations of Eymericus and others, admitting that three of his propositions are hard; but as his style is obscure and his thoughts profound, recommending great caution and indulgence. All men do not receive those great secrets and recondite significations, which in the book of Raymund Lully may be contemplated with better and more favorable eyes. Whatever may be thought respecting the belief that his doctrine, either in whole or in part, was immediately by God infused into his mind, there can be no doubt, but that in a wondrous and divine manner, was the intelligence of a rude illiterate man illuminated. He himself never said that all his knowledge was infused, but only a general art of meditation, and he always said humbly that if any errors crept into his writings, he offered them to the correction of the Holy Church, his mother. Falsely are ascribed to him the books, heretical and diabolic—De Invocatione Dæmonum, De Secretis Naturæ, De Alchemia et Metallorum Metamorphosi, which are by another Raymund, surnamed Neophitus, a Hebrew rabbin, converted, as it was thought, to the faith, and afterwards member of some order.

No one more than Lully, ever inveighed with greater severity against the false rich and true poor, nor exposed with more energy, the fallacy of that art, in his book De Questionibus solubilibus per Artem inventivam. He showed that alchemy was not a real but a chimerical science; in his book De Mirabilibus, he proves it to be impossible, by alchemy, to transmute one metal into another; in his book De Arbore Scientiæ, he ridiculed the alchemists, as also in his work De

Principiis Medicinæ. The Testamentum Novissimum was not composed by him. In his theological work on the books of the Sentences, in a copious and unusual manner of speaking, he comprehends all the secrets of the faith, and institutes many questions on each of the controversies of theology. Among his works, one book is entitled "Dominus quæ pars," which is a disputation between Raymund and Dun Scot, of which the origin was curious. Raymund and his disciples being present at a disputation of Scot, and expressing by signs their dissent, Scot, surprised at such conduct from men who had a rude exterior, in order to try whether their chief knew grammar, asked him, "Dominus quæ pars?" — meaning of the discourse; and Raymund answered immediately, "Dominus non est pars sed totum," and then made a discourse on the divine mysteries, which was still more profound than that of the subtle doctor. His books on contemplation breathe a fervent piety: besides these, a variety of small treatises indicate a man of subtle genius, apt for every science and art. In his defence Wadding remarks that the great and little arts of truth have admirable windings, by which no one can enter, though with the thread of an Ariadne, without often failing in judgment

His style, however, is rude, and even barbarous, and his sentences are often expressed in such a manner as to excite cavils at his doctrine. Yet, if he did contract errors, one who died for the faith with such admirable zeal and simplicity, and who submitted all his writings humbly to the correction of the Roman Church, is never to be styled a heretic. As St. Jerome says, "Heretics not alone make for themselves idols of errors, but also adore, from their hearts, what they have made." Without pertinacity, therefore, as Wadding observes, no one is ever proclaimed a heretic; and this was expressly declared by Honorius III., in the cause of the Abbot Joachim, when he wrote to certain prelates charging them to punish those who should thenceforth call Joachim a heretic, on account of his book against Peter Lombard, having been condemned by the general council of Lateran.*

According to Tennemann, the great art which Raymund was supposed to have received in a vision whence he received the title of Doctor Illuminatissimus, was nothing else but a logical, mathematical method of combining ideas in classes, and therewith to solve all scientific problems; a universal art of discovery founded upon topics. In this he had united some ideas from the philosophy of the Arabians and from the Cabbala, of which last he seems to have been the first among the Christians who had any knowledge. Not to speak of his Ars Magna, which, in subsequent times, found admirers in some strong understandings, the clear views of morality, which are conveyed in his numerous writings, have extorted the admiration of modern philosophers, who, like Tennemann, have had the courage to consult them. The speculators who pretended to be his disciples, styling themselves Lullists, transplanted his religious enthusiasm and faith into the art of mak-

* Wadding, Annal. Minorum, tom. v. vi.

ing gold, though not without evincing many remarkable and clear views. With some of these men we shall meet in another place, and in very different company from the present ; the dark figure of Peter of Apono would ill accord with these holy splendors ; but of his chief assistant, Arnold of Villeneuve, who was a disciple of Lullus, I may even here briefly speak ; for Arnold was never condemned by the Holy See ; on the contrary, the following letter from Vienna of Pope Clement, may be read in the Vatican. " While Master Arnold de Villenova, clerk of Valentia, our physician, was living, after we had been raised to the summit of apostolical dignity, he used often to say to us that he had compiled a very useful book on the Practice of Medicine, which he frequently promised to give us ; therefore, since the said Master Arnold has been prevented by death from fulfilling his promise to us, we charge your fraternity, and all subject to you, by Apostolic writings, as also all abbots, priors, and deans, to announce, that whoever shall have, or shall know who hath that said book, must take care to reveal and transmit it to us under pain of excommunication."*

But to the costlier splendors we must return. Such then was the third family of the Almighty Sire, who, of his spirit made them largely drink, and held them always ravished with his view. The fourth period from the fourteenth till the end of the fifteenth century, involves the renewed combat between the nominalists and realists, which terminated apparently in the victory of the former. The lights that now move towards us were then conspicuous : of these the first is William Durandus de St. Porciano, called Doctor Resolutissimus, and bishop of Meaux, in the beginning of the fourteenth century. He was a thinker, who, perceiving the groundlessness of a dialectic play with ideas, sought to solve many difficulties by a clearer and more defined division, and by a more strict separation of the subjective and objective in knowledge, to prepare the way for other antagonists of realism. From being at first a Thomist, he became the stoutest adversary of that school. He who follows more as a shadow than a light contributing to the general effulgence, is William of Ocham, of the country of Surrey, called by some Doctor Singularis et Venerabilis Inceptor. This famous adversary of John the Twenty-second, who studied at Paris, was a Scotist and a Franciscan. Tennemann says, " that through his philosophic penetration and zeal in combating despotism, he made an epoch in philosophy and history ; but as he advocated the cause of the king of France and of the emperor against the pope, we may easily understand what means this pretended hostility to despotism. Entia non sunt multiplicanda præter necessitatem, was his maxim. He abandoned realism for the opposite system, which he defended with great zeal, endeavoring to show that " general ideas can have no objective reality out of the understanding ;" that they are a mere product of abstraction and figments themselves.† In respect to his " Theory of Knowledge and Science," which he divided into real and rational, he

* Wadding, Annal. Min. tom. VI.

† Comment. in Lib. 1. sent. dist. 2. 4. et 8.

prepared the way more than he wished for scepticism and empiricism, an admission on the part of his eulogizer, of which we should take note. While he thus undermined the reigning philosophy, he sought in theology to confine the compass of demonstrative knowledge, and rejected all the proofs previously adduced to demonstrate the existence, unity, and eternity of God, declaring all this to be an opposition against faith.

In psychology he had some deep and excellent views ; he refuted circumstantially the opinions of the objective form, species, which was regarded as a necessary condition of contemplation and thought. His books were proscribed from the schools at first, generally, afterwards in the year 1341, with especial references to five articles, the last of which was, " that Socrates and Plato, God and the creature, are nothing," without the terms being understood, for Ocham and his disciples placed all their knowledge in words.* In the lists of his opponents are many glorious lights, amongst which we may distinguish again his fellow student Walter Burleigh, styled Doctor Planus et Perspicuus. Born in 1275, he studied at Oxford and Paris, and died in 1337 ; he wrote a Commentary on Aristotle, and a work De Vitis et Moribus Philosophorum et Poetarum. There were also opposed to Ocham the three celebrated realists, Thomas of Bradwardin, who died archbishop of Canterbury in 1349 ; Thomas of Strasburg, who died as Prior General of the Augustin hermits in 1357 : and Marsilius of Inghen, rector of the university of Heidelburg. The two next are the most celebrated nominalists, John Buridan, of Bethune, and Peter d'Aillay. The former taught philosophy and theology at Paris : his rules for the discovery of intermediate ideas, though ridiculed by some, and his inquiries with respect to the will, gained him great celebrity ; he held that the will of the soul was determined in its choice by the pleasure or displeasure caused by the object; but the example ascribed to him of the hungry ass between the two bundles of hay, is not found in his writings. Peter d'Aillay, surnamed the Eagle of Gaul, was born in 1350, at Compiegne ; he was successively Chancellor of the University of Paris, bishop of Puy and Cambray, and finally Cardinal. He was an enemy of the confusion which then disunited the scholastic philosophy ; his thoughts upon the certainty of human knowledge, and his proofs of the existence and unity of God, are said to be deserving of great attention.† We see next other advocates of nominalism, Robert Holcot, an Englishman, General of the Augustin order, Gregory of Rimini, Richard Suinshead, an English Cistercian monk of Oxford, both of which latter taught at Vienna, the enlightened and candid Heinrich von Hessen, and Heinrich von Oyta, Nicholas Oresmius, Matthew of Cracow, and Gabriel Biel, of Spires, who died professor of theology and philosophy at Tubingen, in 1493. Tennemann says, " that all these were men of great merit, of clear heads, though without any peculiar philosophic talent," which is a sentence that the reader may interpret as he

* P. Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. xiii. 38. † Quæst. Super. IV. Lib. sent.

will. In 1339, 1340, 1409, and 1473, the opinions of the nominalists were condemned at Paris, and their writings prohibited, yet their adherents began to be numerous, both there and in the German universities. The metaphysical point of dispute between the two parties respecting general ideas, was accompanied with a much more profound and extensive cause of opposition in their respective modes of thinking. For, in the nominalists, appeared a greater inclination to resist authority, and break through the salutary restraints which it imposed, still, as yet both were faithful.

The consequence, however, of this dissension between the two parties, was a declining estimation of all controversial exercises, which Gerson, in his complaints of the state of logic, contributed greatly to bring into disrepute, and, hence, the tendency of the school, and of the public mind, was now more than ever towards mysticism, through weariness and aversion for empty formulas and strife of words. Now come into view some great advocates of that holy ascetic wisdom, which had so brightly illuminated the early Church. Children and poor rustic persons, angels and spirits of just men departed, were now the masters of philosophy in most esteem. John Thaulerius, who taught at Strasburg, of whose admirable conversion we may speak hereafter, and Gerson, who succeeded Peter d'Aillay as Chancellor of the university of Paris, Nicholas de Clemangis, a bold thinker, rector of the university of Paris in 1393, Thomas Hamerken or Malleolus, surnamed Kempis, from the place of his birth, in the archbishopric of Cologne, and John Wessel, named by his contemporaries Lux et Magister Contradictionum, John of the Cross, and St. Theresa, Louis of Blois, and the Augustinian canon, who styled himself the Idiot, are amongst the precious and bright beaming stones that ingem this hallowed light of paradise. Then follows Raymund de Sabunde, whose writings on natural theology were remarkable at this period, having taught at Toulouse in 1436. He held that men have two books from God, conveying the knowledge of God and our relation to him, and these are nature and revelation. But now the radiance seems to fade away; for we are arrived at the fifteenth century, when the disorganization of Christendom, in consequence of the Lutheran heresy, and the diminution of faith, indicate that we must proceed no farther in tracing the history of the clean of heart, in relation to the intellectual aspect of the world.

It is remarkable that these founders of a new order of philosophy should avowedly have gone back to the works of the heathen Greeks and Romans, as to the fountain whence they might assuage the thirst which oppressed them for a new knowledge, and that the most prominent result of their labors should be a more exclusive application of the human mind to the pursuit of natural philosophy, and of mere human learning. A formal war against the scholastics was now waged by men, who seemed more inclined to revive the ancient schools of heathen philosophy, than to adhere to any doctrines which had obtained the assent of Christian ages. Every thing was now in repute but the scholastic philos-

ophy; there was the new Platonism, the Cabbala, theosophy and magic, the Aristotelian, Ionic, and atomistic system, and even to the Stoics and Epicureans, opened a prospect of revival. Nevertheless, amidst the figures that attract notice from their fatal celebrity, we cannot avoid observing still many holy lights agitated indeed a little, perhaps, by the conflicting winds around them, but still pure and following in the lustrous track of heaven.

It is certain that some even of the most faithful Christians were now attracted by this doubtful wisdom, and affected by the general influence. One of the first thinkers, who abandoned the banners of the scholastic philosophy, was the Cardinal Nicolas Casanus, the apologist of learned ignorance, who held the precise seizing of truth to be unattainable, and that we could rise no higher than conjectures. To the propagation of this new Platonism contributed not a little the writings of Marsilius Ficinus, who translated also Plotinus, Jamblichus, and Proclus, and became founder of the Platonic academy, under Cosmus de Medici. His enthusiasm seized John Pico of Mirandula, who possessed vast learning with a deep sense of religion, and an ardent attachment of faith. He had studied the scholastic philosophy, and was convinced that Plato's wisdom was derived from the Mosaic writings, which were to him the treasury of all science and art: to the demonstration of this point was employed his study of the oriental languages, and of the cabalistic writings, and in his old age he wrote an excellent refutation of the astrological errors. But now the radiance which has so long afforded contentment to our eyes has nearly vanished away; the blessed luminaries are gone by, and after them pass along dark and sorrowful figures, misshapen phantoms that seem to mimic with their pale delusive glares the splendor of the saints, and the brightness of the clean of heart.

To this period belonged John Reuchlin, the friend and promoter of classical learning, who was a disciple of the new system of Cabalistic and Platonic philosophy, whose works de Verbo Mirifico and de Arte Cabalistica, with those of Cornelius Agrippa, de Occulta Philosophia, and de Incertitudine et Vanitate Scientiarum, might well have yielded a triumph to the followers of the scholastic wisdom, and were now told that magic was the perfection of philosophy, and who were to find a cynic contempt of all excellence defended with sophistical subtilty.

Paracelsus, born at Einsiedeln, was to reform medicine too by uniting it with the cabalistic learning, expressed in the unintelligible language of theosophy, which was in the seventeenth century to be the foundation of the Rosenkreuzian society. The titles of books were now all cabalistic, and wonderful, professing as those of Weigelius, to unfold the art of all arts, the secret of all secrets, and as those of Rosenkreuz, to bring about a general reformation of the whole world, and a universal fraternity. The noble genius of the celebrated natural philosopher and mathematician, Jerome Cardan, of Pavia, was now seen supporting astrology and cabalistic superstition, with all their extravagances of destiny and familiar demons. That remarkable poet, Giordano Bruno, the Italian Dominican, was now

with restlessness and thirst for renown, preparing the way for his miserable end, by maintaining the imperious pre-eminence of magic and astrology, the eternity of the world, and the system of pantheism, mistaken by his contemporaries for atheism, which was taught by Plotinus in ancient, and by Spinoza in modern times. Aristotle was now studied more than ever, not as in the scholastic ages, in connection with faith, but in opposition to it ; for the separation and division of philosophical and theological truth, was supposed to serve as a shield against the danger of heresy.

The disputes respecting the principle of thought and immortality, which divided the two parties of the new Aristotelians, the Averroists and the Alexandrians, obliged the Lateran Council in 1512 to raise its voice in behalf of orthodoxy. Italy now again possessed Peripatetics in Peter Pomponatius of Mantua, Simon Porta of Naples, Paulus Jovius of Como, Julius Cæsar Scaligar, Julius Cæsar Lucilio, Jacob Zabarella, Francis Piccolomini of Sienna, Cæsar Cremonini, Alexander Achillinus of Bologna, named the second Aristotle, and Marcus Antonius Zimara, whose heathen appellations alone are sufficient to indicate the intellectual revolution which had taken place. The titles too which these men assumed, presented a singular contrast to those worn so humbly by the great luminaries of the Catholic school. Instead of the epithets seraphic, angelic, or illuminated, applied to the scholastic doctors, we have such as are derived from the writings of pagans, and the language of their blind idolatry ; thus, the new theologians, Jurisconsults, Physicians, and all, as Heinsius says, that were great in learning, saluted Joseph Scaliger as " Doctorum solem—Patris divini sobolem divinam—genus deorum—perpetuum literarum Dictatorem," to none of which Daniel Heinsius, the champion of liberty, evinced the slightest objection. They styled him also, " Maximum naturæ opus et miraculum—extremum naturæ conatum."* It was men on whom such titles were conferred, who with John Sepulveda, the Spaniard, and many of the religious innovators in Germany, were questioning the most important truths, and continuing the separation between natural wisdom and positive faith. Petrus Ramus, to whom adhered Francis Fabricius, the poet Milton and others, who obtained the title of Ramists, applied himself in his " Ars bene disserendi," embracing logic and rhetoric, to oppose the study of Aristotle, while a third or eclectic party sought to unite his method with the Aristotelian logic of Melanchthon. With less enthusiasm, though equal compromise of Christian truth, did Stoicism now lay claim to converts, whose study of Cicero and Seneca led them to embrace a system of natural morality : of this number were Justus Lipsius, of Isla, near Brussels, who wanted only constancy to be a stoic in his life, as well as in his philosophy, Schoppe, a man, as Tennemann observes, of doubtful character, and Thomas Gattacker of London, who, with Claude Saumaire, and Daniel Heinsius, brought history to the support of their system. Together with philosophy and religion, the science of politics was now to be reformed,

* Heinsii Orat. II.

and the Prince of Machiavelli showed what was in the mind of a statesman, formed not by Giles of Colonna, and the faith of Rome, but by the classics and the study of the world ; while John Bodin, of Angers, in his Republic, sought by an intermixture of the doctrines of Plato and Aristotle, to establish a just medium between democracy and absolute monarchy. The diversity and hostility of views and ideas produced by these heathen studies—the decay of self-confidence which ensued,—the disputes, concerning the certainty of knowledge, and the want of an incontestable principle, led, as was natural, to the development of scepticism, which, in itself, assumed a variety of characters, till the logical deductions from heresy produced their effect upon the multitude, and completed the atmosphere which encompasses the world at the present day, through which men find it irksome or impossible to behold God.

But not in such darkness are we to be dismissed, after beholding the splendid succession of blessed luminaries. Still we may discern those who are of the number of the clean of heart, who see their Maker, and so shine that in their looks accordant our soul finds its delight. Many were the eminent men who still adhered to the principles of the scholastic age, while they pursued with success those branches of philosophy, the cultivation of which had experienced a true and salutary reform. Among these must be pointed out Francis Patritius, who was born at Clessa in Dalmatia, in 1529 : he taught philosophy at Ferrara and at Rome, and published Discussiones Paripateticæ, in which he supported his theory of light from Aristotle as the principle of all things. Nor should we suffer to pass unnoticed that throng of great physicians who still were Padua's boast—James Zanetino, Sigismund Polcastro, Bartholomeo Montagnana, Bernardine Sperono, Baptist Leonia, Jerome Tiraboscho, Jerome Stephanello, Francis Bonafide. Here, amidst blessed luminaries, we meet again Thomas Campanella, the Calabrian friar of the order of St. Dominick, whom we observed in the last book experiencing the charities of the blessed merciful. As a philosopher, great was his merit. He held that the fountains of all knowledge were revelation and nature ; that the former is the foundation of theology, and the latter of philosophy ; and that both are only the divine and human history. He had a clear philosophic head, well furnished with knowledge and warmed with a genuine love of truth. His efforts were directed to prove the possibility of a philosophy which would be secure from the doubts of the sceptics, for which end he lays down in his metaphysics certain incontrovertible principles. In practical philosophy his views were admirable : he showed that endless existence is the highest good, for which all things strive, and which is obtained through religion. Religion, he says, is the way by which the soul passes from the sensual to the spiritual world, or to the highest perfection : religion consists in obedience to God, the observance of duty, and the love of God. His negative merit was great in opposing Atheism, false policy, or Machiavelism, and in the defence of the freedom of thought and the just rights of human reason.

In regard to metaphysical studies, the two processions may be seen diverging still farther from each other, but not to the discomfiture of the ancient by the new. While Hobbes, Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Spinoza, and Locke were developing the fruits of the modern inquiries in the system of materialism and sensuality, Malebranche, Fardella, and Pascal were enriching the stores of Catholic philosophy with profound and inspiring thoughts, and handing down the precious testimony that the highest and most perfect philosophy is that which confirms or illustrates the doctrines of the Catholic Church.

But from celestial courts we must descend, nought displeased at having thus looked upon the lights which shine distinct amidst the mighty host of paradise, and marked the earthly course of some in that eternal radiance, which, if we are blessed, reader, in the final judgment we shall see. And now, to use the words of Dante, as the chime of minstrel music, dulcimer and harp, makes pleasant sound to him who heareth not each note, so from the glorious orb which has revolved before us, circling round the cross, with voice still answering voice, a melody ensues, which, though indistinctly heard, with ravishment transports the soul. Such is the result of a passing glimpse at the wisdom of the clean of heart —of those who saw their Maker in light intellectual, replete with love.

CHAPTER VII.

ALTHOUGH, from what has already been observed of the men who philosophized during the ages involved in this history, some light may have been incidentally thrown upon the systems or opinions most generally professed, it will now be expedient to consider what were the great leading features common to them all, and without attempting to analyze the peculiar dogmas of any of the particular schools which attained celebrity, to lead the reader upon such ground as will enable him to discern the essential characteristics which distinguished their philosophy in general from every other system, either in times prior to Christianity, or in these latter ages of the world, wherever the influence of divine faith has been withdrawn. In regard to physical science, their defects have been shown, one might suppose, sufficiently often. It is but just that some attention should be paid to the distinguishing features of their intellect and habit in other respects, and to their success in the cultivation of that higher philosophy which regulates the will and the affections.

There seems a sort of fatality attending those who sought, in the sixteenth century, to change the religion of the Christian world, that even when approaching ground of metaphysical philosophy, they should never adopt a form of sound words. Luther maintained, at one time, that what is true according to faith may be impossible and absurd according to reason. In theologia verum est, he says, in philosophia simpliciter impossibile et absurdum.

Wholly opposed to such views, the scholastic wisdom of the clean of heart in ages of faith resulted from the conviction that religion and philosophy were inseparably interwoven with each other in harmonious unity, and that one could never contradict the other. Hegel remarks, that by the fathers of the church philosophy and theology were united and studied in common, and that we see also in the middle ages the same combination of theology and philosophy. Scholastic philosophy is one and the same with theology. Philosophy is theology, and theology is philosophy. So little were men inclined to suppose that theology could be injured by the other knowledge, that they believed it to be nothing else itself but theology. The whole middle ages understood theology as a scientific knowledge of Christian truth ; that is, a knowledge essentially bound up with philosophy.* That such were the views of the fathers, might be shown from many passages of their works. In sapientia religio, et in religione sapientia est, says Lactantius ; therefore they cannot be separated, because it is the same God who ought to be understood, which is the part of wisdom, and honored, which belongs to religion.† St. Augustin says that the wisdom of man is piety ; ‡ and St. Gregory Nazianzen calls mystic theology "a sovereign philosophy." Indeed, St. Augustin lays it down as an article of belief, comprising the sum of human safety, "non aliam esse philosophiam, id est sapientiæ studium, et aliam religionem."§ To the same effect speak all the scholastic doctors of the middle age. Hugo of St. Victor expressly reckons theology as a branch of philosophy, adding, "but this is the sum of philosophy and the perfection of truth."‖ "As for what was called philosophy by the Greeks," says John Scotus Erigena, speaking of its divisions and classifications, "we believe and teach with St. Augustin, that philosophy, which is the love of wisdom, is nothing else but religion ; and what proves it to be this is, that we do not receive the sacraments in common with those of whose doctrine we do not approve. What, then, is it to treat of philosophy, unless to lay down the rules of the true religion by which we seek rationally and adore humbly God, who is the first and sovereign cause of all things ? Hence it follows that the true philosophy is the true religion, and reciprocally that the true religion is the true philosophy."* "Of philosophy there can be no end," says John of Salisbury, "for it is nothing else but the love of God ; and if the love of God be extinguished, the name of philosophy vanishes."

* Hegel, Philosophie der Religion, vol. i. 11, 67, 294. † De Falsa Sapientia, IV. 4.
‡ Enchirid. § De Vera Relig. 5. ‖ In Explanat. Cœlest. Hier. c. i.
¶ Joan. Erig. de Divina Prædestinatione, c. i.

"All studies, therefore, worthy of this name, must tend to the increase of charity; and he who acquires charity or increases in it has gained the highest object of philosophy. This is, therefore, the true and immutable rule of philosophers,—that all reading or learning should be made conducive to truth and charity, and then the choir of all virtues will enter into the soul as if into a temple of God. They err, therefore, and impudently err, who think that philosophy consists in words alone. These are the men who desire the vain reputation of wisdom, and are indifferent to the real possession of truth; then they multiply words, and propose a thousand little questions, and endeavor to perplex others by the intricacy of their language, in order that they may seem more learned than Dœdalus. But though eloquence is a most useful and noble study, this loquacity of vain disputants is a thing to be fled from, for he who speaks sophistically is hateful.*

"The order of knowledge, in relation to science," says Henry of Ghent, "is twofold—ex parte nostra, and ex parte rei: first, ex parte nostra, one particular science is ordained to another, when by its means we can more easily come to a knowledge of that other; and secondly, ex parte rei, one particular science is ordained to another when it attains but imperfectly what the other attains perfectly: and in these two respects all other sciences are ordained to theology. First, ex parte nostra, because by means of them the way is rendered more easy to us of attaining to it; for the order of our discipline requires that we should ascend from the imperfect to the perfect, and from things better to things less known; and, therefore, the knowledge of God is the last end of our intention in philosophic sciences, and all other sciences teach us to come to the knowledge of God; they teach us by things more known, that is, by creatures, in which causes are seen in their effects. Secondly, ex parte rei, all other sciences are ordained to theology, as if minor to the principle, both practically and speculatively: practically, because theology considers and has regard to the last end, to which are really ordained the bounds of all practical sciences, which are in themselves imperfect, and which can only be perfected by being reduced to their last end, at present by grace, hereafter by glory; and therefore we read, vain are all men in whom is not the science of God. Similarly speculative sciences are ordained to theology, because it is the chief of them all, inasmuch as it considers the first principles under which all other things are contained that are considered in other sciences, which have no perfect knowledge unless so far as they are ordained to their first principles; and therefore, it is said to be metaphysically impossible to know the quiddities of sensible sciences, if the first cause of all be not known; therefore, it is of theology to judge all other sciences," (as far as regards the direction given to them being understood,) "approving those things that are well said, and reprobating the contrary."†

* De Nugis Curial. cap. 12. † Henricus Gandav. tom. i. art. vii. q. ix. f. 59.

Aristotle had said, "Since many things are ordained for one, it is necessary that one should be a ruler over them, and the rest in a state of subjection;" upon which St. Thomas observes, that all sciences and arts are ordained to one end, namely, to the perfection of man, which is his beatitude; therefore, it is necessary that one of them should be the ruler of all others.* "Since the end of all philosophy," saith he, "is within the end of theology, and is ordained to that, theology ought to command all other sciences, and make use of them;†" so that, as Ventura concludes, "there was a certain hierarchy maintained among the sciences as well as among persons, from a firm conviction that if it were overthrown, anarchy would be introduced into the intellectual, in the same manner as, in the absence of rule, it would be seen to invade the political order."

Christianity received letters and sciences when they fled from the fury of barbarians. The Church protected and nourished them, but she retained them in their natural order of ethics, logic, and physics, which accords precedence to what relates to God. This was the order received in the schools of Christian nations during the ages of faith, when the reason and office of pursuing the wisdom of Christians were as well known to all men as if in front of every school and university had been inscribed these divine words, "Quærite primum regnum Dei et hæc omnia adjicientur vobis."

"There is a certain secular science," says St. Bernard, "which inebriates not with charity, but with curiosity, which fills but does not nourish, inflates and does not edify, swells and does not strengthen." And there is another science of which St. Augustin says, "There is a science which is not of vain things or of curious things, but of those by means of which that wholesome faith which leads to true beatitude is begotten, nourished, defended, and confirmed; and this is called the gift of the Holy Spirit." "This," adds St. Bonaventura, "is the science of the saints." Therefore he concludes with St. Jerome, in his Prologue upon the Bible, "Let us learn, while on earth, the science that will remain with us in heaven; for it would be unworthy if I had to labor so much for a science which was to end in death."

Such was the general view of philosophy in ages of faith; therefore, as an able French writer observes, that which belonged to the middle ages is not to be sought for in the sensation of Condillac, nor in the sterile ideology of his disciples—nor in the psychological observations of the Scotch school, nor in the eclecticism which pretends to compose truth out of errors, nor in the boasted oracles of common sense—here are only opinions, theories, systems—but it was in the Christian religion that the philosophy of the middle ages consisted. It had no need to listen to the voice of one man, or of all men, for it heard a superhuman voice — that voice which was heard in Eden, in the desert of Sennaar, on Mount Horeb, on Sinai, on the Jordan, on Golgotha.‡

* In Metaphys. Aristot. Lib. i. Prolog. † In Lib. i. Sent. Prolog.

‡ L'Abbé Bautain, de l'Enseignement de la Philosophie en France.

"However great, during that period, was the passion for knowledge," says Staudenmaier, "however acute and profound were the geniuses which it impelled, however incapable any subject was found to keep down their bold aspiring flight, still their spirit remained ever humble, and they honored the gospel as that higher light in which we see the first true light. Their disposition to inquiry continued still free, while their spirit remained believing. Thus to Erigena divine revelation was the immovable foundation-stone of truth, and upon faith he declared must science first unfold itself. "The salvation of the faithful souls," he says, "is to believe in the one principle of all things which are truly preached, and what are truly believed to understand."* "The beginning of ratiocination," he says again, "I consider must be assumed from divine words; for from them, of necessity, all inquiry after truth must take its beginning."†

This was the spirit of Anselm, too, and of all the scholastics of the middle age. Their efforts were all directed towards the true reason and intelligence in God, to which region of light their looks were fixedly bent; and therefore, in all phenomena, affairs, and institutions, they evinced an ideal impression—the lofty, the sublime, the fixed, and the eternal. As in their structures—especially in their churches, whose turrets sparkled in the skies—all was directed towards them, the highest object being nothing else but the circle of God's infinity, as it were to show symbolically the Divine Being, also in like manner the scholastic had no other limit in science than that of raising upon the foundation of the Christian faith a structure of truth, which with its pinnacles might reach heaven. The eternal, which no mortal can give, was supplied in revelation; and on that holy ground resting secure and immovable, they sought to introduce into the kingdom of nature and of spirit, in terminations and syllogisms, in theses and antitheses, in questions and responses, in distinctions and conclusions, the shafts and columns of the system, to strengthen and represent the one truth. Thus revealed itself the fulness of substantial truth, in the most varied form; while streamed forth also light in multifarious revelations, which was still ever referred to the one primal and inexhaustible essence.‡

"The summum bonum," says Peter the Venerable, "is a happy eternity. Who, then," he continues, "will dare to say that he philosophizes who, with all his efforts, tends not to eternal beatitude, but to eternal misery?"§

The philosophy of the ages of faith was, in effect, the philosophy of the Psalms—the philosophy of the church offices, of those sacred chants which rose to God from solemn choirs in every region of the earth; it was the philosophy which Jesus, the Divine Master, taught the multitude. What did he teach them, seeing the crowds? "The eight beatitudes," replies St. Bernardine of Sienna; for the general understanding of which that holy teacher invites his auditors to consider

* De Div. Nat. ii. c. 20. † II. c. 15. ‡ Johan. Scot. i. 452.
§ S. Pet. Ven. Epist. Lib. i. 9. Bib. Cluniacens.

the dignity of the doctrine, the sublimity of the doctrine, and the utility of the doctrine.* "Do you seek," he asks, "abstruse philosophy? — study the beatitudes." "What so hidden," demands St. Bernard, "as that poverty is blessed? — quid tam absconditum quam paupertatem esse beatam? do you seek agreeable study, read the blessing pronounced upon the poor." "Fœlix doctrina," exclaims St. Bernardine of Sienna,† "quæ a beatitudine initium sumit." Hence the writers of the middle ages generally style the monks philosophers, on the principle that their simplicity was philosophy — "simplicitas monachi philosophia est."‡ St. Chrysostom always calls the monastic discipline philosophy, and so it continued to be termed. "How was he not a philosopher," asks Paschasius Radbert, in the ninth century, speaking of St. Adalhard, abbot of Corby; "for wisdom," he continues, quoting the definition of St. Isidore,§ "is the knowledge of human and divine things, with the study of living virtuously. Therefore, without doubt, he who followed the things of God prudently, with God's grace, and did not indolently neglect those of men, was a true philosopher or a wise man, as far as it is lawful to call any man wise."‖ Bacchiarius was called by St. Gennadius "vir Christianæ philosophiæ," which only meant, as Mabillon observes, that he was a monk, so generally was that title applied by the ancients to all of the monastic order.¶

Though this may surprise some modern readers, it gave no offence to intelligences of the first order. Paschal would subscribe to such definitions; for he says that the most philosophic part of the lives of Plato and Aristotle was that they lived simply and tranquilly;** in which, assuredly, they might be surpassed by the meanest lay brother of a Franciscan convent. Nor were these views confined to the scholastic doctors and the avowed teachers of religious truth: we find them adopted by the illustrious scholars and promoters of secular learning, who were devoted to the explanation of the ancient philosophy. John Picus of Mirandula, writing to Aldus Manutius, and sending a copy of Homer, exhorts him to persevere in philosophic studies, in these terms: — "Accinge ad philosophiam, sed hac lege ut memineris nullam esse philosophiam, quæ a mysteriorum veritate nos avocet; philosophia veritatem quærit; theologia invenit, religio possidet."†† Hermolaus Barbarus, indeed, expressly says that he admires him for loving so the simple majesty of the ancient theologians.‡‡

Certainly some of our modern writers will smile to hear the names of the authors most familiar to this philosopher. His nephew, John Francis Picus, says, "Of the ancient doctors of the church he had such a knowledge, that one might suppose he had spent his life in studying them alone; and with the later theologians, who use the style which is called Parisian, he was so familiar, that if any

* S. Bern. Senens. tom. iii. De Beat. Serm. IV. † Id. iii. s. v. ‡ Joan. Saris. de Nug. 34. § Isidori Etymolog. Lib. ii. 3. ‖ Vita S. Adalh. Mabill. Acta, SS. Ord. Bened. Sæc. iv. p. 1. ¶ De Studiis Monasticis, p. 1. ** Pensées, i. 9. †† Joan P. Mir. Epist. Lib. i. 6. ‡‡ Epist. Lib. ii. 5.

one proposed suddenly any of their most abstruse questions, he used to solve them with such acuteness that you would suppose he had before his eyes all the sayings of that particular doctor in question. Moreover, he was equally conversant with all schools; nor was he addicted to any one in such a manner as to despise the other."* Baptist the Mantuan, the Carmelite poet, writes accordingly to Francis Picus Mirandula, on the death of his uncle, saying, "This immortal honor was wanting to your family,—that to the most ancient nobility, the abundance of wealth and military renown, should be added the excellence of so much wisdom,—

'Picus Joannes, cœlos, elementa, Deumque
Doctus, adhuc juvenis, sanctificatus obit."†

Francis Picus of Mirandula, himself no obscure philosopher, writing to Albertus Pius, says of his uncle, "Let us write often to each other; let us converse often on sacred subjects, for by such conversation those who live well are strengthened, and their minds turned, as if wheels, by demons, ill-affected and contaminated, are thus fixed and purified."‡ Indeed, it is impossible to read these letters without observing, that in the judgment of their author piety was the true philosophy. All the illustrious men of that time evinced the same conviction. "Wonder not," says Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Francis Musano, "that we blend medicine and the lyre with studies of theology; for the body is healed by medicine, the spirit by sounds and odors and songs, and the mind, being divine, by theology."§ Writing to Philip Carduccio, he places all philosophy and happiness in charity. "Charity," he says, "rather than science, transfers man to God."‖ Again in his work De Christiana Religione, addressed to Lorenzo the physician, he admits of nothing in philosophy but what is sanctioned by the church. "O happy ages!" he exclaims, "which preserved this divine conjunction of wisdom and religion. O miserable times, whenever there shall be a separation and divorce between knowledge and goodness! If learning be transferred to the profane, it will deserve to be styled an instrument of lasciviousness and malice, rather than science. The most precious pearls of religion left to be treated of by the ignorant, would be trodden under the feet of swine! O men, citizens of a celestial country, and inhabitants of earth! let us deliver philosophy, the sacred gift of God, from impiety if we can; and we can if we wish. I exhort and beseech, therefore, all philosophers to attain to holy religion, and all priests diligently to apply to the study of wisdom.¶

"To the moral notions of the ancients," says another of these eminent philosophers, "we must add the things that belong to a Christian; for our religion is the only true philosophy. Hæc enim sola vera philosophia est, religio nostra; of which not to have the most diligent observance, both on account of itself and also

* In Vita Ejus. † J. F. Pic. Mir. Epist. Lib. i. ‡ Id. Lib. ii.
§ Mars. Ficini Epist. Lib. i. ‖ Epist. Lib. vii. ¶ Id.

of the expectation of the future world being eternal, while the present is but for a moment, would indicate insanity."* And again, in another of his works, Cardan says, " It is absurd to suppose that the Christian life is one thing, and the civil life worthy of a philosopher another : for both are one and the same. Therefore if any one should holily fear the precepts of the gospel, he would have in them a great part, nay, generally all of what is required."†

These views of men, in ages of faith, were not the result of vague reverence for religion, and the mere impressions of piety, but the careful and legitimate deductions of a patient and enlightened intelligence. These deep observers were not ignorant of the fact remarked by St. Augustin, that " no one can enter into truth unless by charity," or as a later philosopher observes, that " the religious feeling is the beginning of the development of reason." Doubtless Novalis partook largely of their penetration when he remarked that " pure mathematics are religion, that without enthusiasm, there can be no mathematics, that the highest life is mathematical, that all historical knowledge strives to become mathematical, that the mathematical power is the arranging, ordaining power, that all mathematical knowledge strives to become philosophical, animated, rational—then poetical, afterwards moral, and at last religious."‡ To such a thinker as Novalis how shallow must appear the declamation of the moderns, reprobating the philosophy of the middle ages as being nothing else but theology ! Undoubtedly it may appear strange and obsolete, if the index of intellectual progress be the views of those eminent men of a great northern school, which are accommodated equally to the metaphysical system of the materialists and to that of the partizans of Berkeley §—which leave aside the questions of the immateriality of the mind, the immortality of the soul, the doctrine of a future life, and that of rewards and punishments hereafter. But the name of psychology would never have been applied to such a science in the middle ages. Lately, even in the parliament of France, there has been heard one eloquent voice assuming a higher tone : there has been found a statesman who " would not reduce religious instruction to a lesson on some given day or hour—who would have it administered at all times, that the whole of education should be impregnated with it, that it should be felt as the constant atmosphere of the school." His efforts were in vain ; but he was defeated by votes, not by reason, which had pronounced long before, by the mouth of St. Thomas, that " the highest perfection to which man can arrive consists in the full knowledge of God, and that he can obtain it only by the operation and teaching of God who knows perfectly himself."‖ Even the heathen writers had profounder views of the true nature of philosophic study than those who prevailed against the proposed measure that was conformable to this sentence. Who knows not that the

* Hieron. Cardan, Prudentia Civilis, cap. lx. † De Utilitate Adversi Capienda, cap. xxiv.
‡ Schriften, ii. 235. § D. Stewart, Essays, Prelim. Dis.
‖ S. Thom. q. xiv. De Fide, art. 10.

whole character of the philosophy of the eastern nations is that of a divine revelation, formed according to the various fancies of sages ?*

Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Antonio Ziliolo Sophronio, reminds him that the whole philosophy of the ancients is nothing but a learned religion. "What shall I say," he adds, "of Mercurius Trismigistus, all whose disputations begin with vows and end with sacrifices ?"† "Nisi quæstio de diis dijudicatur," says Cicero, "in summo errore necesse est homines atque in maximarum rerum ignoratione versari."‡ So far were the ancient philosophers from inclining to the modern opinions, that morality, jurisprudence, and metaphysics can be best established by removing religion from the foundation.

Aristotle reckons theology among the three branches of speculative philosophy, mathematics and physics being the other two ;§ and the Pythagoreans said that men being born for contemplation, ought to apply to theological wisdom, *θεολογικῆς σοφίας δεῖ ἀντιποιεῖσθαι.*‖ But above all it is Plato and Socrates, who on this point are in accordance with the scholastic wisdom. If St. Augustin says that science is as it were a certain instrument by which the edifice of charity ought to rise and that unless it be directed to this end, it avails not, or rather it is greatly injurious to the possessor,¶ Socrates judges of the utility of the sciences, solely by the degree of their tendency to facilitate the search of what is noble and good in morals ; and if pursued with any other end, he pronounces them useless.** So far from understanding by philosophy, the study of mechanical arts, which he terms base, or the usual routine in education, which is all concerned, he says, with what is born and subject to perish from depending on the growth or decay of the body, he affirms that the only philosophy which he seeks, is that which can draw the soul from contingencies and time to the essential and immortal existence.†† He shows how philosophy leads to fellowship with the highest things, as being related to what is divine and eternal ;‡‡ and he defines a philosopher to be one who always seeks instruction, concerning not ephemeral, perishable things, but the immortal nature.§§ Truly, as Ventura remarks, when Plato taught that philosophers ought to govern a state, he took care to guard his hearers from a misconception of the men to whom he alluded.

"Are we to regard as philosophers," he asks, "such as pursue the arts of mathematics, and similar studies ? By no means. These are only like philosophers."‖‖ Philosophy, according to him, is the knowledge and study of God, and a philosopher is the man who withdraws his mind from sensible things to the study of God, which his disciple Plotinus so well understood, that his philosophy seems nothing else but a pure asceticism, or the contemplation of the divine nature. St. Augustin says, "that Plato believed philosophy to consist in the love of God,

* Tennemann, Geschichte der Phil. 9. † M. Ficini Epist. Lib. viii. ‡ De Nat. Deor. 1.
§ Metaphys. Lib. vi. ‖ Jamblich. Adhort. ad Phil. cap. 4. ¶ Epist. 55.
** De Repub. Lib. vii. †† Id. Lib. vii. ‡‡ Ib. Lib. x. §§ Ib. Lib. vi. ‖‖ Id. Lib. vi.

hoc esse philosophari amare Deum, unde vult esse philosophum amatorem Dei."* Hence, we can easily understand why the more mystical of the fathers so greatly loved Plato, who believed that all science and art would sink to the ground, unless referred to God. In reading some of the books of that philosopher, concerning the regulation of the affections, the desire of the chief good, and the union of souls with the Divinity, one might at times forget that the page before the eye is not from the work of some of our ascetical writers. If Plato were again on earth, it is these mystic writings of Catholics, full of divine wisdom, that he would regard as greatly philosophical, and not the frigid and empty treatises on sciences and morals, of men without religion professing to be philosophers ;† some of whom resemble perhaps those who appeared in an early age of Christianity, who, as St. Augustin tells us, used to call themselves Platonicians, through a shame of being called Christians, lest a name should be common to them with the vulgar.‡

The scholastic lights illuminated the depths of the intellectual world, teaching men to remark with Richard of St. Victor, how the philosophy of Christians is in the folly of the cross; for, as he observes, especially against wisdom did he sin who wished to obtain knowledge by robbery. Think, then, if you can, he continues, how just it was in the one, and how pious in the other, who is the wisdom of God, for the Father to avenge the injury of his Son, and for the Son to forgive it; and, as contraries are cured by contraries, mark how fitting and ingenious it was, that he who fell by folly should rise again by wisdom; that he to whom falsehood had been the cause of perdition, might find safety in the way of truth; and that he who incurred death by the word of the devil, might return to life by the word of God.§ "Our country is paradise," says St. Gregory, "to which, having seen Jesus, we must, like the Magi, return by a different way from that by which we left it; for we left our own country by being proud, by being disobedient, by following visible things, by tasting forbidden food; but we must return to it by weeping, by obeying, by despising visible things and curbing the appetite of the flesh; for we who departed from the joys of paradise by delectation, are recalled to them by tears."‖ The philosophy of the ages of faith was the return to paradise, it was, therefore, religious, scholastical and ascetic combined, or, in other words, the knowledge and the love of God.

* De Civit. Dei, viii. 9.
† De Methodo Philosophandi, cap. iii. a. 1.
‡ De Civit. Dei, Lib. xiii. 16.
§ Richard. de S. Vict. De Incarnatione Verbi, i. c. xi.
‖ S Grey. Pap. Hom. X. in Evang.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT the philosophy of the clean of heart, beholding God, should be exposed to objections from men unpurified, who see only creatures, and who even invent unmeaning terms, to avoid confessing Him who made them; that it should seem to them defective and false, and that it should be the object also of unwearied and bitter invective, can be a matter of surprise to no one who reflects upon the different relations of truth, and who has been accustomed to trace to their source the various intellectual phenomena present in the conduct of mankind. Such a result would have reasonably been expected, *a priori*, if it were only from considering the fact which Novalis remarks, that "instinctively the learned are hostile to the spiritual state, and that they must wage a mutual war when they are separated, because they tend to the same place; for this separation, as he observes, appeared soon after the revolution of the sixteenth century, when men of letters having quarrelled with the scholastic theologians, on being reproved by them for rashly philosophizing, and for adopting pagan language, passed readily over to the side of Luther;* and in latter times it became still more manifest while so many of the learned were ranking knowledge and faith in opposition to each other.†

Moreover, as this penetrating observer remarks, men have at present various ideas of philosophy, while that of its Catholicity seems by all rejected. One says, philosophy must teach nothing anticonventional, it must chime in with national customs and religions. Another, philosophy must have nothing in common with poetry; another, it must not be attainable by all minds; it must have a language of its own, it must have no religion; thus, every one dresses it up in some form dearest to his own heart. Many change their philosophy as their servants; at last, they hate all kinds, and choose to have none.‡ There were, however, besides this, other causes to produce the same impression, for such pains had been taken to misrepresent the whole history of the middle ages, the philosophic writings of the period were known to so few, all works of a theological character being excluded from consideration, that men, whose pursuits had been with science rather than erudition, might naturally fall into the common style of writing respecting them, and, like the illustrious author of a discourse on the history of phi-

* Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. xvii. 443.

† Schriften, ii. 323.

‡ Novalis Schriften, ii. 134.

losophy, qualify the scholastic period as " the opake of nature and of soul, in which only the perverse activity of the alchemists had, from time to time, struck out a doubtful spark."

" If the logic of that gloomy period," says this eminent philosopher, " could be justly described as the art of talking unintelligibly on matters of which we are ignorant, its physics might, with equal truth, be summed up as a deliberate preference of ignorance to knowledge, in matters of every day's experience and use" —a sentence surfeited with truth, for, unquestionably, if the one could be so described with justice, the other might be summed up as this author proposes ; but, unfortunately, for his conclusion, every one who takes the trouble to consult the writings of the schoolmen, perceives that the first step is impossible, and it may be permitted us to hope therefore, that this truly great and impartial observer of nature will be found in future works, when touching upon such ground, to renounce the style of our " family libraries," and adopt in preference the tone of Leibnitz, who, after complaining of the deplorable and almost insuperable aversion of the moderns for the doctrines of the Catholic Church adds, that wise men should endeavor to defend that ancient Catholic philosophy against the new theories of the metaphysicians, who, like children, insult the greatest and most illustrious of men.*

With respect to the charges brought against the philosophers of the middle ages, I know not which to select in first place for consideration, for though numerous they seem to be all brought forward with the same vehemence as being each productive of overwhelming results. Yet, setting aside those which relate to errors in physical science, when fairly met and investigated, the difficulty changes, for then the chief embarrassment arises from inability to discover which is least undeserving of reply. What can the modern objectors expect from a patient hearing of this cause, by men of competent information? Do they think it enough to say in general, that they despise them ? Truly, the judges will not see either in their lives or writings, in their deeds, or in their genius, what any reasonable man can despise ; Lord Bacon, in praise of Antoninus Pius, says, " that he had the patient and subtle wit of a schoolman ; a fruit, no doubt, of the exceeding tranquillity and serenity of his mind, which being no ways charged or encumbered either with fears, remorses, or scruples, but having been noted for a man of the purest goodness, without all fiction or affectation, made his mind continually present and entire." Such a comparison does not seem to favor much the modern opinion respecting the characteristic features of the human mind during the reign of scholastic philosophy.

After collecting, however, the accusations of modern writers, we shall find that they may in general be summed up by the contradictory charge that there was no inquiry, and that there was too much inquiry ; and both seem advanced oc-

* System. Theolog. 234.

casionally by nearly all modern writers, who approach the subject. "We have found in these ages," says Guizot, "only monuments of an intellectual activity which was merely practical, devoted to the wants of real life, and foreign to the research of truth; this is the state into which the human mind had fallen in the seventh and during the first half of the eighth century." Brown is not satisfied with such limitations, for in his lectures on philosophy, in which he alludes to that of the middle ages, he designates it as being throughout very barbarous and futile. "No beautiful moral speculations," he says, "were then to compensate the poverty of intellectual science." He attempts to show that the questions which agitated the schools, respecting the philosophy of mind, morals, and natural theology, were absurd, and concludes, by applying to them the words of Seneca, Indignandum de isto, non disputandum est. We may commence our reply by admitting that the first part of this charge is true, and that Brown had just grounds for rejecting any limits, since it was at all times true during the ages of faith; so that we may even accept with gratitude the definition proposed by the illustrious author of the history of the inductive sciences, and designate them as "the stationary period," during which, within the sphere of morals and religion, inquiry had altogether ceased.

"Philosophic search," as Tennemann well remarks, "was excluded by the Christian religion, which revealed the will of God." What human reason had so long looked for, was in the Christian doctrine found; and, St. Irenæus said, "it was useless to seek truth from others, which was easily learned from the Church, in which, as in a treasury, the Apostles had placed all truths, in order that every one who wished might take from it the drink of life."* This was not a thesis of philosophy, a question of science; it was an authoritative promulgation, which required submission not inquiry. So we read of the first disciples, that they were persevering in the doctrine of the Apostles, and in celebrating the Eucharist. Nothing within this sphere could be less open to the genius of inquiry. "Let certainty yield to faith, glory to salvation," it is Tertullian who thus speaks, "faith is the rule. To know nothing against the rule is to know all things; therefore what resemblance between a philosopher and a Christian, a disciple of Greece and one of heaven? a negotiator of fame and one of salvation, an operator of words and one of actions, a builder and a destroyer of things, an interpolator of error and a restorer of truth."† "Unhappy man," exclaims St. Augustin, "who knoweth all these things, and thee alone knoweth not; but blessed is he who knoweth thee, although he should be ignorant of all the rest."‡

The school is but a faithful echo of these voices of the primitive Church. "Non oportet sapientiam quærere," says its angel, "nisi in Christo,"§ and elsewhere he uses these remarkable words, "In cruce inveniuntur omnia, de quibus homines

* Advers. Hæres. Lib. iii. c. 4. † Apologet. 46. ‡ Confess. v. 4.
§ Lect. I. in c. 2. Ep. ad Col.

gloriari solent."* "In the cross," he adds, "is the perfection of the whole law, and the whole art of living virtuously: as he who should have a book containing all science, would seek only to know that one book, so also we should no longer seek any thing but Christ alone."† The theology of the school was wholly founded on Revelation. "The knowledge of this science," says St. Thomas, "is by Revelation."‡ Christian philosophers consequently had not to speculate like the numerous inquirers mentioned by Aristotle in his treatise de Anima, and to examine whether the soul were fire or air, whether it consisted in motion or perception, or the negation of body, whether it is called τὸ ζῆν, from warmth, or ψυχὴν, from the cold of breathing air. Neither had they to inquire whether the duties of life were such as the laws of God and of the Church required; whether the truths of religion were such as they had received or not. Such continued to be the exemptions of philosophy through the middle ages, without an attempt being made to suppress them.

Behold how many silent adorers in the scholastic halls where Richard and Aquinas sat. Lo, the crucifix, and the image of the Virgin Mother, and the solemn throng with fingers placed upon the lip, to signify that beyond certain limits there is an end of disputation! Here is no place for loquacious speculators; however beautiful may be their theories, their questions are all set at rest, there can be no reviving them. You are indignant? But perpetual, sober, tranquil reason will not participate in your disdain; on the contrary, if, at the spectacle of your mockery, ridiculing the silence which reigns in this monastic region, a wandering fancy, reverting to the tales of old, should liken you to the poet in the shades, who brought a similar charge against his wiser brother, it will prompt a reply resembling that which was given in his defence—"I love that silence; it delights me no less than the eloquence of those who now make speeches"§

"Fides non in quæstione philosophiæ est," says St. Hilary, "sed in Evangelii doctrina."‖ "It would be absurd," says St. Nilus to Alexander the grammarian, "if we, who ascend to the mount of the lofty Christian philosophy, were again to turn back to the darksome valley of vain glory, after the exploded prejudices of the gentiles, and after being perfected in prudence, were to relapse to second childhood, making void the cross through a false philosophy."¶

This was the wisdom of the city as well as of the desert, during ages of faith. "Philosophy seeks truth," says Picus of Mirandula, "Religion finds it." So that in fact, it was the language of the school which Dante heard in Paradise, when Beatrice said—

> "——Be not as the lamb,
> That, fickle wanton, leaves its mother's milk,
> To dally with itself in idle play."**

* Lect. IV. in. c. 6. Ep. ad Gal. † Lect. I. in c. 2. ‡ 1 P. Q. 1 a. 6. in c.
§ Ranæ, 917. ‖ In Lib. ad Constant. August. ¶ Lib. ii. Epist. 43. ** V.

The Catholic Church, as we shall soon see, accepted the service of philosophy, but utterly rejected all attempts to found truth on any human speculations or discoveries. Men of vast capacity and of brilliant genius might rise up from time to time, and offer to do this, as if by way of imparting to her fresh life and efficiency: she paid them no attention; she wanted none of them. She had already a philosophy complete and perfected. Every thing within her sphere had been determined and arranged ages ago. In that sense, as Clemens Alexandrinus says, "Faith was perfect learning, and nothing was wanting to perfect faith,"* therefore, when it was proposed by any one to supply what he might choose to term a deficiency, by engaging in inquiries which supposed, by the very fact of their institution, that philosophy ought to have a different beginning and a different basis, the only return that he could expect for his proferred service, was a reply like that of St. Paulinus, "Vacat tibi ut philosophus sis, non vacat tibi ut Christianus sis? Verte potius sententiam, et non tam disseras magna quam facias." Her children, in fact, as Paschal says, had no need of such philosophic lectures,† no need of these "beautiful moral speculations." "It would be monstrous," says Peter the Venerable, "to dispute at this time of the world, concerning the faith, now that the prince of this world is cast out from the world; now that Christ rules from sea to sea, now that all are made docile to the teaching of God; now that, according to Isaiah, 'the earth is full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea;' now that Satan, after the long attacks of pagans and the disputation of heretics, hath so exhausted his quiver of iniquity, that there remains to him no longer any arrow that can injure."‡ At the time when such words were written, men could hardly have anticipated the arrival of an epoch like that which heard the illustrious Malebranche declaring, "that the readers of Descartes should feel a secret joy for having been born in an age and country so happy, that they had not to be at the pains of going back to pagan times and to the extremity of the earth, to seek among barbarians and strangers for a doctor of truth."§

Even, independent of the logical deduction from having clearly established the grounds of wisdom, the inutility and folly of all inquiry, within a certain range of subjects, was generally recognized. "I think," says Hugo of St. Victor, "that divine secrets should be venerated rather than discussed,"‖ adding elsewhere, "Verius enim invenit amans quam disputans."¶

In ages of faith, men shrunk from engaging in disputation with those idle and sceptical persons, described by St. Augustin, "Paratiores ad interrogandum, quam capaciores ad intelligendum."** "If the human mind," says he, "would yield to clearest reason, there would not be need for many words: it is true, as we have to combat its irrational motions, there is necessity for more discourse, that

* Pædag. Lib. i. c 6. † Pensées, i. 11. ‡ S. Pet. Ven. Ab. Clun. Epist. Lib. ii. 1.
§ Recherche de la Vérité, Lib. vi. ‖ De Sacramentis, Lib. ii. p. viii. c. 3.
¶ Hugo S. Vict. de Ecclesiast. Officiis, ix ** De Civit. Dei, xv. 1

we may cause them not only to see but to feel and handle truth. And yet, what end will there be of disquisition, and what limit to discourse, if we think that we must always answer those who answer us? For many speak iniquity and are indefatigably vain, who do not care what they say, provided they can contradict us."* "Our disputes ought to be prohibited and punished as other verbal crimes," says Montaigne, "we grow angry, first against the reasons, then against the men: we dispute only to contradict; and each one contradicting and being contradicted, the result of the dispute is to lose and annihilate truth."

If Catholic philosophers did not lay such stress upon the evidence of natural reasons, in relation to the great truths concerning human life here and hereafter, it was from their experience of the difficulty of finding in nature what would convince antagonists of this kind, and also from feeling assured that, as Paschal says, "this knowledge, without Jesus Christ, is useless and sterile." When a man had been persuaded of certain immaterial truths dependent on a first truth in which they subsist, and which is called God, they would not have regarded him as far advanced in philosophy, that is, in the work of his salvation. Fenelon speaks the sense of all these ages where he says, "Beware of those great reasoners who languish over learning, and are never able to come to the knowledge of the truth. Their curiosity is a spiritual avarice which is insatiable; they are like conquerors who ravage the earth without possessing it."†

"If any one be so curious," said Vincent of Beauvais, "that he seeks not on account of any known cause, but is carried away by the mere love of knowing unknown things, he is to be distinguished from a student, for he is only curious and does not love unknown things, but rather hates them, so as to wish that none should exist, and that all things might be known."‡ Thus speaks the great encyclopædist of the middle ages. Never, in short, was any conviction more profound, and more generally imparted, than that expressed by Fenelon, that "The mind has no less need of fasting than the body; that it also has its intemperance; that the fast of silence, recollection, and prayer is essential, as is also the cessation occasionally of external action, and whatever distracts the soul"—that intellectual activity, when it is continual and without order, dries up and exhausts the interior,—that is not enough to act and to give, that one must receive and be nourished, yielding up one's self in peace to every divine impression. "You are too much accustomed to mental application," says that truly wise prelate to one who conversed much with Jansenists, "which leaves your interior void, and prevents you from remembering the secret presence of God. This propensity to argument is greatly to be feared. The people whom you frequent are infinitely dry, argumentative, critical, and opposed to the true interior life. While you listen to them you will hear only an interminable reasoning and a dangerous curiosity, which will insensibly withdraw you from grace to cast you back upon your own

* Id. Lib. ii. c. 1. † Epit. 20. ‡ Vinc. Bell. Speculum Doctrinale, Lib. i. c. 25.

nature. Make then your greedy mind fast, make it keep silence, lead it to rest. —Requiescite pusillum. God will then work more within it—If you will always be at work, you will not leave him liberty to act. O it is dangerous to be a busy-body in the interior life ! Vacate, et videte quoniam ego sum Deus. — That is the true Sabbath of the Lord. This cessation of the soul is a great sacrifice."

These thoughts unfold at once the gulf which separates the men of ages of faith from those of the modern intellectual cultivation. The immense distance is apparent from these words. And now, again, a painful task devolves upon us; for I do not see how, in justice to men that are gone by, we can avoid throwing a glance at the opponents of the school around us, who pursue the study of philosophy, in order to ascertain whether their operations tend to invalidate the judgment of the "Stationary Period." Sooth, if the love of inquiry and the thirst of knowledge and the confidence of a personal illumination were sufficient for the purposes of philosophy, there would be no ground at present for complaint. Where is there a door closed against the speculator who promises to give the last touch to reformation ? Where are there not triumphs prepared for those who, as St. Augustin, says, are indefatigably vain ? At present, as in Plato's time, one might justly affirm that "if those who wish to taste of every science, and who go anxiously to all places of instruction, and who are insatiable in following teachers, are to be styled philosophers, there will be a vast crowd of such philosophers ;" and truly we might add, too, with Glaucus, "many of them strange kind of men—*ἄτοποι.*" For in this class must then be reckoned all frequenters of spectacles, and all lovers of rumor and of hearing lessons, who let out their ears for hire, never failing to attend on every occasion in cities and villages, whenever any thing is going forward. Socrates, however, replies that these men are not to be styled philosophers, for they have only some resemblance to philosophers—*ἀλλ' ὁμοίους μὲν φιλοσόφοις.* But that real philosophers are those who love the spectacle of truth—*τοὺς τῆς ἀληθείας φιλοθεάμονας.**

St. Clement of Alexandria remarks, that the Greeks themselves used to call their busy inquisitive sages sophists, and cites the words of Sophon the poet, and also of Cratinus,—

οἷον σοφιστῶν σμῆνος ἀνεδιφήσατε.†

These were, however, the men of most reputation, and the most successful in realizing a fortune.

Protagoras, the famous sophist, having arrived in Athens, Hippocrates, the son of Apollodorus, came running before light to awaken Socrates and inform him of the circumstance. He knocked, and came rushing in, crying with a loud voice, "Socrates, are you asleep or awake ?—Protagoras is come ! He arrived late last night, and I would have hastened to inform you, but that it was night before I could reach you ; so the moment I awoke from first sleep I came hastening to

* De Repub. Lib. v. † Stromat. i. 3.

you." "What," replies Socrates, "has Protagoras done you any injury?" "Nay," replies the youth, laughing; "but, O Socrates! he alone is wise, and to learn of him I would expend my all, and all the wealth of friends; and I have come to beg that you will speak to him concerning me, and persuade him to make me wise also. It is true I have never seen him and never heard him, for I was a child at the time of his former visit to Athens; but, O Socrates! all men praise him, and say that he is the most able of sophists. But why do we not fly to him, that we may find him within? Let us go." "My good fellow," replies Socrates, "let us not go, for it is very early, but let us wait here until it be light, and then let us go; for Protagoras stays much within: so take courage; we shall probably find him at home." On arriving, they find the door shut. The porter, a certain eunuch, was oppressed with the multitude of sophists who used to come to the house; so that when they knocked, he opened angrily, and looking at them, said, "Umph! some sophists! He is not at leisure." And so saying, with both hands he violently shut the door. Again they knocked, and he replied without opening the door, "Did you not hear, men, that he is not at leisure?" "But, O good man!" the strangers replied, "we have come desiring to see Protagoras, We are not sophists ourselves: therefore announce our arrival." Soon afterwards the man opened the door.*

A scene like this would not be strange, at present, in Paris or in London, where something similar is passing every day; only with this difference, that instead of there being only one Socrates to look on, there are as many Socrateses as there are Catholics, conscious of their own position, or men already weary of the spectacle of human errors.

St. Augustin had heard great things of the eloquence of Faustus the Manichæan. "Only wait till you hear him," was the general advice he received. Disappointment, however, was his impression when the sophist had spoken. St. Augustin was then in his twenty-ninth year, and, as a French writer remarks, at that age one has generally discovered the vanity of the word of man.

Not to proceed with observations which will be called for when we come to speak of the method of philosophy in ages of faith, one may deplore here the necessity which so many have created for themselves of returning to those inquiries, concerning every duty and the foundation of all our hopes, from which the human mind had been long so happily delivered. "O Christ, it is too true! thy eclipse is very dark," exclaims Lamartine; but he should have added, to those who must seek the cause of it in themselves. The earth, indeed, has cast its shadow upon many. "We walk," as he observes, "in an age when every thing falls with a great crash. The dust of twenty centuries, in their overthrow, covers every thing; darkness and light float confusedly before our eyes; one cries, lo! truth is in the city; and another, lo! it is in the wilderness."

* Plato, Protag.

In what do the moderns agree? In philosophy separated from religion, pursued as an independent study; systems are opposed to systems, theories overthrow theories, opinions and principles destroy each other. True, there are inquiries enough, but of what nature? "Some questions," says St. Clement of Alexandria, "are worthy of being punished, such as that which demands proof of a Providence; since it is manifest, from the aspect of all visible things, that there is a Providence."* On this principle there would be more need of a censor than of a logician, in some modern schools. It is the tribunals which can best attest what has been learned from these giants, these impious sons of earth, who like madmen turn one another to ridicule, each thinking himself exclusively in possession of truth. No, it is a vain boast of Tiedman, "that the history of philosophy offers us a perspective of consolation and joy, and that the human reason once awakened has never retrograded, but advanced without ceasing;" for the amount of all is only that men have endeavored to revive the ancient impieties, which time, the enemy of error, had destroyed. Indeed, the same author refutes himself, and confesses, a little before, that it presents "a miserable and tearful spectacle." Who can enumerate the sects which now exist in philosophy? Nor does Degerando supply a more cheering picture of its condition. Tiedman himself complains that the great men of these latter times have left incomplete many things relative to first notions and principles, and that sufficient care has not been taken to determine the foundations of the structure. What Seneca says of theories in his day may be applied to the grand investigations and beautiful speculations which Professor Brown prefers to the scholastic philosophy. "They are not a remedy for the soul, but an exercise for the wit;" serving, as Cicero says, not to utility, but only to amuse the mind. "All their disputation," he says, "seem to have conferred no benefit upon men, but only delectationem quamdam otii;" or, as Lactantius says, they did not dispute that they might teach, sed ut se oblectent in otio. After many reformations in philosophy, came the Wolfian reformation, which was soon left to be reformed by others; and at length, after three centuries of reformations, Degerando now says that a new thorough reformation is absolutely necessary, for that as yet it has never been effected.

Really, if we were to ask what is found at present in these regions of philosophy, that are said to be mystical and spiritual, and not Catholic, the reply might be made, without satiric exaggeration, in the words of Trugæus who says, on his return from the sky, that he had found nothing but

ψυχὰς δύ' ἢ τρεῖς διθυραμβοδιδασκάλων.†

What do I see in this land of independent choosers? Truly, as contrasted with what we have left in the regions of philosophy, sanctified and illumined by the Catholic faith, I do not know how one could better qualify it than in the words

* Stromat. Lib. v. † Aristoph. Pax, 829.

of the ancient poet, which express what Bacchus and Xanthus saw on first reaching the shores of the dead,—

———σκότον καὶ βόρβορον——

mud and darkness.

If these philosophers were to be asked by one of the old holy fathers of the monastic order what they have done for men, they could not reply more to the purpose than by imitating the style of the poet in the shades,—"We have taught them to vote, to cry Hear and Hip; to say, I am free to confess; to ask, Will it pay? is there good security? to distinguish, in metaphysics, the I-hood and the not-I-hood—in diplomacy, non-intervention and co-operation." Alas! we cannot expect that they will confess, what is equally true, that they have rendered them independent of all morality, but what each man's passion dictates—fond of fame and revolution—that they have put it into the heads of young men to drink poison, and smother themselves with charcoal, and cut their own throats, in rivalry of Brutus, to show their hate of kings. The conclusion might be in the sentence of the church at Lauds, on the fourth feria,—"Nolite multiplicare loqui sublimia: gloriantes; recedant vetera de ore vestro, quia Deus scientiarum Dominus est."

But let us return to ages of faith, and examine whether it be indeed a fact that an end was put to all inquiry; for though unquestionably men did not then philosophize with a view to discover religious and moral truths, there are innumerable testimonies which seem utterly at variance with such an opinion. What! were there no inquiries, no beautiful investigations, when we are told by Hugo of St. Victor that "the whole life of man was in question?" and that "as long as he lives he inquires? No one wishes to be deceived," he continues, "not even those who may wish to deceive. This shows that nothing is more proper to the heart of man than truth; but the perverse seek truth where there is not salvation."*

"Christianity, in its origin," as Staudenmaier observes, "did not indeed assume a scientific form. The Divine Spirit manifested its power first in producing a divine life; but it was in the natural order of things, and certainly not repugnant to its divine object, that this life should subsequently become the subject of reflections and abstractions, when from without, after various struggles, the minds of men penetrated deeper into it, and demanded what it was." That there was no indifference, in the middle ages, with regard to such discussions, is clear from the fact of the predominance of the scholastic philosophy.

The admonitions of Hugo de St. Victor show that there was even need of warning men from passing beyond the proper limits of inquiry. "Many are the questions of men," saith he; "so long as they live they always inquire. Would that they were as studious to seek goodness as they are curious to discover truth!

* Hugo S. Vict. Erudit. Theolog. ev Miscellan. Lib. i. 72.

It is common to all men to seek truth, even to those who love not goodness. Many seek truth without goodness, but goodness is the companion of truth. Truth comes not readily without goodness; or if it come, it does not come from those parts where is salvation. Men inquire whether their sins return to them after having been forgiven, if they again fall; they wish to know the evil, but they do not wish so much to avoid it."* Many things can be asked, if all things ought to be asked which can be asked. You ask about the state of the soul, on leaving the body. All these things are fit subjects for fear, rather than for inquiry.† You ask what becomes of the body of Christ? Such are the thoughts of man, that can hardly rest in those things where least of all there should be inquiry.‡ Again, you say, if I am to love one man as myself, then I must love three or four men more than myself. Such are the questions of men, and thus do they disquiet themselves with their cogitations.§ St. Anselm says, that questions respecting the foundations and the mysteries of our faith are often proposed, not only by the learned, but also by the illiterate. "De qua quæstione," he says, alluding to the doctrine of the incarnation, "non solum literati sed etiam illiterati multi quærunt, et rationem ejus desiderant."‖ Cardinal Ximenes, amidst all his multiplied cares, had a custom of having philosophical questions proposed at dinner and supper, on which the learned men who always surrounded him disputed.¶ The custom even prevailed in some houses of secular nobles.

"The feudal times," says a modern author, "were a memorable epoch of ardent discussions and of prodigious research."** Nothing but ignorance can induce an unprejudiced person to have a different opinion. In the fifth as well as in the nineteenty century, the maxim of apostolic men has been, "Catholicism has every thing to hope and nothing to fear from the advancement of philosophy." It checked not, it solicited discussions; and Dante does but use the language of the Church in making Beatrice reply, "The thirst of knowledge high whereby thou art inflamed to search the meaning of what here thou seest, the more it warms thee pleases me the more."†† But what were the men, and what were the discussions? Here, again, error is widely spread.

John Picus of Mirandula will be allowed, I suppose, to rank among those who were no mean judges of intellectual merit; and he alludes to Albert the Great in this style: — "Albertus noster, non minus profecto doctrina quam cognomento magnus."‡‡ Hear how he writes to Hermolaus Barbarus: —"It sometimes shames and grieves me to think of my studies, and of the years which I should have better spent with Thomas, John Scot, and Albert, who lived renowned in their age, and who will live hereafter, not in the schools of grammarians and pedagogues, but crowned in the assemblies of the lovers of wisdom."§§

* Hugo S. Vict. de Sacramentis, Lib. ii. xiv. c. 9.
† Id. Lib. ii. p. xvi. c. 2. ‡ Id. ii. p. viii. c. 13.
§ Id. ii. p. xiii. c. 10. ‖ Cur Deus Homo, Lib. i. cap. 1. ¶ Wad. An. Minor. tom. xvi.
** Tableau Hist. des Sciences Occultes, Introduct. †† Par. xxx. ‡‡ Apolog.
§§ Joan. Pic. Mirand. Epist. Lib i. 4.

"Say, I pray you, what moves and persuades more powerfully than such writers? They agitate, they carry one away with violence. You see rude and rustic words, but living, but animating, but words that penetrate like darts of fire into the most secrets depths of your soul. You say this is barbarous Latinity: this is not Latin, not Roman style. But what hinders, if these philosophers, whom you call barbarous, should have conspired to follow a certain law of speaking? Is it not, then, equally holy with them as the Roman law is with you? Is not this imposition of names arbitrary? Anacharsis makes a solecism with the Athenians; but the Athenians are guilty of the same with the Scythians. In money we do not seek what is the device, but what is the substance; nor would any one exchange pure gold bearing a Teutonic image for base alloy stamped with a Roman symbol. As Cato says, 'Vivere sine lingua possumus forte non commode—sed sine corde nullo modo possumus.' Lucretius writes de Natura, de Deo, de Providentia. Let any one of ours write on the same—let John Scot write on it: the one will tell you that atoms are the principles of things—that all things happen by chance; but this he says in Latin, and with elegance. John says what nature attests; but he says it rudely, not in Latin words. Who will, nevertheless, hesitate between them?"*

"Those who now philosophize," says Benedict Accolti Aretinus, "have neglected eloquence, to which the ancients devoted themselves, but not the less have they studied truth. What great masters, within the last four hundred years, have France, Italy, Germany, and Spain produced? What more noble than the schools of philosophers and theologians in Paris, and in some cities of Italy and Spain? Nor do I know to what ancient philosopher, except Plato and Aristotle, Albertus Magnus, and blessed Thomas can be compared— who wrote so many things, as if they had never taken rest—so subtilly and copiously investigated all things, that nothing seems to have been hidden from them which the human mind can acquire. Giles of Rome, John Scot, Alexander de Hales, Bonaventura, Francis Maro, Jacobus Forliviensis, Blase of Parma, Ugo of Sienna, Paul the Venetian, and Loysius, Marsilius, Innocent V., and Benedict XI., Hugo the Dominican, and John Dominicus, and many others, were all princes of philosophy; nor in the wisdom of sacred theology do the moderns yield to the first doctors of the church, unless to Augustin, who by a certain divine genius surpassed all others. But the moral or mystic senses of the Scriptures, and their admirable abundance, these deliver still better. Nor would I dare to say this, unless I found it was the opinion of the most learned in these arts, to whom I think, on account of their prodigious erudition, faith must be yielded."† Angelo Politian speaks of Tertullian with admiration.‡ Indeed, he might well do

* Joan. Pic. Mirand. Epist. Lib. i. 4.

† Bend. Accolti Aretini de Præstantia Virorum sui ævi Dialog. Thes. Antiq. Ital. IX.

‡ Ang. Politian. Epist. iv.

so, in spite of Gibbon's sneers; and how well did these great men appreciate St. Augustin, who, as Michelet remarks, is an entire world in himself.

"Who will fear to oppose to Plato Augustin?—Thomas, Albert, and Scot to Aristotle?" It is no less learned a philosopher than Francis Picus of Mirandula who speaks. "How many questions," he continues, "were disputed and exhausted by them which he never touched? The truths of both testaments warmed them, of which he knew nothing. Who doth not perceive that Lactantius equals or perhaps excels Cicero in eloquence? But what shall we say of the rhetorical power of Jerome? Whoever has read him need not be told what that is. I omit Cyprian, Rufinus, Ambrose, Paulinus, Augustin, Severus, Hilary, Leo, and many others, who are equal to the ancient orators; and if we regard that part of philosophy more especially which embraces practice, how far are the Gentiles surpassed by our men who have written sums of theology — Alexander, Thomas, Henry, Albert, and, above all, Gregory, in his Commentary on the Book of Job?"*

Such were the views of the great Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. Let us even hear men at open variance with the school. "As for myself," says Heinsius, "I confess I gladly study Gregory the theologian, in whose writings eloquence and erudition contend with religion; and I never feel such an elevation of mind as when I read his account of the life and studies and death of Basil.† Basil and Gregory are my delights, of whom I cannot but admire—in the one such great facility with care, and in the other such mighty force of language with piety. I see the gentle eloquence of Theodoret, his simple candor in interpreting without any ambition, a full and nervous body of erudition in confuting error, and a great knowledge of antiquity. What shall I say of the force of Tertullian, of the vast erudition of Clemens, of the tragic buskin of Hilary, of the candor and facility of Chrysostom, of the digressions sweeter than honey, of the acute and powerful disputations of an Augustin;—what of the exact industry of a Jerome, or of the diffuse and truly Ciceronian eloquence of a Lactantius;—what of my ancient loves, that sweetest Bernard, of that first Leo, who poured forth as many divine apophthegms as he uttered sentences?"‡

Now with the ancient fathers the schoolmen were thoroughly imbued. One can never be sure, in reading Henry of Ghent, whether the sentence be his own, or one of Augustin or Chrysostom. Their merit, therefore, may be judged of from that one observation; and in fact, "from the vast range of European literature during the middle ages" says a modern historian, "it would not be difficult to select works which, for invention, might confer honor on the noblest of our poets, and which, for depth of thought and acuteness of reasoning, have not since been equalled by the most celebrated of our philosophers."§ Staudenmaier remarks,

* J. F. P. Miland. de Studio Divinæ et Hum. Philosophiæ. Lib. i. cap. 7.

† Heinsii. Orat. IX.

‡ D. Heinsii Orat. VIII.

§ Lardner, Cab. Encycl. Hist. of Mid. Age, iv. 313.

that in the writings of John Scot we find not only the ideas of Plato, Aristotle, Clemens of Alexandria, and Augustin, but also those of Leibnitz, Schelling, Hegel, Baader, and other illustrious men of modern times; his genius being not that of an individual, but rather that of humanity itself. He embraced the whole middle ages, and united in harmony within himself both the scholastic philosophy and mysticism. He is an Anselm in mind, a Bernard in feeling; he was not of any one age, but he embraced all times.* But it is asked, what was the object of their discussions? were not their abilities misapplied? Truly I am astonished to hear such an opinion advocated by men professing the true wisdom. In the first place, what error of ancient or of the present times opposed to the Catholic philosophy was not then considered and refuted? "The cunning and impatient race of heretics who disturb the peace of the saints are of this use," says St. Augustin, "that in order to defend the Catholic faith against them, many things are considered more diligently, understood more clearly, and more constantly preached."†

When Luther and his peers arose, they were unable to broach a single opinion which had not been long philosophically as well as theologically weighed and found wanting. The arguments against the Catholic rule of faith, against the supremacy of Rome, against indulgences, against the religious orders, against the doctrine of the blessed Eucharist,—all had, ages before, been calmly heard and solidly refuted. Again, the Monologium, Prosologium, and the treatise Contra Insipientem of St. Anselm, in which he brings the most clear and elaborate proof of the existence of God, will show how well that age was defended against atheists. The anonymous monk of Ratisbon, whose book on his temptations and various fortunes was published by Mabillon, unfolds for refutation thoughts which are the secret of much infidelity at the present day:‡ and in their general expositions of the Christian doctrine, for every step they took care to have such ground as was admitted by all kinds of adversaries; so that the disciple says to St. Anselm, "You have so proved the doctrine of the incarnation, that if a few things were removed from our books, such as concerning the Trinity and Adam, you have satisfied the reason, not alone of Jews, but also of pagans."§

The objections of modern infidels, taking in a gross literal sense the figurative and imperfect expressions of theologians in relation to God, are all answered in advance by the Master of the Sentences, Peter Lombard.‖

Guizot, after censuring the form and connection of the books of the middle age, admits that they are very remarkable monuments of the activity and richness of the human mind. "We find in them," he says, "many vast and original views: questions are often solved by them in their profoundest depths; the light of philosophical truth, of literary beauty, shines out each instant. The vein is covered in the mine, but it contains much metal, and deserves to be worked."¶

* Johan Scotus und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. 39.
† De Civ. Dei, xvi. 2.
‡ Vetera Analect. 108.
§ Cur. Deus Homo, 22.
‖ Lib. i. dist. xlv.
¶ Cours d'Hist. Mod. vol. i. 220.

The scholastic rind is ridiculed, but, after all, as Staudenmaier says, "the form of dialogue in which so many of these works are written in philosophy itself—the inward alternate speech of the speculative spirit, which at the same time is moved by the most powerful feeling. Truth produces itself before our eyes, by a living process; and through this dramatic style these works have that air of perpetual freshness which imparts to them an eternal youth."*

Truly, notwithstanding what has been so often repeated respecting the barbarism and folly of the scholastic disputes by men who seem practically to regard no questions of importance, but such as affect the pleasure and profit of animal life, nothing can shake my conviction that it was a sublime spectacle to behold the scholastic crowd in the Gothic halls of the monastery of the middle ages, where debate was held concerning the awful and magnificent subjects which are presented by religion to the contemplation of man. Some idea of the impression which it could produce upon the youth assembled can be formed by those who have lately heard the lectures in the college of St. Stanislaus at Paris, before the studious disciples of that house, and the philosophers and poets who gained admittance to hear them.

What noble and sublime speculations were pursued in humble dependence and submission to the authority of God's word! It is an honorable contest of those who love not themselves, but truth; it is a splendid disputation; there is nothing contrary to purity and decorum, nothing ignoble of turpitude and shame, nothing involved or tortuous. Compare the questions and distinctions of Peter Lombard with those of Plato and Cicero, and how dry, wearisome, and unprofitable seem all the speculations of the heathen philosophers in comparison. The style of the latter may be more pure—it is, of course, classical; but what superior majesty and grace in the conceptions of the Christian disputants! How much more extensive, too, was the field open to them, and with what ardor and with what subtilty did they cultivate it! Assuredly the monastic school suffers not in comparison with the spots where Plato taught.

Do you desire sublime subjects, profound discussions, conducted at least in the solemn and impressive language which belongs to earnestness and conviction? Where can you be satisfied if you do not find them in the meditations of St. Anselm, or in the hints for meditation suggested in innumerable treatises by St. Bonaventura, so admirable for the order, and precision, and depth of the thoughts? Such as where he shows the sevenfold ascent of the soul of man, from meditating on the passion of Jesus, the two modes of ascent by the gift of wisdom and understanding, the ascent by the gift of counsel, the ascent by the gift of fortitude, the ascent by the gift of knowledge, the ascent by the gift of piety, the ascent by the gift of fear; the development of which propositions, in most affecting language, forms a perfect epitome of the whole Christian wisdom.†

* Johan Scotus und die Wissenchaft seiner Zeit. 482. † Stimul, Div. Amoris, p. 1. cap. 7.

What philosophy in the numerous treatises, in form of dialogues, composed by Honorius Augustodunensis, the ardent disciple of St. Anselm, or in the profound disquisitions of Hugo de St. Victor, on the origin of evil,* or in the treatise of St. Anselm, Cur Deus Homo, than which perhaps the human mind has never produced anything more sublime? The most subtle objections that can be proposed against the Christian doctrines are here stated, almost in the very terms of the late French infidels, and refuted with an admirable power of dialectics. An age which had only heard the questions of Hugo of St. Victor on St. Paul's Epistles, or the sublime meditations of Richard, his great disciple, on the doctrines of faith, could never have been justly accused of shunning deep and useful investigations.

What high questions respecting the mysteries of creation do we find in the works of Duns Scotus? The infidels of our age would there find some of their own interrogations, and would be invited to consider "Utrum Deus possit aliquid creare?" as if the first cause were sometimes more determinate to producing an effect than at others, and not always the same immediately.†

How far behind are many at present in their reasoning, forgetting those who, with Hugo of St. Victor and Boethius, knew that neither is foreknowledge the cause of things nor are things the cause of foreknowledge, as otherwise, what is temporal would be the cause of what is eternal, and that foreknowledge is improperly ascribed to God, as in him nothing is future, nothing past, since his knowledge can neither be increased nor diminished.‡ How admirable again their manner of reconciling liberty with grace, saying with St. Augustin, "Tanto liberior quanto sanior; tanto sanior quanto divinæ gratiæ subjectior."§ The importance of such views will appear from observing the evils which have arisen in later times, from false opinions on the subject which they involve.

What shall I say of the Angel of the School? Truly those who have drunk deep of his wisdom will prefer smiling in silence, to any apology before the bar of those who now arraign him. Pope John the Twenty-second said that his wisdom was itself miraculous. "Wondrous truly it is," says Anthony Possevin, "how rich and fruitful was his mind, how perspicuous on every subject, how full of divine and human philosophy."‖

But take others, open Henry of Ghent and read all the first part of his sum, and then say whether, in the middle ages, He, who did provide Augustin of his lore, had not raised up men competent to follow even that renowned doctor of the Church, treating on the nature of the soul.¶

But in all the great luminaries of the School there are important questions, there are just, profound views, there is logical power, there is vast erudition! It is not dreams or vanities of men, or fables of poets, or speculations of tradesmen that they will explain. You will hear the voice of wisdom, the traditions of the

* Summæ Sentent. Tract. iii.
† Duns Scoti Lib. ii. Sent. Dist. 1. 9. 2.
‡ Hugo of S. Vict. Sum. Sentent. Tract. 1. 12.
§ Ep. ad Hilar.
‖ Appar. Sac. 2.
¶ In his Xth book, De Trinitate.

friends of God in all ages of the world, illustrations, admonitions, precepts. They dispute concerning nature and the immortality of the soul ; they dispute on the contempt of death, which they saw daily before their eyes ; they dispute like the illustrious professor who has lately amazed our metropolis* on the light which science throws upon religion. To use the words of a recent historian, " we may ransack in vain the whole realm of philosophy for more profound disquisitions into the nature and relations of things."† And indeed if these scholastic philosophers were again to come on earth, they might address the moderns in Cicero's words, and say, " When we hear your lectures we are surprised that you should thus disdain us." Nobis enim ista quæsita, à nobis descripta, notata, præcepta sunt ; omniumque rerumpublicarum rectiones, genera, status, mutationes, leges etiam et instituta ac mores civitatum perscripsimus. Eloquentiæ vero, quæ et principibus maxime ornamento est, et qua te audivimus valere plurimum, quantum tibi ex monumentis nostris addidisses ?‡

In truth, how do the subjects of our disquisitions fade before the sublime grandeur of their accustomed themes,—the origin of evil, the fall of man, original sin ? The very titles of their books are pregnant with thought : " Liber unde malum" is that of one of the volumes left to the monastic library of Durham, by the bishop, Hugo Pudsy, in the twelfth century : those prefixed to the books of Richard of St. Victor are alone enough to put to shame the modern philosophy. Then what profound wisdom, what piercing views into the secrets of nature, yea, even what an atmosphere of poetry do we find whenever we assist at their debates? And remark too, how it is only in the Catholic schools that such questions can be discussed with serenity and joy, for that which reveals God to the clean of heart, covers other men with darkness, with cold impenetrable gloom.

———βορβόρῳ θ' ὕδωρ
λαμπρὸν μιαίνων, οὐ ποθ' εὑρήσεις ποτόν.§

—if you mix earth with the limpid source, you will find no remedy for your thirst.

Milton felt this, and therefore, in describing Satan and his cursed crew, he appoints to them as a punishment the exercise of the school.—

" Others apart sat on a hill retired
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate,
Of good and evil much they argued, then
Of happiness and final misery,
Passion, and apathy, and glory, and shame."

Milton had conversed with the new instructors, and had heard their vain wisdom and false philosophy, which, from the tongue of Calvin and his followers,

* Dr. Wiseman.
† Hist. of Mid. Ages, Lardner, Cyclop.
‡ De Finibus, Lib. iv.
§ Eumen, 694.

could blasphemously ascribe despair to God, and envelope, with clouds of old and new delusions, points at which more wise than they had erred: Dante, on the contrary, had been long an ardent disciple in the Catholic school, where, as Marsilius Ficinus remarks of the question of predestination, "Love was made to solve all problems, for what more voluntary than love? and yet what more necessary?"* Thus the reason of their having formed such different notions of controversy is explained.

Certainly the former must have conducted these inquiries in a strange manner to suggest such an idea to the philosophic mind of one who loved them. The theological questions which the Protestant poet appoints as a task for the damned in hell, are deemed by the bard of Catholic ages, as an exercise for the blessed not unworthy paradise. Indeed Catholic philosophers expressly ascribed the triumphs of their poets to their having imbibed the spirit and even the language of the school. "Dante is grand and sublime! What marvel," continues John Picus of Mirandula, "since philosophizing, nature compels him to be so when treating on God, on the soul, on the blessed, and repeating what Thomas, what Augustin wrote concerning them, whose writings he so frequently studied with assiduity, deeply meditating on them? It was not so admirable in Dante to have done this, as it would have been shameful not to have done it. If he flieth sublime it is the wings of the subject which carry him on high."†

But it is time to cut short this part of our discourse, and indeed there are moments when one might be inclined to think that such defence is superfluous; since those who are considered by many as at the head of the social progress, are beginning to reject philosophy with defiance, on the very ground that the results of the habits which it engenders are favorable to what they consider ancient superstition, and inconsistent with the kind of civilization which they wish to propagate. Philosophy, poetry, and literature, are regarded by them with disgust as anti-revolutionary, and therefore, in their estimation, as degrading to the nature of man. Both in Germany and France many writers are found professing hopes that they may live to see men become wilder, and a conviction that in the rudeness of a savage state must be looked for the ultimate reform and triumph of humanity. Such views are not perhaps so novel or so unconnected with the religious revolution of the sixteenth century as we might at first suppose: but I have not time to investigate this point.

Let us return to the more common objections against the scholastic philosophy.

We are told that the ingenuity of its disputants was generally exercised in strange and puerile subtilties, but though this is not the occasion which I shall choose for showing the contrary, one cannot I think hear the charge without perceiving that what is brought forward to shame them must at once turn to their

* Mars. Ficin. Epist. Lib. i. ad Joan. Cavalcanti. † Joan. Pic. Mirand. Epist. Lib. i. 3.

praise ; for if the speculations of St. Thomas are sometimes spun fine, and if his divisions run to niceties, this was the fault of the speculative refining genius of the Arabians whom he had undertaken to pursue and confute throughout their whole system : and besides these "strange and puerile subtilties" are not the general but the occasional exercise of scholastic writers. If it be asked, why did it become so at all? I would answer, let the moderns reply who are obliged to return to the pagan disputations, from the need of which the scholastic philosophers felt themselves delivered. Let those repeat the objection who have contributed, all over Europe, to the solemn opening of debates, which shake the first elements of all human knowledge, and the very foundation and security of social life.

That neglect of the higher objects of knowledge, which Tennemann ascribes to the scholastic philosophy, was the result of a conviction that those higher objects, having been already established by revelation, were beyond the proper sphere of its researches ; and if this writer finds, under the yoke of authority, insipidity, a spirit of minuteness in dissection and division, he admits having found also there "a dialectic exercise of reason, quickness, and subtilty of thought, extension of the sphere of dogmatical metaphysics, ingenious and acute explanation of theological ideas, and a deep speculative spirit."*

The ancient sages would not have deemed the subtle investigations of the school unphilosophical, for Pythagoras expressly recommended to his disciples an intent and unwearied examination of difficult speculations, and a ruminating upon them.† In fact, the insignificance of the subject itself sometimes chosen by the scholastics, only proves their conviction, that it was not expedient to treat important truths in that manner, or decorous to exercise the argumentative faculty upon points that were of faith. In the school, indeed, occasionally we hear of things that do almost mock the grasp of thought, but in general, what after all were these subtle questions? It might be for a Hugo of St. Victor, in treating of the vanities of the world, to speak ironically of the very important topics on which some scholastics were then vehemently disputing, but assuredly the same privilege cannot, with any justice, be assumed by the authors of frivolous and interminable disquisitions, the meaning of which they cannot themselves, perhaps, comprehend a few months after they have held them,—to whose books every sober mind might devoutly wish such an end as befell two of Cardan's treatises, as he relates with a truly ridiculous gravity.‡ Is it, I ask, for such men to cry down the ingenious inquiries of the middle ages, which all were concerning, more or less, matters of the utmost interest to the spiritual life, and to the wisdom of thoughtful learned Christians?

Unquestionably, many things seem obscure and involved to the minds of men without moral discipline, which were luminous to the clean of heart. "The

* Geschichte des Phil. † Jamblich. de Pythagoric. vita. cap. 16.

‡ Quos ambos urina felis corrupit.—De libris propriis.

mind, reverting still to things of earth," as Dante saith, " strikes darkness from true light."* The observation which concludes the work entitled Theologia Germanica, bespeaks indulgence on this very ground.—" If any one should say that these things are very abstruse, he should be reminded that the great folly of the Holy Spirit, to speak so, is far more abstruse than the highest wisdom of the whole world. It is not strange, therefore, that these things should seem abstruse to the flesh, for they are divine, of which the flesh cannot judge, and therefore, you judge them abstruse in the same manner as a bat would deny that it could see the brightness of day from being accustomed to use the light of night, of which the brightest part is darker than the darkest day." Dante discerned well the cause, and says—

> " The Spirit to his proem added things
> I understood not, so profound he spake :
> Yet not of choice, but through necessity
> Mysterious ; for his high conception soar'd
> Beyond the mark of mortals."†

At the same time be it observed, no abstruse or subtle discussions were ever held before the people. St. Augustin had shown that it was well and useful sometimes to be silent respecting some truth, on account of the incapacity of hearers ; " especially," he added, " if there be cause to fear that we may render those men worse who do not understand us, while we wish to render those who do understand more learned, who, if we were to remain silent, might not, indeed, become more learned, but neither would they become worse."‡ And with respect to other points, really it was somewhat over bold for the teachers of the new religions to think that they were the men justly authorized to convict the scholastics of being unphilosophical.

The questions of the school, in what they are pleased to term the dark ages, were certainly rather of a more metaphysical nature than those which agitated two great nations, under the light of the reformers, when the portentous discussions were, whether the clergy ought to wear linen surplices and caps, whether steeples ought to be surmounted with weather-cocks or crosses, whether a table should stand in the middle of the church or altarwise with one side to the wall, whether a good Christian should stand up or sit down at the Gloria Patri ; on all which points " their Cathedral men" would never yield one iota : but if the scholastic questions did not lead to such practical results, for those were sufficient to kindle the flames of civil war, at least the laws of God and men had no more reason to fear the disputations of the Scotists and Thomists, than the human intelligence had to apprehend injury or dishonor from inquiring whether the essence of the mind were distinct from its existence, or whether the Deity can love a possible unexisting angel better than an actually existing insect.

* Purg. XV. † XV. ‡ In. Lib. de Dono Perseverant. 10.

To take the speculations of scholastic disputants and to present them to a corrupt society, with all their possible practical consequences eloquently set forth, was the act indeed of a man of genius, but perhaps, to say the least, an act of the greatest literary injustice ever committed. Besides we should greatly err if the modern clamors were to persuade us that the subtle disputations of the middle ages were really thus useless or frivolous. No greater error than such an opinion.

Without touching upon the ground of their curious investigations into the nature and property and combination of numbers, and their application to physics and psychology, in which they at least evinced a familiarity with some of the most remarkable opinions of the ancient sages;* and in which they did but follow in the steps of Jerome, Augustin, Origen, Ambrose, Gregory Nazianzen, Athanasius, Basil, Hilary, Raban, and Bede,† we need only cite for instance, the dispute between the nominalists and realists, which has already served us to divide the different periods of the scholastic philosophy. Now this was one of the most important that could occupy the human mind. This contest may be traced to the early days of philosophy.

According to Plato, ideas pre-existed in the divine intelligence, and are so many archetypes of existing essences; the world of ideas is the true and proper world, the real existence of τὸ ὀντως ὄν. Ideas then, in this sense, are not logical abstractions, but the original living essences, which, in themselves, are unity, though in various and harmonious modes developed. In these ideas which are the divine archetypes of things in the divine intelligence, is the true reality; and Plato knows of nothing else real, but them. Thus is the true ideal, the true real; the ἰσέα is the ὂν, and the ὂν the νοητὸν, both are one. The Stoics with Zeno, on the contrary, held that nothing can be in the mind which was not before in the senses, and that mode and species exist not in the nature of things, but are only a creation of thought. From this view of the validity or invalidity of general ideas, arose the contest in the middle ages, between the realists and the nominalists, the former being those who held with Plato, which included the scholastics of greatest renown, and who, as many edicts declare, could always be followed with the greatest security; the latter, who ascribed only a logical existence to general ideas, those who agreed with Zeno and the Stoics; the former were said to hold universalia ante rem, the latter, universalia post rem.

Realism, especially as explained by St. Thomas of Aquin and Duns Scot, had in general decidely the advantage until the end of the middle ages, when nominalism, through Occam, and especially in Germany, made a stand, though then it was no longer the excessive nominalism which Roscelin had first revived; but Occam's nominalism, which was nearly the same as that of Abailard, which, in

* Aristot. Metaph. v. 6. xii. 6. 8. Phys. iii. 4. Brucker, Convenientia numerorum Pythag. cum ideis Platonis in. S. Mis. Hist. Phil.

† Born. Agrip. Phil. occult. xi. 3.

the beginning, perhaps, would not have been considered nominalism, but the Platonic realism. It was in fact the middle party between them, though realism also, in Occam's time, was no longer what it was in the time of Anselm.

The extreme nominalism has been the parent of Locke's notions ; in the middle ages, those who held it were called " conceptionalists." There was during that period a third party, which sought to keep peace by holding the doctrine of Aristotle, that universals had a physical existence, and rested in the individual as the form. Thus the three opinions were—with Plato, that universals existed before the object—with Zeno, after the object—and with Aristotle, in the object. The followers of the latter, which was the nominalism of Roscelin, held that universals had no existence excepting in language, and that they were mere names, against which notion Abailard rose, maintaining that general ideas were united with individual perceptions, from which the human reason formed them. Thus, virtually, he gave them a more logical, though he stoutly held that they had an absolute and independent reality ; he therefore styled himself an Aristotelian, though in other senses he was more a Platonist. Among the realists, Gilbert de la Porée, and Richard of St. Victor, held wholly with Plato, while Alanus de Insulis, Alexander de Hales, and Vincent of Beauvais, adopted the opinion of Aristotle.*

We should observe, in conclusion, that the contemptuous language respecting the disputants of both sides, in this celebrated controversy, which has been used by some excellent writers, of whom the Pére Berthier may be cited as an instance,† can only apply with justice to those who revived it at the close of the fifteenth century, when after many troubles an edict of the king of France was directed against the nominalists, excluding them from the university of Paris, and from all the schools of the kingdom. It would not be fair, however, to quit this charge of over subtilty, dissections, and divisions, against the scholastic philosophy, without taking a glance at the subtilties of its adversaries, in modern times, which have been substituted in their stead. Every physical compound, according to the universal opinion of men, is truly and really one in substance ; but the modern philosophers affirm, that a physical compound has no real unity, and that the substance of a body is only a word, and an abstract idea. It is very difficult for us to believe, they admit, indeed, that when we speak of a rock or a mountain, or a single leaf, or blade of grass as one, we speak of a plurality of independent substances, which have no other unity than in our conception. But so it is, say they, they are one not in nature but in our thought. Why are we to notice such distinctions ? Because, as Ventura remarks, it would be hard to calculate all the evil consequences which have followed from their propagation among the people ; for all wisdom, order, and truth are contained in the contrary proposition, " quod duobus vel pluribus principiis substantialiter coalescit, est realiter

* Staudenmaier. † Hist. de l'Eglise Gall. tom. xvii. p. 120.

unum." For now let us mark the difference : in the first place the scholastics held a real and substantial unity between the human understanding and the known natural truth, which was like the form to matter ; for St. Thomas says, "the human mind derives knowledge as matter form ; and as matter before it has acquired form does not constitute a determined body, so the understanding, as in infants, before it has received truth, does not constitute reason ; and as body consists in the substantial conjunction of matter and form, so reason in the substantial conjunction of truth and intellect ; for body is matter endued with form, and reason is intellect enlightened by truth." From this theory of human reason important consequences are to be drawn. If intellect after it has known truth, as matter after it has received form, becomes active, therefore, before it has received truth, the intellect can act nothing, discern nothing. Matter does not create form to itself, nor intellect truth, but both receive them ; therefore, the ancients held that to investigate or inquire by reason, it was not sufficient to possess intellect in potentia, as in infants, before truth has been received ; but it could only be done by intellect in actu suo, by intellect conjoined to truth. The moderns, who mix all things together, and use words not in a philosophic manner, but with an oratorical or poetic licence, have taken reason for intellect, destitute of all truth, and then attributed all things to it, which the scholastics ascribed not to intellect in potentia, but to intellect enlightened by truth. St. Thomas says, "as the first man was to be a convenient principle of generation of the whole human race, as to body, so also was he to be a convenient principle of instruction as to mind ;" which opinion concerning the origin of ideas being universally received, dispensed men from investigations respecting it. So, as from the intellect and truth united proceeded reason, from the intelligent soul and body was man constituted ; therefore, again, the scholastics inquired but little as to the relation of soul and body : the condition of operation as they say followed that of essence ; for since man is a substantial compound of the intelligent soul and body, all his operations are compounded of soul and body ; in like manner in the physical order the scholastics understood body to be really and substantially one, though compounded of two principles, matter and form.

Ventura proceeds to show how the modern principle of separation has invaded all orders and branches of science. For first in domestic society, the parents were no more two individuals, but as it were one, and therefore, the scholastics never inquired to what point they were bound to remain together, or when they could be separated, for God had made them indissolubly one. The same theory held in public jurisprudence : public society was the substantial and permanent union of the prince and chiefs for the purpose of securing a happy and peaceable state. The same order prevailed in the religious society in which there was a substantial union between the Church and the state, to the increase of nations and the promotion of their liberty, civilization, and security ; from which conjunction proceeded the republic of Christian nations. Therefore, it was not necessary to

investigate the relations of Church and state, as if they had been separate and extraneous powers, which could be opposed to each other in their interests. The Church itself, or the Christian society, was a substantial and permanent union between the Holy See and the bishops, to the increase of the number of the faithful and the maintenance of faith and integrity of morals, so that when this idea of the unity of the Church possessed all minds, there was no attention paid to moderating the relations between the Holy See and the bishops. Since the pontiff, with the ecclesiastical ministry, are not separable, but are one, and the bishops separated from the pontiff are but as branches from the tree which bear no fruit, therefore, the public action of the Church was in like manner compound. Lastly, the theory of scientific order resembled that of the social, for as the latter was the substantial conjunction of Church and state, so the scientific order was the substantial conjunction of theology and philosophy, forming the wisdom of Christian nations; therefore, the scholastics were at no pains to settle the relations between sacred and profane discipline, for both were indissolubly united in one, and the progress of the scientific order was compounded of both.

From all this, he concludes, how foolishly the moderns ridicule the scholastic wisdom, as if it had been a system of words, since it was concerned with things, and under the guidance of nature and religion, employed to explain all phenomena, powers, rights, offices, laws, and principles, by the rule of unity. This magnificent and most spacious edifice of the ancient wisdom, raised by the labors and studies of the most excellent minds of every Christian age, was overthrown by rash hands, and with it all real and substantial unity. As what was one had become two independent supposits, not substantially but only logically conjoined, the question immediately arose to which of the compounds preference was due. Hence began the inquiries, whether the intellect is in truth, or truth in the intellect,— the soul in the body, or the body in the soul,— the chief power of the Church in the pope, or in the bishops, — the state in the Church, or the Church in the state,—and other similar investigations, of which the ancient wisdom knew nothing. The second consequence was the belief that a division between these compounds was possible, and might be legitimate. So now men began to separate things, which God, the author of nature and grace, had joined together by an indissoluble bond; for instance, the intellect from natural truth—the intellect from revealed truth—the bishops from the pope—the people from the king—the wife from the husband—and the state from the Church.

Wearied by the attempt to establish relations, the moderns proceeded to ascribe all things to one or other of these principles which they had thus separated; some taught that all belonged to form, others all to matter—some ascribed all to Revelation, without the concurrence of the intellect—others, all to the intellect without the aid of Revelation—some, all to the prince— others, all to the people; in short, the result was, to separate what God had joined together; they abrogated the unity between the human and divine nature in Christ—between the pope and

the bishops—between the king and the people—between the husband and wife—between the state and the Church—between philosophy and theology ; for, as in buildings of stone, all things in the moral order are so connected and compacted, that the foundation being removed, the whole edifice of wisdom and order and discipline is dissolved ; so that they err who think that it was only the order established by Christ in the Church, which was disturbed by the modern subtilties ; for it was a wide divorce or separation of all compounds, whether intellectual or philosophical, social or scientific, which parts being disjoined were then easily destroyed in gradual succession. But we must not remain on this ground any longer. Let us proceed to show how the two propositions lately announced, respecting the limits and encouragement given to the spirit of inquiry, which might seem at first to contradict each other, can be reconciled, which will lead us to explain what was the method of philosophy pursued in ages of faith.

CHAPTER IX.

PHILOSOPHY, according to the ancient wisdom, was threefold, as relating to God, to man, and to matter, and, in consequence, there were three modes of argument, from faith, from testimony or reason, and from experiment. I know, indeed, that Lord Bacon notes as deficient that part of judgment, which is the application of the differing kinds of proofs to the differing kinds of subjects, and that his name is on the tongues of men at present, as having reformed philosophy, by first placing it on the basis of experiment ; but neither am I ignorant that there is much confusion and error in the ideas of men respecting the state of philosophy in general before his time, as also concerning the good which he really effected ; for that he was the first to show the necessity of experiment within the sphere where such proof is required, is an opinion which no one familiar with the writings of the middle ages can for a moment entertain.

It is not that the attempt by some, as a great modern philosopher says, to lessen the merit of his achievement, by showing that the inductive method had been practiced in many instances, both ancient and modern, by the mere instinct of mankind, can be justly compared to the reasoning of those, who would refuse to Jenner his civic crown, because a few farmers in a remote province had, time out of mind, been acquainted with vaccination. Those who deny him the glory of having introduced inductive reasoning, as a new and hitherto unimagined process,

do so not on the ground that a few obscure practitioners in a remote province had used it before his time ; but that the most eminent men had possessed a clear perception, and had made a broad announcement of its paramount importance as the Alpha and Omega of science, though they may have wanted the occasion for exemplifying it in their own writings, from having pursued a different order of philosophy, where it would have been inapplicable. Are Roger Bacon, Richard of St. Victor, St. Anselm, and St. Thomas, men whose sentences can be compared to the empirical maxims of an obscure individual in a remote province ? Yet all these great philosophers proclaimed it.

Roger Bacon, alluding to physical science, says, " sine experientia nihil sufficienter sciri potest."* I am aware, indeed, that his works are pronounced by a modern distinguished author, to be not only so far beyond his age in the knowledge which they contain, but so different from the temper of the times in his assertion, of the supremacy of experiment, that he finds it difficult to conceive how such a character could then exist.† Heeren finds it difficult to conceive how John of Salisbury could have then existed ;‡ but the truth is that the more these philosophers study the middle ages, the oftener will they have to encounter such difficulties. With respect to Roger Bacon's assertion of the supremacy of experiment, the difficulty of conceiving his existence then will certainly not prove very great. As well might they wonder how Richard of St. Victor, St. Anselm, Duns Scot, and numberless others, could have then existed : for hear what these teachers lay down : " Some things," says Richard, " we prove by experiment, others we collect by reasoning, and the certainty of others we hold by believing : the first relate to temporal knowledge, the two latter to divine."§ " Science is acquired by experiment," says St. Anselm, or one of his disciples, " when a person has certain knowledge of any thing which he has proved. It is also acquired by reason when any one by natural discretion of mind is confirmed in those things, which are to be done or omitted ; it is also acquired by reading : but since it inflates, unless charity should edify it, there will be no advantage from it without the will of goodness."‖

" Science strictly taken, includes," says Duns Scotus, " four things, namely, that it be certain knowledge without deception and doubt, concerning a thing known necessarily, produced by an evident cause, and applied to the intelligence for being known, by syllogistic argument ; in regard to which last condition alone, theology is not a science."¶ Here, indeed, the other order of proofs for other orders of truth is insisted upon, but after such passages, which might easily be multiplied, how can any one justly affirm that it was the universal opinion in the middle ages, established with the authority of a religious creed, that all science might be obtained by the use of reasoning alone ; and that logic included

* Opus Majus, vi. c. 1.
‡ Gesch. d. Class. Lit. i. 250.
‖ S. Anselmi de Similitudinibus, cap. clviii.
† Whewell. Hist. of Induct. Science, i. 341.
§ Ric. S. Vict. de Trinitate, Lib. i. c. 1.
¶ Duns Scot. in Lib. Sent. Prolog. q. iii. 4.

the whole of science? If we refer for illustrations to the actual practice of the period, we find but scanty materials, undoubtedly, for the reason that the studies of the most eminent men were not directed to physical science; but it is by no means true, that they are undiscoverable. St. Thomas supports his arguments respecting material things, upon observation and experiment, his maxim being "ubi auctoritas deficit, sequi debemus naturæ conditionem."* "In all assertions," saith he, "we ought to follow the nature of things, excepting in regard to those things which are delivered by divine authority, which are above nature."† It is to Lord Bacon, we are told, that we owe the broad announcement of that grand and fertile principle, that the whole of natural philosophy consists entirely of a series of inductive generalizations, commencing with particulars, and carried up to universal laws. But what then becomes of our chronology, when we find the Angel of the School laying down this proposition that "in acquiring science we must not begin with principles and elements, because, from observing sensible effects, we arrive at the knowledge of principles and of causes."‡ An instance will best show his manner of applying the rule. "Some say," he observes, "that animals, which are now ferocious and disposed to kill other animals, in the pristine state, before the fall, were gentle, not only towards man, but also towards each other; but this is altogether irrational, for the nature of animals is not changed by the sin of man, and it is evident from the formation of their bodies, that it is natural to them to feed on flesh."§ Similar examples might be produced from Duns Scotus; thus, he argues, that man would have died in paradise, from the permission given to eat of every tree, because a body which needeth aliment must be corruptible.‖ St. Thomas protests against the practice of confounding the different kinds of proofs in these words—"I declare, from the beginning of this work, that among the articles which it contains, there are some which do not regard the doctrine of faith, but rather the opinions of philosophy; for it is a thing truly injurious to affirm or deny, that a certain opinion is essential to the Christian doctrine, when it does not even relate to it. St. Augustin says, when I hear a Christian who is ignorant of these systems, which the philosophers have imagined respecting the sky and the stars, the revolutions of the sun and moon, and who adopts a different opinion, I hear him with patience, as a man who expresses his opinion. Elsewhere the same Augustin speaks thus: — A Christian should beware how he speaks on questions of natural philosophy, as if they were of holy Scripture; for an infidel who should hear him deliver absurdities, could not avoid laughing. Thus the Christian would be confused, and the infidel but little edified, for the infidel would conclude that our authors had really these extravagant opinions, and therefore, they will despise them to their own eternal ruin. Therefore, the opinions of philosophers should never be proposed

* Sum. P. 1. q. cl. art. 1. †Id. p. xcix. art. 1, ‡ Id. q. lxxxv. art. 8.
§ P. 1. q. xcvi. art. 1 ‖ Lib. ii. Sent. D. xix. q. 1.

as dogmas of faith, or rejected as contrary to faith, when it is not certain that they are so :"* words cited for approval in every encyclopedical work of the middle ages.

Now, after this, I would ask, is it just to affirm that during that period, religious authority was assigned to physical science, by making all supposed truth part of religion—that error in regard to it became wicked, dissent heresy, and that men felt bound to subscribe to all views of natural science propounded by the school ? The illustrious author of the history of the inductive sciences, while admitting, that the Copernican system was received in Poland and Germany from the first, without bigotted opposition, proceeds to affirm that in Italy the Church entertained the persuasion that her authority could not be upheld at all, without maintaining it to be supreme on all points. I am at a loss to conceive his grounds for such an induction. What papal bull, what council, what synod had ever determined questions of pure science ? When had the shadow of the papal chair, from which he recoils with such alarm, been ever cast over the speculations of philosophers, as long as they confined them to the inductive sciences ?

Copernicus, who was himself an ecclesiastic, so little feared it, that he dedicated the book, containing his discoveries, which he published at the entreaty of Cardinal Schomberg, to Pope Paul the Third. The fact is, that the phrases "assuming supreme authority, in all matters of opinion, and the extravagant assumptions of the Church of Rome, which it was impossible sincerely to allow, and necessary to evade by artifice," signify nothing that ever existed, excepting in the brain of prejudiced adversaries, who, with a view to leading greatest men like him astray, misrepresented what they chose to resist. The Church may have found it necessary to check scientific men, when they chose to dogmatize and alarm the people by affirming that their physical discoveries could not be questioned without impugning the Scriptures. When Galileo maintained and wanted Rome to declare, that the Copernican system was founded on Scripture, the question was referred to a congregation, which could not but decide, as it did, in the negative. Another congregation, it is to be lamented, declared the new system to be directly opposed to Scripture, and therefore heretical ; but philosophers were allowed to expound it as an hypothesis, to which decision the Minim editors of Newton's Principia, whom the Protestants will persist in calling Jesuits, allude in the terms of their preface, which are so often cited. But, it is to be observed, that these decrees were not domatical decisions of the Church, nor of the Holy See, and that, however we may lament the want of caution in the congregations, their proceedings only emanated from their veneration for the written word of God.†

If it had been in the nature of things for the Church to pronounce upon mere physical tenets as such, Copernicus, in a work dedicated to the pope, would not

* Lib. 1. De Genesi.

† Bergier, Dict. Theol. Art. Science. Riccioli Almagestum Novum, tom. i. p. ii. p. 496.

have alluded to a possible opposition from vain babblers, who, knowing nothing of mathematics, may yet assume the right of judging, on account of some place of Scripture perversely wrested to their purpose. He would have hardly said, "that he heedeth them not, and looked upon their judgments as rash and contemptible." That the inductive sciences were not the study of the greatest minds is evident; that they had made no progress, or not even a beginning, one may be willing to grant; but still, in the face of such formal announcement of principles, can it be said, without injustice, that "the only kind of philosophy then studied was one, in which no sound physical science could have place." And that "the whole course of men's employments tended to make them not only ignorant of physical truth, but incapable of conceiving its nature?"

Tennemann, observing that Lord Bacon was contemporary with Campanella, remarks, that it was not from those countries which pretend to the glory of producing exclusively vigorous independent habits of thought, but from Italy that the general impulse came, which then directed so many philosophers to the study of the natural sciences, on the established principle that experiment was their only basis. Bernardinus Telesius, who thence became so eminent, was born at Cosenza, in 1508, imbued with classical learning at Rome and Milan, and with philosophy and mathematics at Padua. He wrote De Natura Rerum juxta propria Principia, and founded at Naples the Academia Consentina, to promote experimental science,—becoming an object of displeasure and suspicion, in consequence not of his placing natural philosophy on that basis, but of his wild theories respecting the souls of plants and beasts. In truth, nothing can be more vain than the pretentions that the rejection of authority within the sphere of religion contributed to the recognition of the necessity of employing, within the sphere of physical science, experiment and demonstration. While Catholic philosophers and the religious orders, in a body, were exulting in having thrown off the yoke of the Stagyrite, declaring that they cared more for one truth than for the whole peripatetic philosophy,* while they were pursuing the method indicated by Richard of St. Victor and St. Thomas, and even expressly exposing the necessity for observing it in the study of natural science, the followers of Luther and Calvin were for a long time the stoutest champions of the authority of Aristotle.

It is clear then that there was no irreconcilable variance between the spirit of the philosophy taught in the middle ages and the principles of inductive science; and so far, therefore, all would be agreed: but the sequel will disclose a difference that I fear cannot be so easily adjusted. There being two classes of truth recognized in Catholic schools, of which one is the object of science, and the other that of faith, there were necessarily two principles of certainity, one for the truths of faith, and the other for those of science; according to the sentence of St. Augustin, "quod intelligimus debemus rationi, quod credimus auctoritati." What

* Bibliotheca Script. S. Ord. Cisterciensis, 186.

we understand we owe to reason, including all its modes of application, which is one principle of certainty ; what we believe, to authority, which is the other. The claims of authority and of reason to assent were not therefore regarded as antagonist principles, according to the view taken of them by the illustrious historian of the inductive sciences ; but as resting on one and the same principle, rooted in the intellectual constitution of man, and essential in its duality to the safe and vigorous action of his mind. Though the question of certainty has been chiefly agitated in ages of doubt, the philosophers of the ages of faith did not fear to meet it ; Henry of Ghent treats on it and inquires whether man can know any thing with certainty, and whether every man can know certainly what he knows.* St. Augustin sets out from the knowledge of his own existence : "here," he says, " I fear no argument of the Academicians, saying, what, if you are deceived ? Unquestionably, in knowing that I exist, I am not deceived."†

" If any one should say that knowledge might be demonstrated by reason, let him be told," says Clemens Alexandrinus, " that the first principles are not capable of being demonstrated, for they are known not by any art of prudence. From faith then alone do men derive the beginning of all things."‡ The first truth cannot be taught, for it is impossible to teach a person any truth unless you set out from a truth which he knows already. Reason, that divine principle, contains the principles of all the speculative or practical knowledge that we can acquire.§ " Primum intelligibile intellectione creari, impossibile,"‖ says Duns Scotus. To attempt to proceed farther than the sensus intimus, belongs only to a vain-glorious ostentation, in constituting the origin of certainty, which was unknown in ages of faith. " There is no intelligence so averse," says Duns Scotus, " but that it can understand some truth, because the first principles are known to every intelligence from their terms."¶ " By accident," says St. Thomas, " the intelligence can be deceived in regard to compound things ; but in simple things, of which there is no composition in the definitions, we cannot be deceived. Falsehood is in the mind in consequence of composition and division, but in the absolute consideration of the quiddity of any thing which can be known by itself, the intelligence is never deceived."**

It is important to remark the judgment of the middle ages respecting the value of human reason, in order that we may appreciate the wisdom of the clean of heart in steering clear of the opposite errors into which men of genius, in later times, have so often fallen. " It is not by any of my senses," says Augustin, " that I have known the things which are signified by the words of the question, if a thing be ? or what is it ? Nor have I seen them any where, excepting in my mind. Let me hear, then, how came they there ? for in vain do I inquire of all my senses, to discover by what gate they entered. If they were colored, or had

* Henric. Gand. tom. i. art. i. q. 11. f. 8. † De Civ. Dei, Lib. xi. 26.
‡ Stromat. Lib. ii. c. 4. § Rozevin sur la Certitude, chap. vii. ‖ Theorema. ii.
¶ Lib. 11. Sent. d. vii. q. 1. ** 1. P. q. 85. art. 7.

a sound, or a smell, or a taste, or could be touched, it would be easy to ascertain this point. I did not learn them on the testimony of any one, but in my own mind I discovered that they were true. There I laid them up as in a treasury, from which I could at any time draw them for my use, enabling me to answer directly, 'that is true,' or, 'it is so,' according to the proposition."*

How far the philosophers of the middle ages were from exaggerating the dignity of ratiocination, may be gathered from the words of St. Thomas, "that the certainty of reason comes from the intelligence, but the necessity for reason from the imperfection of the intelligence;"†—an observation which is otherwise expressed by a modern philosopher, who says, "To God all truth is as by intuition; by us truth is only apprehended through the slow and toilsome process of comparison. In some of our capacities we may perhaps exhibit a faint shadow of a portion of our Maker's image; but in the reasoning power, of which we sometimes vainly boast, we bear to him, I believe, no resemblance whatever."‡ Bayle himself acknowledges that "there is no one who, in making use of his reason, does not stand in need of God's assistance; without which," he continues, "it is a deceitful guide; for it may be compared to one of those corrosive powers which, after consuming the dead flesh of a wound, would continue to eat into the living, would excavate the bones, and pierce even to the marrow. At first it refutes errors; but, if it be not stopped there, it attacks truths; and when it has liberty, it goes so far that it no longer knows where it is, nor can it find any rest." "Reason," says St. Thomas, "sometimes accepts as true that which is an obstacle to the knowledge of truth."§

On the other hand, the opposite error was avoided with equal sagacity. "It is manifest," says St. Thomas, "that, according to the divine law, man is to observe the order of reason in all things which can come under its use."‖ "The light of reason," he says elsewhere, "by which we know principles, has been placed in us by God, as a kind of image of uncreated truth which is reflected in us. Thus all human doctrine must draw its efficacy from the virtue of this light. 'Dicitur intelligere quasi intus legere, to consult the interior light of reason.' Manifestly it is God alone who teaches inwardly; to whose operations St. Augustin alludes, saying, 'Noli foras ire; in te ipsum redi; in interiore homine habitat veritas.'"¶

"Not reason, but false reason, is to be guarded against and detested," says Henry of Ghent; "for if their reason," he continues, "had been true, the heretics would not have erred through it; and as we ought not to avoid all words because there is such a thing as falsehood, so we ought not to neglect reason because there is a false reason."**

St. Augustin, in writing against the Academicians, appeals constantly to the

* Confess. † 2. 2. q, 49. art. 5. ad 2. ‡ Sedgwick on the Studies of the Universit. 13.
§ Qu. vi. art. 1. ‖ Con. Gentes, iii. 128. ¶ De Ver. Relig. ** Hen. Gand. 1. art. x. q. 111.

light of individual reason, as having in itself that which cannot be doubted.* "To accept true things for false," saith he, "that he should err unwillingly, is not the nature of man, as formed, but it is the penalty of man condemned."† With this judgment St. Thomas agrees, saying, "In the state of innocence not only there could not be error, but there could not be even the least false opinion."‡ Therefore, the influence of purity of heart upon the intelligence, which restores man to that state in some measure, can explain many points of contrast in the philosophic history of ages of faith, and of later times. St. Thomas held that it could be shown by natural reason that human souls were incorruptible. Duns Scotus, indeed, maintained the contrary; but, as Melchior Canus observes, alluding only to mathematical demonstration. However, he seems to hold that no certain truth can be known naturally by the intelligence of man, wayfaring, without a special illustration of uncreated light.§ This opinion, joined with his maxim that necessary knowledge was never wanting to the human race,‖ can nevertheless afford but little support to the doctrine maintained in the seventeenth century by Pelisson,¶ that the grounds of certainty lay in the universal and not in the individual reason of men;—an opinion which some eloquent writers have revived in later times, both in France and Italy; but this controversy, which we have lived to see set at rest, did not agitate the middle ages. There is nothing, as Rozevin observes, in the holy Scripture, or in the decisions of the Church, or in the holy fathers, or in any theologian, to oblige us to recognize the infallible authority of the human race. Universal reason is an abstraction, and it is absurd to ascribe infallibility to an abstraction. St. Thomas says that "it is impossible that the intelligence of all men should be one."** He commences his sum of theology by demonstrating the existence of God and the divine perfections; and in his four books against the Gentiles, he proves, by way of demonstration, the truth of the Catholic religion; and nowhere does he allege the authority of the human race or of universal reason. He does not, indeed, say that men should acquire the certainty of these truths by way of demonstration, but only that they may so acquire it. He says that the existence of God is an article of faith only to him who has not the demonstration of it. The existence of God and other things similar, which one can know by natural reason, as is said in the Epistle to the Romans, are not articles of faith, but preliminaries to these articles; for faith presupposes natural knowledge, as grace presupposes nature: but nothing prevents what is itself susceptible of being demonstrated from being admitted as credible by one who does not possess the demonstration of it.††

We come now, therefore, to consider the other principle of certainty recognized in the ages involved in this history, namely, faith. Our reason sees with certain-

* Hen. Gand. 1. art. x. q. 73. † Id. de Lib. Arb. i. 3. c. 18. ‡ II. d. 23. q. 18. art. 6,
§ Duns Scot. in Lib. Sent. Lib. i. dist. iii. q. 4. ‖ Id. Prolog. q. 11.
¶ Réflexiones sur les Différends de la Religion, sect. xiii. ** P. i. q. 76. art. 2.
†† I. q. 2. art. 2. ad 1.

ty that it ought to believe in the divine authority manifested by miracles. "We who are of the faithful," says Richard of St. Victor, "hold nothing to be more certain than that which we apprehend by faith; for it has been divinely revealed to our fathers, and confirmed by so many great and admirable prodigies, that it seems a kind of madness in those who entertain any doubt whatever."* And again, "Truly to a faithful soul nothing ought to be more authentic than that which sounds on the lips of all confirmed by Catholic authority."† "The divine clemency," saith St. Thomas, 'hath provided that even those things which reason can demonstrate should be held by faith, for if one could arrive at the knowledge of God only by way of reason, the human race would remain in the darkness of a profound ignorance; because this knowledge, which is the principal means of rendering man good and perfect, would arrive only to a very few, and after a long space of time.‡ "There would follow," he says, "three inconveniences from holding that this kind of truth should be left to the discovery of reason: the first, that few men have the disposition and power of arriving by their reason at this highest degree; some being hindered by natural inability, some by occupations, and some by indolence: the second inconvenience is, that such a knowledge can only be acquired in this way after a long time, on account of the truth itself being so profound, and because in the season of youth the mind is not apt to acquire such knowledge; so that the human race would continue in the greatest darkness if it were only to acquire truth by means of reason—a way only possible to a few, and to them after a long time: the third inconvenience would be, that in all investigations of human reason much falsehood is mixed, arising from the weakness of our intellect and the crowd of phantoms: and therefore, those things would be left in doubt with many, which are capable of being truly demonstrated. So that it is necessary that truth concerning divine things should be exhibited to men, by the way of faith, with fixed certainty."

A late philosopher, though unconnected visibly with the Catholic school, speaks to the same effect, observing that "man, as a reasoning animal, must always have doubted of his immortality and plan of conduct; but that with faith there is immediate submission to a divine will, which we are sure is good."§

This important truth did not escape the penetrating mind of the ancient fathers; and we find Consentius alluding to it in his letter to St. Augustin: "If the faith of the holy church," he says, "were to be acquired by the way of disputation, and not by the piety of believing, no one besides the philosophers and orators could possess beatitude; but since it hath pleased God, who chooseth the weak things of the world to confound the strong, to save by the folly of preaching those who believe, not so much is reason to be acquired as is the authority of the saints to be followed."‖ An argument drawn from the same observations used by Pelis-

* Rich. S. Vict. de Trinitate, p. i. Lib. i. c. 2. † Id. i. iv. 20.
‡ Cont. Gentes, Lib. i. c. 4. § Sir H. Davy, Dialog. ii. 101. ‖ Epist. cx.

son, in reasoning with the supporters of the pretended reform. "Having rejected the authority of the Catholic Church, each individual amongst them," he remarks, "must examine not only the controversies of their time, but also all those which have ever been. Since this church has been so long deceived, they must begin to examine seriously whether they ought to be Arians, or Macedonians, or Nestorians, or Eutychians. These errors were embraced by very great men, full of genius and learning, and who had no wish to lose themselves. All heresies must be examined, for who knows which may not be right? There where eighty in the time of St. Epiphanius; St. Augustin reckoned ninety. You cannot condemn them without a hearing. Therefore, you must examine them all, one after the other; and to this study are bound alike the learned and the ignorant, by an equally indispensable obligation."*

"Certainty," says St. Thomas, "belongs both to science and faith; but there is this difference in the manner of their acquisition, that the certainty of faith is obtained by a divine light infused by God, and that the certainty of science is acquired by natural reason. However, as Rozevin observes, "Reason, whether individual or general, can never give us any thing but a human and natural certainty. One may have an entire and complete certainty of revelation, and believe in it, without having divine faith—that which is a gift of God, and which has all its certainty from God. Many enemies of religion have confessed, on their deathbeds, that they never doubted of the truth which they had combated. They had not divine faith; and if they had received it in their infancy, their rebellious reason had rejected it, through the perversity of their will. They had lost faith, without having lost certainty; like the demons, who have a complete certainty of the mysteries of faith, but no faith."†

Faith is a divine virtue infused, so that one act contrary suffices to destroy it; therefore, it is impossible to deny one article of faith, and continue to have a divine faith in any other. "Man," saith St. Thomas, "has received two sorts of good in his interior: the one appertains to human nature, and thus the natural law is engraven in him. This is his natural state. The other is added to the first by the gift of grace, and thus the new law is engraven in man, not only indicating to him what he ought to do, but also assisting him to do it;"‡ and this is his supernatural state.

The philosophers of the middle ages remark, that even in the former he cannot dispense with faith. "Human faith," says Melchior Canus, "is the way ordained by God, by which man is first brought to the use of reason, and the whole order and duration of human life depends upon it; so that they who would take away human faith from the minds of men are not only senseless, but, after the manner of the giants, they make war against the gods; that is, they contend with nature."§ But to the latter state faith is the first and only way of access.

* Rèflexions sur les Différends de la Religion, viii. † Chap. ix.
‡ 1. 2. q. 106. art. 1, ad 2. § Melch. Can. de Locis Theologicis, Lib. xi. cap. 4.

"It was necessary," says Richard of St. Victor, "that nature, which fell by believing, should rise again by believing; it fell by believing the serpent—it rises again by believing in the Redeemer, that what it lost by faith it may recover by faith."* "He who wishes to believe nothing," says St. Anselm, "unless with reason and understanding preceding, confounds the thing, and, wishing to know all things, believing nothing, annihilates the faith which is in him. But whoever approaches God must believe that he is, saith the Scripture; and the just liveth by faith."† Christ says, "He who believeth not is condemned." "This certainly is evident," adds the author of Theologia Germanica; "for man, who comes into this life, has no knowledge, nor can he come to knowledge, unless he first believes; and he who wishes to know before he believes, never comes to true knowledge."‡ Here the schoolmen observed, that the vision of God by faith in general is the exclusive privilege of men whose hearts are clean; since the acquisition or retention of faith presupposed a good will. St. Thomas shows that there "concurs to faith an intellectual habit, by which man is disposed to obey a will tending to divine truth; for the understanding assents to the truth of faith, not as if convinced by reason, but as if commanded by the will. 'Nullus enim credit nisi volens,' as Augustin saith."§ Duns Scotus also shows that there must be a certain habit infused into the will, in order that there should be faith in the intelligence; "for the intelligence," he says, "is not moved unless by two things co-operating— the object and the will; and the credible is not so efficacious that it should move the intelligence itself to assent; so that, to the end that the intelligence should assent, it is necessary that it should be moved by the will; but it cannot be moved by the will to assent to any thing supernatural, unless in the will there should be a certain habit supernaturally inclining to that volition. As, therefore, a supernatural habit of assent is requisite in the intelligence; so also is it necessary in the will that it should wish to assent."‖ "Therefore," concludes Henry of Ghent, "the beginning of faith requires an especial illumination, which, however, is offered to all men by God."¶

The principle of divine faith was neither in the general nor in the individual reason; for that would be giving a human foundation to a divine faith. It is an infused virtue, received in baptism. Was it asked how? Such an inquirer would have been told, in reply, that he must first explain how children come to discern between the noun and the verb, the substantive and the adjective, which neither they nor we can tell, so profound and hidden is the process. In the same manner, according to the remark of Bossuet, do we learn the language of the Church. A secret light conducts us in the one state, as in the other; there it is reason—here, faith. Reason develops itself by degrees, and so does faith infused in baptism. There must be motives to attach us to the authority of the Church.

* Ric. S. Vict. de Incarnatione Verbi, Lib. i. c. 9.
† S. Anselmi de Sacram. Alt. p ii. cap. 2. ‡ Cap. xlvi. § Q. cxi. art. 1.
‖ Duns Scot Lib. iii. sent. dist. xxv. q. 2. ¶ Hen. Gand. tom. i. art. 1. q. 11. f. 8.

God knows them, and we know them in general; but in what way he arranges them, and how he makes them perceptible to these innocent souls, is the secret of his Holy Spirit. But it is on this foundation that all is built. In course of time we know more distinctly why we believe. Scripture even will strengthen the bonds which attach us; but we must always come to the origin, that is, to believe on the authority of the Church. By that one commences and continues to believe in the Scripture; for St. Augustin was already consummate in ecclesiastical science when he said, that "he would not believe the Gospel if the authority of the Catholic Church did not oblige him."

In proportion as reason is unfolded, men may examine the motives of faith, not before they believe, or in order to believe, but while believing, and consequently without holding their faith in suspense, in the same manner as they can examine the motives on which the love and obedience of their parents are founded. So then God, as the author of nature, assists the infant mind by the way of authority, to come to the knowledge of language, of natural things, and of certain metaphysical truths; and in like manner, as the author of grace, he assists it under the influence of the Catholic rule, in which it is born and nourished, to acquire habitual faith, which begins from obedience to parents and instructors as the intermediate organs, and ends in the judgment of the reason consenting to truths as having been revealed by God, which is the formal motive of its faith. Consequently the Christian is never for a moment abandoned by the God of mercy to a state of doubt and incertitude, but is always secure and well grounded in his confidence, because the motives of his faith, always supremely reasonable, are presented to his reason in proportion as it is capable of discerning them; so that, appreciating them when arrived at maturity, every one is able to say with St. Basil, "Although, in other respects, our life furnishes matter for which we should mourn, yet for this one thing I am bold enough to glory in the Lord, that I never had false opinions respecting God, nor had to change my judgment from perceiving a former error; but the doctrine which I received from childhood, respecting God and his blessed Mother, and then what I received from my grandmother Macrina, I have preserved in myself, increased with just additions; for as my reason grew mature, I did not take up one opinion after another, but what I once received from them I finished and brought to perfection."*

We see, then, what was the office of reason in relation to faith: it was to confirm the lessons imparted to the innocent soul in baptism; it was, also, under the interior action of divine grace, to lead adult infidels to the faith in Jesus Christ, who are to be drawn by natural reason, by the law and the prophets, and the apostolic preaching; and further, it was to guard Christians themselves from heresy and schism; for, to cite but one instance, the authority of the church is to be proved against two sorts of adversaries: the one know not, or reject, reve-

* Epist. lxxix. ad Eustat. Sebast. Episcop.

lation and the existence of a church divinely established; the other admit the existence of revelation, and of a church of Jesus Christ; but they dispute only on the nature and qualities of this divine church. Against the first, theologians prove the divinity of the Christian church by the prophecies, by miracles, by the holiness of its doctrine, by the multitude of martyrs, by the fact of the establishment of this church, and of its propagation; against the second, they prove the nature and qualities of the church by the marks contained in the symbol of Nice as being generally received by all Christians, and by the testimony of those very Scriptures whose authority is received by all.

This leads us at once to the solution of the question respecting the limits and encouragement given to the spirit of inquiry in ages of faith. The distinction between the philosophy of inquisition and that of demonstration will explain the difference in the language of the ancient fathers respecting philosophy. Degerando says that some of them received and others rejected philosophy. This is an accuracy; for all the fathers rejected the philosophy of inquisition, applied to religious and moral truth, and all embraced that of demonstration, which was to demonstrate, explain, and illustrate truth already known.

Melchior Canus, showing the importance of the study of philosophy in the ecclesiastical school, appeals to the example of its early doctors, Dydymus, Justin, Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Damascenus, and Augustin:* but philosophy in the church played the part only of a servant. Jesus Christ left no other philosophy to it but the Gospel, instituted no other school but that to which one enters by baptism, threw no other light on the question of certainty than by purifying the heart of man by the almighty power of divine grace. But if the philosophy of inquisition was thus excluded from the sphere of religious truth, that of demonstration and development was judged useful, and adopted by the church. For such purpose she did not reject the service even of the Gentile philosophy. "Unlike," says Lacordaire, "that proconsul who feared the shade of Marius seated on the broken walls of Carthage, she did not drive from the ruins of the world the humiliated wrecks of human wisdom. She respected the reason of man in his fall, and held out to him, to the bottom of the abyss, a hand worthy of eternal love." The ancient learning was cultivated by her doctors with such care, that St. Jerome says "they imbued their books with so many of the sentences of the philosophers, that you would not know what you ought to admire most in them, their secular erudition or their knowledge of the Scriptures."† The defence of natural truths by natural arguments, and of revealed truths by divine arguments, was the philosophy of ages of faith. With Christians, the philosophy of inquisition, within the latter sphere, was rejected not only as vain and unprofitable, but also as utterly inconsistent with the Christian profession, and moreover, subversive of the very idea of faith according to the doctrine of all

* De Locis Theologicis, Lib. x. † Ad Mag.

antiquity ; * for as the Master of the Sentences saith, following St. Gregory, " Fides non habet meritum, ubi humana ratio præbet experimentum."†

There are, in fact, two orders of intelligence amongst men, that which submits to authority in relation to God, as man was appointed in the state of innocence, and that which inquires and judges for itself, like Adam in his fall : the one prompts them to say with the Jews, " This is a hard saying, who can hear it ?" the other to reply with St. Peter, " Whither should we go ?" Ask the modern teacher what he holds, because he has received it ? No, it is because he has examined for himself, and resolved to hold it. He speaks of himself, though the Holy Ghost speaks not of himself ; but what things he has received, those he speaketh. Christians, besides, had no occasion for applying to philosophy to discover truths already known, defined, and certain. In that respect, " to despise philosophy, was," as Paschal says, " truly to philosophize." The scholastic doctors, following the holy fathers, adhered strictly to the important maxim of the ancients, " propriis argumentis pertractandam unamquamque rem esse." In theology, they loved antiquity, as Paschal says, because they loved truth, and truth was in antiquity ; but in matters of physical science they loved, or at least permitted, novelty, because knowledge was by experiment ; and that they did so, is a fact which historical research will only confirm ; for the story circulated by Kepler and others, of the deposition of Virgil from the see of Salzburg in the eighth century, by Pope Zachary, for holding the existence of antipodes, is now admitted to be false. And, whatever modern English biographers may say, we have already seen that it was not for attacking and refuting the Aristotelian dogmas respecting motion that Galileo suffered the persecution, which consisted in his being placed under some slight restrictions, first in the palace of Nicolini, the ambassador of his own sovereign, the duke of Tuscany, and afterwards in the country seat of archbishop Piccolomini, one of his own warmest friends ; but that the proceedings of the congregations against the new theory of the earth, which interfered not with the scientific question, arose from a pious though incautious solicitude to guard against the publication of an absolute contradiction to texts of Scripture, at a time when the public mind was not prepared for having the authenticity of Scripture made identical with an interpretation which was not literal. Their method of theology, however, was sufficient to account for the animosity with which the innovators of the sixteenth century waged war against them. " It was not," says Ventura, " the universals and categories which offended Luther, but the principles of the scholastic discipline ; for, though not very acute, he saw clearly enough that the faith of the world could not be overthrown until the experimental philosophy had been applied to morals, and the method of inquiry within the sphere of theology made to supersede that of dem-

* Vide. Suarez de Fide.

† Pet. Lomb. Lib. iv. dist. xi.

‡ Whewell, Hist. Induct. Science, i. 256.

onstration. In vain did Melancthon remind him that this was to destroy not alone the Roman faith, but all the foundations of religious truth ; in vain, with all his strength, did he labor to maintain a ' reformed scholastic philosophy :' the current was too strong for his feeble arms to stem it. Philosophy and religion were to be reformed thoroughly at the same time, by declaring that in both the one thing essential was inquiry and experiment. The combat between nominalism and realism, which had been going on from the time of Occam with a preponderance of the former, prepared the way for a complete separation between theology and philosophy, which had been maintained in perfect coalition till the end of the fourteenth century, while realism reigned. The new division of the sciences, under an illustrious name, became general ; and the ancient method in philosophy, so essentially wise and Christian, was abandoned to make way for the introduction of observation and experiment, as the fountains not alone of natural science, but of all knowledge.

" The successful results of our experiments and reasonings in natural philosophy," says an illustrious philosopher of our time, " and the incalculable advantages which experience, systematically consulted and dispassionately reasoned on, has conferred in matters purely physical, tend of necessity to impress something of the well-weighed and progressive character of science on the more complicated conduct of our social and moral relations. It is thus that legislation and politics" —and he might certainly have added, religion—" became gradually regarded as experimental sciences, and history as the archive of experiments successful and unsuccessful, accumulating towards the solution of the grand problem." I say he might have included religion in the list, for innovation in regard to it was pursued from the first, by men cherishing as a vital principle an unbounded spirit of inquiry and ardency of expectation. Accordingly the heathen style was once more revived. All books were now—" Inquisitiones philosophicæ ;" or, " de invenienda veritate." The prayers offered in the new temples besought God to grant them in this world the knowledge of his truth, as if a new and special revelation were to be expected, and as if truth had not been made visible to him that runs. Hence began to prevail a language respecting the toleration of all opinions, which alarmed those who rested their own on a human authority, who complained that " scarcely any man out of the bosom of the Romish Church now dared to speak as if he were sure that he was right." The complaint, indeed, argued great inconsistency ; but the observation was just, for the general language, whatever one may choose to say of it, had unquestionably more resemblance to that of the heathen Academy than to the apostolic doctrine. " Nos, qui sequemur probabilia, nec ultra quam id quod verisimile occurrerit, progredi possumus, et refellere sine pertinacia, et refelli sine iracundia parati sumus."*

These words of Cicero are precisely similar to the language of the most eminent

* Tuscul. ii. 2.

writers who now came forward as Christians. Amiable and admirable may be the sentiment expressed ; but nothing, also, can place in a stronger light the fact that it owes its virtue to a change of circumstances, and that the modern philosophy rests upon a totally different foundation from that which was laid by the apostles. Meanwhile a separation was made between philosophy and religion, though to both the one method was applied. The new masters began by saying, " We have now no need of authority ; no regard is to be shown to councils or the testimony of the fathers ; but all things are to be examined and proved, and only what seems good to be held fast. Let us suppose, then, that as yet we know nothing, not even whether God exist or not, or what is the cause and end of things." " I remember," says an Italian philosopher, " when I first heard this language, as a pious youth, I was seized with astonishment, and I said, to myself, ' If these things are already known, what need of searching farther ? Is reason to be preferred to faith ?—the words of a professor to my catechism ?' " It was easy to anticipate what would be the result of such discipline. Obedience to faith was confounded with a foolish credulity and a false philosophic method. Rustics, workmen, servants, poor people, and women, were all looked upon as an unenlightened race—mutum et turpe pecus—no one cared for their opinions ; while the proud inquirers, who believed themselves the arbiters and judges of all truth, who had rejected all authority and all external testimonies at vulgar prejudices, had after all done nothing but revive the pantheism, materialism, and scepticism of the oriental and Greek philosophy ; and indeed, it was not a dissimilarity of positions and of facts which prevented men from hearing a voice from the cities and academies which were styled the centres of this modern light, like that of the ancients in days of their confusion, exclaiming, " Who does not admire the wisdom of the people that we call barbarians ? Never did they call in question whether there was a Divine Power or not, or whether it did or did not take an interest in human affairs. No Indian, no Celt, no Egyptian, ever imagined a system like that of Evhemerus of Messena, or Diogenes of Phrygia, of Hippo, of Diagoras, of Sosias, and Epicurus." Some, on the one hand, alarmed at the prospect of interminable discussions and endless inquiry, and on the other opening their eyes to the fact that the great majority of mankind think not for themselves, tried to establish an authority in place of that which was overthrown. They seemed desirous of retaining the dignity of a name, when they had departed from the thing. Calvin himself mutilated his own book, and changed many parts of it when he began to govern. So, after renouncing all regard to what the fathers had decided in holy councils, these men adopted, instead of canons possessing a real authority where reason was heard, that which might be denominated a Greek invocation to call fools into a circle. They made themselves a fearful monument ! —the wreck of old convictions, things transmitted from saintly ancestors, maimed rites disfigured and abused. But it was soon evident that confusion's cure lives not in these confusions. Their motive was plain enough : all they sought

was a return to something like stability—like common sense. Hence Europe beheld some kings and queens who, as Malebranche remarked, had more power over the spiritual than over the temporal affairs of their subjects, though the advocates of this system at the present day seem to say that its head could not have exercised his functions unless he were despotic even in the latter; for these unhappy nations, caring less to preserve their faith than their earthly treasures, easily entered into the views of their princes, provided they were not contrary to their temporal interests." But, inconsistent as our nature is, such an authority was like sand to stem a torrent; the human intelligence could not be bound by it; and, in fact, as a modern writer observes, "it is more honorable to the head as well as to the heart to be misled by over eagerness in the pursuit of truth, than to be safe from blundering by contempt of it." In our days this mound, the work of King, Lords, and Commons, has given way on all sides, as its warmest well-wishers acknowledge; confessing with Knox, in his late work, that unbounded liberty has become, even with those who are appointed to keep it in repair, a second nature. They say true; and many, therefore, seem to think that "vast confusion waits, as doth a raven on a sick-fallen beast, the imminent decay of wrested pomp." The real inquirers had, indeed, from the first, gone on as in pagan times, verifying the remark of Cicero, that some proverbs of the people are more true than the dogmas of some philosophers;* and often justifying his indignant exclamation, "Hæc non turpe est, dubitare philosophos quæ ne rustici quidem dubitent?"†

As the Pythagoreans thought to set out from numbers, the Socratics from ignorance, the Platonists from innate ideas, the Aristotelians from experiment; so among the moderns, Leibnitz places the foundation in dogmas, Spinoza in absolute identity, Berkeley in interior reflection, Locke in sensation and reflection, Kant in criticism or pure reason, Fitscher in mysticism, Stewart in sincretism, Degerando in a certain new empiricism. As soon as one philosopher lays a foundation, another comes and undermines his structure. One requires that you prove experience to be valid, another that you prove evidence, another desires you to prove the possibility of any knowledge whatever. Every time that a philosopher believes he has placed a deeper base than his predecessors, there immediately comes a thinker who sinks deeper still, and places a new doubt on this base: so that, as Tertullian says, "Plus diversitatis invenies inter philosophos, quam societatis."‡ It is, therefore, again as at Athens, when, as St. Augustin says, "disciples of the same Socrates would dispute about the first principles of philosophy, all being divided, no two thinking alike, no not respecting lands, or houses, or money affairs, or the things which make men live miserably or well. Not in vain," he adds, "such a state was called the mystic Babylon, for the word Babylon means confusion,"§ a reading which should be pressed upon the atten-

* De Finibus, ii. 31. † De Officiis, iii. 19. ‡ De Animâ. § De Civ. Dei, xviii. 41.

tion of the next expositor of the Apocalypse, who shall interpret it as Rome—that source of order for the world.

What line of argument then did they take who wished to represent this mystic Babylon as the Church of Jesus Christ? Truly they revived an old error, and asserted that the unity of faith meant a unity in the right of individual dissent. These, therefore, without evincing despair, maintained that it was unphilosophical to seek certainty excepting in the sciences, and ridiculed Duns Scotus for saying that "As the end of the journey is intended by him who walks, so the exclusion of doubt is the end intended by every one who speculates respecting truth:"* others on the contrary revived the notion of the ancients, saying that all which seems is true, whom St. Thomas had already confuted, remarking "that to suppose all judgments true would be as absurd as to affirm that if one, whose taste was sound, should judge honey to be sweet, he would judge truly; and in like manner if another whose taste was infected, should judge it to be bitter, he too would judge truly; whence it would follow that all opinions were equally true,"† an error disclaimed even by Gentiles, as by Cicero, saying of the various opinions of philosophers, "Quorum opiniones cum tam variæ sint, tamque inter se dissidentes; alterum fieri profecto potest, ut earum nulla; alterum certe non potest, ut plus una vera sit."‡

What is still more deplorable, the multitude were, in the mean while, left as much unprovided with any true ground of certainty as the investigators themselves. Some took refuge in the persuasion that alleged grace may give certainty, which put an end at once to reasoning, for the most imbecile and ignorant reader, after violating all the natural rules of good sense, may laugh at us when we are unable to comprehend what he believes or wishes to believe. "It is that I have grace and you have not," he will reply, which is certainly a very short way to sustain all errors; but such a principle, wretched as it was, could only deceive a small number: the multitude could never adopt it as the basis of their certainty. The spirit of confusion and giddiness which possessed men, when first these opinions became general, is a matter of history: no one knew what to hold or maintain. The Palatinate changed its religion five times in the course of one century.§ All indeed were of opinion that their particular view was certain and clear; but, as Pelisson remarks, "a doctrine could not be very plain when two men of great talents and knowledge, both, as they tell us, 'raised up by God to re-establish the state of the Church,' both taking the Scriptures for their rule of faith, came to a contrary conclusion resp ting it, when their followers too, all enlightened philosophic men, all likewise, raised up by God to continue the great work of re-establishing the state of the Church, have not been able to agree together for three hundred years."

* Duns Scot. Metaph. Lib. iii. c. 1.
† P. i. qlxxxv. art. 2.
‡ De Nat. Deorum, Lib. i. c. 2.
§ Jerusalem and Babel.

The people, therefore, thrown upon a wide sea of doubt, and driven hither and thither by every wind of novel doctrine, presented a strange and fearful spectacle, that might well have awakened salutary thoughts in erring breasts, for how could such a result be reconciled with the fact of the Christian revelation ? The world had been for a long time divided between two religions, the Pagan and the Judaic—the one a religion of uncertainty, the other one of certainty : a probability was all that any one could hope to discern under the first, for the wisest of the Greeks could only be said by his disciple to have chosen a manner of debate most likely to discover to him what was nearest or most like to truth—"quid veri simillimum esset;"* while the latter, receiving all moral truths from divine tradition, had no occasion to seek elsewhere, among the opinions of men, for what they already possessed. The Messiah came who was to perfect this latter : every thing was finished, every thing established. By what terrible and unaccountable adventure, or by what sudden change of the divine will, did he suffer men to fall back again into that region of uncertainty from which he had drawn them ?

We have seen, in general, what part was allotted to philosophy in ages of faith, with regard to religion and moral truths. The holy fathers and the scholastic doctors received philosophy in this sphere, as the humble attendant upon theology, and as only concerned with declaring, developing, explaining, and demonstrating the truth already known. It constituted the scientific knowledge of what, without it, was simply known. The simple knowledge of duty and truth belonged to all, but the science of these to only a few, and scholastic philosophy was nothing else but the scientific knowledge of those things which, otherwise, were known simply by every one.

The scholastic wisdom was faith combined with criticism, ascetic piety with the most accurate judgment, formed upon psychological observations. "Thine eye," says Hugo of St. Victor, "can see nothing well unless it see itself."† "One thing is faith," he says elsewhere, "and another is the knowledge of faith : the knowledge of faith can exist without faith, and many believe without having the knowledge of all the things which they believe ; but they know those who have that knowledge, and by adhering to the perfect they are saved.—Boves arabant, ic asinæ pascebantur juxta eos."‡ Here then we see the great use of the scholastic method, why it is so precious to the church and so formidable to its adversaries. "In a word," says Berthier, "it serves to fix the sense of revelation, and to unravel the artificial language of an innovator. In itself, scholastic theology, or philosophy, is nothing but the doctrine of Scripture and tradition, treated according to dialectic method. The method is only the instrument accessary, the doctrine is the foundation and the substance,"§ so that a St. Thomas did not

* Tuscul. i. 4. † De Arrha Animæ. ‡ Hug. S. Vict. Eruditionis Theolog. Lib. i. tit. 18.
§ Discours sur les Etudes aux Siècles xii. xiii. xiv. xv. Hist. de l'Eglise, xiv.

differ from a simple disciple of the Christian faith, in that he had discovered more truths, or in that he held them with a firmer assent, for the same faith belonged to all, and the same motive, the authority of God speaking by the Church, and therefore, with the same firmness and alacrity every intelligence was alike captivated to the obedience of faith, but the difference consisted in this only, that as the simple disciples knew and held truths revealed by God, the scholastic had learned to perceive the causes and reasons of the doctrines, and were able to demonstrate their origin and to overthrow the objections of heretics.* This apparent limitation was, however, in reality an extension of the powers of philosophy, for "authority," as St. Augustin says in his treatise on true religion, "requires docility, and conducts man to reason;" and as Bonald says, "so far from man discovering truth by the sole force of his reason, he has not reason until he has known truth."† St. Augustin speaks elsewhere still more explicitly: "Although man," saith he, "cannot believe in God if he does not comprehend something, nevertheless this same faith, by which he believes, gives him strength to comprehend more truth; for there are some things which we do not believe before comprehending them, and there are others which we do not comprehend before we believe in them."

This philosophy of demonstration or development was not only permitted, but promoted with every possible encouragement during the ages of faith, so that nothing but the unavoidable interruption, arising from wars and the invasions of barbarians, caused it any impediment. It constituted, in fact, the study and employment of learned Christians in all ages. Though the actual finding of truth is only effected by the Son of God, yet philosophy, as Clemens Alexandrinus says, was considered one of the means which conduce to its attainment.‡

St. Augustin writes to Consentius, desiring that "those things which he holds with the firmness of faith, he may be able also to behold with the light of reason." "Forbid it," he says, "that God should hate in us that which renders us more excellent than other animals." "Forbid it," I say, "that we should believe, in order that we should not accept reason, or inquire, when we could not even believe unless we had rational souls." To show, therefore, that right reason is never in opposition with revealed truth, is the grand object of St. Thomas, in his admirable work against the Gentiles—"The things," saith he, "which are naturally imprinted in reason, are so manifestly true, that it is impossible to suppose them false; and what is held by faith, is so evidently confirmed by the testimony of God, that it is not allowed to believe it false. Since then, falsehood alone is contrary to truth, it is impossible that the truth of faith should be contrary to the principles which reason naturally acknowledges."§ Hence the Summa Sententiarum of Hugo of St. Victor, begins with the words of St. Peter:

* Ventura de Methodo Philosophandi, cap. ii. a. 1. † Legislation prim. i. 354.
‡ Stromat. Lib. i. c. 20. § S. Thom. Gentes, Lib. i. c. 7.

"We ought to be ready to give to every one that asks a reason of the faith and hope which is in us." Pregnant words, to which must be ascribed the whole scholastic philosophy.

St. Anselm shows the importance which was attached to such studies in his time, and his words are very remarkable, as showing what clear and accurate notions were then generally entertained, with regard to the method of philosophy. "I am often desired by many," he says, "to commit to writing the reasons which I am accustomed to render concerning our faith to persons who inquire respecting it; for they say that these reasons please and satisfy them, which they desire, not that by reason they should approach to faith, but that they may be delighted with the contemplation of these things, which they believe, with their intelligence, and also in order that they may be always prepared to give a reason to every one who asks of the hope which is in us."* He then lays down the rule in these terms, "as the right order requires that we should believe the profound things of the Christian faith, before we presume to discuss them by reason; so it would seem to me negligence, if after we are confirmed in the faith, we should not study to understand what we believe. Therefore," he continues, "since I see your importunity, I will endeavor, by God's assistance, and by the aid of your prayers, not so much to show what you seek, as to inquire with you concerning it." On further interrogation, he makes the disputant say, "this I ask, not that you should confirm me in faith, but that me, who am confirmed, you should make joyful, by the understanding of that truth."† Richard of St. Victor speaks to the same effect—"We should endeavor," he says, "always, as far as is lawful or possible to comprehend by reason what we hold by faith;"‡ and again, says he, elsewhere, "if we do not believe we cannot understand; knowledge must enter by faith; it must not indeed rest in the entrance, but always it should hasten on to interior and profound things, and by every study and diligence provide that we may be able to advance daily in the understanding of these things, which we hold by faith; these are the best riches, these are eternal delights."§ Similarly speaks Henry of Ghent, quoting St. Augustin, "ita enim jam sum affectus, ut quod sit verum non credere solum, sed etiam intelligendo apprehendere desiderem." In this sense, therefore, it is evident that the scholastic philosophers would have readily assented to the sentence of Lord Bacon, that "the use of human reason in religion extendeth to the mysteries themselves. But how? By way of illustration and not by way of argument." Not even the boldest logician, who carried natural argument the farthest in theology, attempted to justify their employment of reason, on any other grounds. The friends of Abailard took care to show that it was from his having to refute the heretical opinions of Roscelin, who appealed to reason and philosophy, that he was obliged in his reply

* Cur Deus Homo, Lib. i. c. 1.

† Ib. 2. c. 15.

‡ Ric. S. Vict. Allegoriæ Faber fœd.

§ Id. de Trinitate. p. i. Lib. i. c. 3.

to have recourse to the same authorities, and that when he was censured by some for so doing, he had excused himself by citing the example of St. Jerome and other fathers, and by observing that not only a theologian, but a simple Christian, was obliged to give a reason for his faith, and to convince pagans, Jews, and heretics, that we hold nothing contrary to good sense and reason, and that for this purpose the thoughts of the ancient philosophers might be brought forward with great utility.*

"The great ascetic teachers themselves conformed to this discipline:" Wadding remarks, "that St. Bonaventura always employed philosophy and human sciences to defend the dogmas of the Catholic faith."† Who more opposed to the philosophy of the world, than the friar Savonarola, and yet in his work on the Triumph of the Cross, he shows, by the light of reason, that there is nothing contrary to reason in the faith of the Catholic Church—that her belief concerning sanctification is not irrational—that her judicial doctrine is not irrational—that the institution of seven sacraments is not irrational—that the doctrine of the Eucharist in particular is not irrational—that the rites connected with the sacraments are not irrational—that the ceremonies of the Church generally are not irrational.‡ And the principle of his work he explains, saying, "that they are to be especially commended, who having first embraced faith by the divine inspiration, afterwards endeavor to confirm others in it, by adducing reasons of this faith and hope according to the exhortation of Peter, the prince of the apostles, and of our Lord Christ."

Such being then the object and method of philosophy, during these ages, it is obvious that the human reason so far from being confined and clogged by the Christian discipline, was delivered by it from innumerable obstacles, and left free to exercise itself over an immeasurable range of subjects, comprising every thing which could yield the mind of man utility or satisfaction.

The objects of the fathers' philosophy are God, the relation of God to the world, and of men to God. In treating on the first, it was shown that there is a threefold knowledge of God, through the image, resemblance, or representation of God—through external nature, and through revelation. Examples of the physico-theological cosmology, to be found in the fathers, occur in St. Gregory Naziazen's twenty-fourth Oration, and in the Treatise on the Orthodox Faith, by St. John Damascenus.§ In the works of St. Augustin are found arguments from ontology,‖ and from ethics.¶ The relation of God to the world was shown in the history of the Creation, which was advanced against Manichæans and Gnostics by St. Augustin and St. Athanasius. In the eternal foreknowledge of God,** proof was found to refute the astrological and stoic fate;†† and the omniscience of

* Vie d'Abeill. Lib. 11. †Ann. Min. tom. iv. 143.
‡ Savonarol. Triumph. Crucis, sive de Veritate Fidei, Lib. iii. 8. § Lib. i. 3.
‖ De Lib. Arbitrio, Lib. ii. 5. 15. ¶ De Trin. Lib. viii. 3. ** Lactant. de Ira Dei.
†† August. de Civ. D. v. 9.

God was shown to be reconcilable with human freedom. The origin of evil was placed in man's freedom and the power of wicked spirits.* Man was considered in relation to body, soul, and spirit, by St. Justin and the early fathers ; the soul, however, was shown to be spiritual by Nemesius, Augustin,† and by Claudius Mamertinus of Vienne :‡ immortality was ascribed to it either essentially, as by St. Augustin, or as a free gift of God, as by St. Justin and Arnobius. Of ethics, or the relation of men to God, the foundation is shown to be the divine will, subjective or objective, and from the side of men, obedience. The knowledge of duty is from revelation, and its motives are the fear of God's power,§ the hope of salvation,‖ and the disinterested or mystic love of the highest good, according to St. Augustin, whom Tennemann styles the greatest thinker of the Latin fathers, who desired to unite in one living spirit mysticism and dialectics.

The scholastic philosophy is supposed to have commenced in the Palatine schools, founded by Charlemagne, in which, according to the system of Marcianus Capella, Cassiodorus, and Bede, were taught the seven liberal arts, the division of which, Hugo de St. Victor says is traced to Pythagoras ;¶ and between which he says " there is such a coherence that where one is wanting the others cannot make a philosopher."** Grammar, rhetoric, and dialectics, formed the trivium ; geometry, arithmetic, astrology, and music, the quadrivium. In the Palatine, as well as in the monastic schools, and subsequently in the universities, were taught theology and philosophy, with great zeal and perseverance, and as Tennemann says, " an intense interest for the perfection of the intelligence and of the attainment of knowledge in union with faith."†† The rules given for the conduct of instruction and the practice of the schools, confirm all these statements respecting the method of philosophy in the middle ages.

" Philosophic teaching," as Alanus de Insuns defines preaching, " was an instruction to form men by the rule of reason, emanating from the fountain of authority. This ought to be its form," adds the universal Doctor, " that it should take its beginning from theological authority, as from its proper foundation, from the Gospels, Psalms, and Epistles of Paul ; but occasionally may be inserted the sayings of the Gentiles, and the authority of the philosophers."‡‡ The great scholastics of the middle ages taught in the ancient manners, as described by St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, who had been a disciple of Origen ; he used to begin,

* Tertull, August, Origen S J. Damas. † De Quantitate Animæ. c. 1.
‡ De Statu Animæ, iii. § Tertul. De Pœnit. 4. ‖ Lactant. Lib. iii. c. 2.
¶ Eruditionis Didasc. Lib. iii. 3. ** Id. Lib. iii. c. 5.
††In General see Cæs. Bulæi Hist. Universitat Paris, vol. vi. Crevier, Hist. de l'Universit. Paris, vol. vii. Launojus de Celebrioribus Scholis, and de Varia Aristot. Fortuna in Acad. Paris. Thomasius de Doctoribus Scholasticis. Melchior Canus. Fabricii Bibl. Lat. Mediæ et Inf. Ætatis. Tiedemann's Gesch. der Speculat. Philosophie, iv. v. Buhle's Lehrb. des Gesch. der Philos. viii. ix. Tennemann's Gesch. der Philos. viii. ix. Frhr. von. Eberstein Natürliche Theologie der Scholastiker Leipz. 1803. Cuvier. Hist. de la Philosophie.
‡‡ Alani de Insulis summa de Arte, Prædicatoria, cap. 1.

we are told, with the praises of philosophy, that is, of true wisdom, which consisted in the knowledge of one's self, and of the end for which one came into the world. He then censured the ignorance and blindness of those who were indifferent to instruction, and showed that philosophy was necessary to the attainment of true piety. In proceeding without any air of disputation, he used to testify a goodness and affection, as a man who sought not to conquer them in argument, but to save them and to communicate to them real good. He was not content with giving superficial instructions; he used to dig deep and penetrate into their minds, interrogating, and then replying to them in the Socratic manner. After having prepared and excited them to receive instruction, he used to begin with teaching the use of a solid logic; he next directed them to physical science, to mathematics, geometry, and astronomy, which would lead them to consider the power and wisdom of the Creator; and, lastly, to ethics, which he treated not in a dry abstract manner, but by examples, and causing them to make observations upon their own internal movements. After these studies he led them to theology, as the most necessary, and caused them to read all that had been written by the ancients, whether Greeks or barbarians, in order that they might know the strong and the weak side of all opinions, and learn what utility could be drawn from each sect; but he exhorted them to attach themselvss to no one philosopher, but to God alone, and to his prophets: he then explained the holy Scriptures, of which he was the most learned interpreter of the time. At the mere announcement of the parts of such high discourse, methinks, reader, I can read contentment in thy looks; but what follows next will please thee more. For from this point we proceed to show that the philosophy of the clean of heart was exempt from the evils of the tree whereof Eve tasted; that its spirit was humble, its tendency practical and living, its expression clear, not with confusion mixed, its form beauteous, so as to warm the imagination with poetic flame, while the intelligence found what was solid and exact. Finally, we shall observe, that it was Catholic, and endued with virtue to awake and strengthen all generous and noble affections. To what I now disclose, be thy clear ken directed; and thou plainly shalt behold who were the guides that could conduct the world to its true light, and to the vision which is the recompense of faith.

CHAPTER X.

ERITIS sicut Dii," were the Serpent's words in paradise, which caused the rational creature to fall from its happy state ; and the secret voice in the wilderness of this lower world, which continues to entail misery on the human race, is but their echo. "You shall be as gods," and men believe the promise. Homer, if we admit the opinion of Cicero, seems to have discerned this fact in speaking of the song of the Syrens ; for it was not by the novelty or variety of their music, that they were accustomed to draw back those, who were sailing by ; but it was their professing to know many things that caused men to adhere to their rocks, by the desire of knowledge ; for thus they invite Ulysses :

Δεῦρ' ἄγ' ἰών, πολύαιν' Ὀδυσεῦ, μέγα κῦδος Ἀχαιῶν,
Νῆα κατάστησον, ἵνα νωϊτέρην ὄπ' ἀκούσῃς.
Οὐ γάρ πώ τις τῇδε παρήλασε νηΐ μελαίνῃ,
Πρίν γ' ἡμέων μελίγηρυν ἀπὸ στομάτων ὄπ' ἀκοῦσαι
Ἀλλ' ὅγε τερψάμενος νεῖται καὶ πλείονα εἰδώς.
Ἴδμεν γάρ τοι πάνθ', ὅσ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ εὐρείῃ
Ἄργεῖοι, Τρῶές τε, θεῶν ἰότητι μόγησαν.
*Ἴδμεν δ', ὅσσα γένηται ἐπὶ χθονὶ πολυβοτείρῃ.**

"Homer saw," says the philosopher, "that the fable could not be credible, if such a man were retained by some little songs ; they promised knowledge."† How profoundly the clean of heart, in ages of faith, had estimated the danger, may be witnessed in all their writings, which had relation to philosophy. "All heretics in general," says St. Augustin, "are deceived by the promise of science, and condemn those whom they find simply believing."‡ "From consulting the holy Scriptures," he says, "it appears that the demons have been so named, on account of their science ; the demons have science, but without charity, and hence they are puffed up with monstrous pride.§" This is all that they can give thee, Christians, now in the garden of the Church ; now once more happy as in paradise, if ye seek no happier state, and know to know no more.

"It is a great height of science," says Richard of St. Victor, "perfectly to know one's self. A great and lofty mountain is the full knowlege of the rational

* Od. M. 184.
† De Finibus Bonor, et Mal. Lib. v. 18.
‡ Lib. ii. de Gen. contra Manich. 25.
§ Id. de Civit. Dei, Lib. ix. 20.

spirit; that mountain surpasses the summit of all worldly sciences, and from aloft looks down upon all philosophy. What found Aristotle, or Plato, and what did the crowd of philosophers find? Truly, and without doubt, if they had ascended this mountain to find themselves, the study would have been sufficient for them."* It was for this end that Pope Innocent III. wrote his Treatise on the Contempt of the World, and the Misery of the Human Condition; for hear what he says himself, "ad deprimendam superbiam, quæ caput est omnium vitiorum, vilitatem humanæ conditionis utcunque descripsi."† The philosophic writings of the middle ages were not calculated to infuse men with self and vain conceit, as if the flesh which walled about their life were brass impregnable. The universal Doctor seasons his instructions to the student by desiring him to remember death:

Illicitos, miserande puer, compesce furores,
Scito quod ad mortem commovet hostis eos.
Aufer ab his mentem, miserosque videto dolores.
Altera plus istis sunt meditanda tibi.
Esto memor quod pulvis eris, et vermibus esca,
In gelida putris quando jacebis humo.
Non erit in Mundo qui te velit ultra videre,
Cum tua rancidior fit cane rupta caro.
Heu! cur gaudet homo, cur ille superbit; et ad quid?
Cur ducit fastus, qui cinis est, et erit?

"O man," he exclaims, in his summary of the preacher's art, "Behold thyself in the triple mirror, and thou wilt renounce pride; there is a triple mirror in which thou shouldst behold thyself—the mirror of Scripture—the mirror of nature—the mirror of the creatures. In the first, thou wilt read thy condition—in the second, thou wilt see thy misery—in the third, thou wilt consider thy guilt."‡ How well he had applied this to himself, can be witnessed in his Penitential, which begins with the words of Jeremiah, "A A A Domine Deus quoniam puer ego sum, et nescio loqui," on which he thus comments:—If Jeremiah, sanctified from the womb, chosen a prophet by the Lord, and taught by divine inspiration, feared to assume the office of a preacher, and confessed himself a child and a stutterer, how shall we presume to undertake the sacerdotal functions? If poverty should impel us to orders, the necessity of the Church bind us, the authority of superiors oblige us, we cry A. Any insult of poverty we would sustain rather than undertake with peril the burden of the priesthood; yet if necessity should exist, if the authority of superiors should reasonably enjoin us, we prepare ourselves with corresponding manners, and reputing ourselves unworthy, exclaim with Jeremiah, "A A A Domine Deus."§

* Ric. S. Vict. de Præparatione Animi ad Contemplationem, cap. 75. † Cap. iii.
‡ Sum. de Arte Præd. cap. iii. § Alani de Insulis liber Pœnitentialis.

If we look to the philosophic writings of the ages of faith, we shall soon perceive that the schoolmen, as well as the ascetic theologians, were, like St. Bernard, humble from a profound estimate of themselves, and of their own worthlessness, and from a wish to be humbled by that knowledge. In the first place, this spirit is remarkably developed in all passages which relate to the proper limits for the exercise of the human intelligence.

St. Gregory teaches us, that "whatever we say of God is unworthy of God, inasmuch as it is we who say it, and because of the manner in which we say it. According to Dionysius, the school taught that God is neither a being, nor a substance, nor a life, nor an intelligence, nor goodness, nor wisdom, nor power, nor beauty, if we consider the said perfections, as they are apprehended by us, or expressed in our language; for as St. Thomas says, "all our conceits and words, of what kind soever, bring imperfection with them, either of part, if they be abstract, or of composition, if they be concrete; consequently they are always incomplete and inadequate." Many flippant objections, of modern infidels, founded on their notions of God's attributes, could therefore have found no listener in the schools. "Whom from all, and above all, I seek, love, and desire," says Albert the Great, "is not sensible or imaginable; but above all that is sensible and intelligible."* And Duns Scotus observes, "Infinitum in quantum infinitum est ignotum."†

Let us observe how this spirit came into action in the schools. "He who asks," says Peter Lombard, "why did God wish to make the world, asks the cause of the will of God: but all efficient cause is greater than that which is effected; and nothing is greater than the will of God, therefore its cause must not be sought for." St. Augustin says, "if his will had a cause there would then be something antecedent to his will, which it would be impious to assert. If God foresaw the number that would be lost, then is God not good? Well, perhaps, not. What have you then to do but to tremble at his power? What are you, miserable creature, surrounded by the evidence of his existence, to criticise his actions? The fear of God is then the beginning of wisdom: God could make them have a good will. Why does he not? Quia noluit. Cur noluit? Ipse novit. I can seek no farther cause than his will.‡ Thus we see how faithful to the teachers of the school was the great poet of the ages of faith, who, to the question, how can this be just? would answer—

> "O animals of clay! O spirits gross.
> The primal will, that in itself is good,
> Hath from itself, the chief good, ne'er been mov'd;
> Justice consists in consonance with it,
> Derivable by no created good,
> Whose very cause depends upon its beam."§

* De adhærendo Deo, c. 7

‡ Dist. xlvi. Lib. 1.

† Duns Scot. Physica, text 35.

§ Par. xix.

"In talibus magis recurrendum est ad orationis suffragium quam ad ingenium rationis," says Pope Innocent III. of the mysteries of faith, the annunciations of which were to their intelligences as the columns of Hercules.

——————τὸ πόρσω
δ' ἔστι σοφοῖς ἄβατον
κἀσόφοις.*

To all who sought to proceed farther, the school replied, with Dante, "so 'tis will'd where will and power are one: ask thou no more." "Let those who are not satisfied with such answers, seek men more learned than Augustin," but, adds St. Thomas, "let them beware lest they find more presumptuous."† St. Clement of Alexandria shows the similarity of the Christian and Socratic method, "for the knowledge of our ignorance," he says, "is the first fruit of instruction to him walking in truth. Being ignorant he will seek, and seeking he will find a master: finding he will believe him, and believing he will hope in him, and then by love will be made similar to him; this is the method which Socrates showed to Alcibiades. Do you not think that I have knowledge of justice? Yes, if you find it. Do you not think that I can find it? Yes, if you seek it. But, do you not think that I will seek it? Yes, if you think that you are ignorant."‡

The sophists, who, from time to time, rose up against the Catholic philosophy, were all sons of Porus, as Plato would say, but none of them had Penia for their mother; they were all full—they wanted no knowledge: whereas, the Catholic philosophers, like those whom he commended, were neither ignorant nor conscious of possessing complete knowledge, the sense of which imperfection made them long for wisdom; that is, made them philosophers in the old original Greek sense; for, as Frederick Schlegel remarks, the original followers of philosophy regarded it as being only what the word indicates—the highest desire of knowledge, and the intellectual effort after godly truth.§

"Some," says Lactantius, "thought that they could know all things, which was of God: others that they could know nothing, which was of cattle." Wisdom was in neither of these, "est enim aliquid medium quod sit hominis, id est, sapientia cum ignoratione conjuncta atque temperata."‖ They who would observe how this was cultivated by Catholic philosophers, may consult Muratori's admirable work, "De Ingeniorum Moderatione in Religionis Negotio." There is a playful side to most things, by turning to which discourse may be enlivened. Stephen Pasquier cites an amusing passage from an old author, to show with what mistrust men regarded the profession of more complete knowledge than belonged to the present condition of the human intelligence. "In the year 1445, there was," saith he, "a young man of twenty in the university of Paris, who knew all the seven liberal arts, knew how to play

* Pindar, Olpmp. iii. † Lib. de Spirit. et lit. c. 33. ‡ Strom. v. 3.
§ Philosophie der Sprache, 226. ‖ De Falsa Sapientia.

on all instruments, how to sing, to paint, to illuminate books, better than any one else in all Paris ; in warlike matters no one more expert than he, and no better swordsman : he was master in arts, master in medicine, doctor in law, doctor in decretals, doctor in theology, and truly he disputed with us in the College of Navarre, who were more than fifty of the most perfect clerks of the university, and more than 3000 other clerks, and answered so high to all the questions, that it was a perfect wonder for any one to believe who had not seen it. Item, he spoke very subtle Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaic, Arabic, and many other tongues. Truly, if a man could live one hundred years without eating, drinking, or sleeping, he would not have learnt all that he knew by heart ; and, for a certainty, he puts us in great fear, for he knows more than human nature can know, and we have it in Scripture that Antichrist will feign himself a Christian." This was not an exaggerated picture, for George Chastelian, in the time of Charles VII., speaks of the same youth,

J'ai veu par excellence
Un jeune de vingt ans
Avoir toute science,
Et les degrez montant,
Soy se vantant sçavoir dire
Ce qu'oncques fut escrit
Par seule fois le lire
Comme un jeune Antichrist.

But let us return to what is serious :

To maintain their pretensions to the character of teachers, " the scholastic philosophers did not," as Herschel says of the successors of the early Greek philosophy, " adopt the tone of men who had nothing further to learn." Speaking of the depth of Catholic wisdom, St. Augustin says, " Cum consummaverit homo tunc incipit." Their style is, accordingly, that Pope Innocent III., saying, " Vellem doceri potius quam docere."* St. John Climachus concludes with a similar profession, in his letter to Abbot John Raychu, saying, " For we, also, are yet to be numbered in the class of disciples. Nevertheless as Guido the Carmelite says of St. Augustin, " Although these men may speak humbly, they speak wisely, and truth is on their lips." It was the Catholic manner, as well as the Pythagorean, when asked nothing, to say nothing ; and, indeed the similarity between the two disciplines in this respect has often struck observers : as may be witnessed in the letter of Hermolaus Barbarus to Signino, in which he speaks of " the candid and well-constituted minds of which the highest property is never to teach, but always to wish to be taught, to hate judgment, and to love silence. In this," he remarks, " the whole discipline of the Pythagoreans consisted ; and this is most intimately allied to that virtue which, under the name of

* Myst. Missæ. v. 2.

humility, is so celebrated among Christians, which for every man is the most certain way to the glory of eternal salvation, and which to a man of letters is the necessary companion, without which we shall never be either docile in finding or prudent in judging ;" for " non potest non indoctus esse qui se doctum credit."

Two of the most beautiful works of mystic philosophy in the middle ages were entitled by its author, Thomas à Kempis, Hospitale Pauperum and Manuale Parvulorum. St. Clemens Alexandrinus denominates the Christian discipline the state of mystic youth. " In respect to truth," saith he, " we are all as children and youths before God ; we are a youthful race, learning new good things ; we are always in the flower of youth, flourishing without old age—*ἀεὶ νέοι καὶ ἀεὶ ἥπιοι καὶ ἀεὶ καινοί.* The never decaying wisdom remains with us as our mother, for we regard the Church as our mother."* Within her pale all who co-operated with the sacramental grace were born according to her paschal supplication, though by sex or by age differing, into one and the same infancy. But what a sweet and wondrous transformation was here implied ! " This is the height of philosophy," says St. Chrysostom, " to be simple with prudence : this is an angelic life ; for the soul of a little boy is free from all diseases ; it retains no memory of injuries ; and although beaten by his mother, he always seeks her and prefers her before all others. If you would show a queen adorned with a diadem, he would not prefer her to his mother covered with tatters and rags : he esteems things not on account of poverty or riches, but from love ; and therefore we are told, that of such is the kingdom of heaven."†

If, in short, we say with Novalis, that innocence and ignorance are sisters, which dwell in heaven and seek only the noblest and most tried men, we must conclude, from a review of the middle ages, that they found their true disciples in the Catholic schools. " Zachæus, make haste to come down, because this day I must lodge in thy house," was the admonition made to every one on first entering them : for such is the address of divine truth when about to visit the soul of man. Descend quickly from this height of proud science, that in a clean heart thou mayest receive and see thy God. Humility, however, was not confined to the limitation of the curiosity of man : it was employed also to guide him in the path which leads to true knowledge.

" The beginning of discipline," says Hugo of St. Victor, " is humility,—that we should hold no science, no writing vile—that we should not blush to learn from any one ; and that, having acquired science, we should not despise others. Many wish to seem wise before the time. I have known some who, while they were ignorant of the first elements, would not condescend to attend to any but the highest things, and thought that they could only become great if they read the writings or heard the words of the wisest men. ' We have seen them,' they say ; ' we have read them ; they have often spoken to us ; these first and most celebrat-

* Clem. Alex. Pæd. Lib. i. c. 5, 6. † S. Chrysostom. Hom. 62. in Matth. ‡ Schriften, ii. 291

ed men have known us.' Sed utinam me nemo cognoscat, et ego cuncta neverim. You boast to have seen, not to have understood, Plato: I deem it, then, unworthy of you to hear me. I am not Plato, nor have I deserved to see Plato. He may suffice to you. You have drunk from the fountain of philosophy, but I only wish that you might still thirst."*

Beautiful are their admonitions, to remind men that the life of faith is not that of glory, "in which alone," as St. Augustin says, "without any temptation of pride, they can adhere to the supreme good." "If you have not the wings of an eagle flying to the stars of heaven," says Thomas à Kempis, "you have those of the simple dove making her nest in the rocks, and daily meditating on the most holy wounds of Jesus. Humble Francis found more sweetness and delight in the passion of Christ, than the subtle astronomer in calculating the spaces of heaven."† "Let no one seek by human wisdom," says Rchard of St. Victor, "those things which are above human intelligence."‡ We find even the poets, as Gui du Faur de Pibrac, commending the learned ignorance of their master in philosophy, which could confound the arrogance of talkative sophists,§ and later writers not much conversant with theology, like Montaigne, exclaiming, "O what a sweet, soft, wholesome pillow is ignorance and the absence of curiosity, to rest a head well made!"

It is evident that they were profoundly impressed with the sentiment thus in after-ages expressed by Milton, when he says, "How happy were it for this frail, and, as it may be called, mortal life of man, since all earthly things which have the name of good and convenient in our daily use are withal so cumbersome and full of trouble, if knowledge, yet which is the best and lightsomest possession of the mind, were, as the common saying is, no burden, and that what it wanted of being a load to any part of the body it did not with a heavy advantage overlay upon the spirit! But he that hath obtained wisdom, remembering that he must improve the entrusted gifts of God, and finding in the discharge of his commission the greatest variance and offence, cries with the sad prophet Jeremiah, 'Wo is me, my mother, that thou hast borne me, a man of strife and contention!' Nor was this hid from the wise poet Sophocles, who, in that place where Tiresias is called to resolve King Œdipus in a matter which he knew would be grievous, brings him in bemoaning his lot that he knew more than other men."

Again, nothing clearly could be more opposed to the spirit of the scholastic philosophers, and also to the universal sentiment of men during ages of faith, than the Titanic genius of the modern school—that proud deification of man, where, like Prometheus, he sings his own glory. Men in general, seemed to have shrunk from the idea of being able uniformly to overcome the difficulties

* Hugo S. Vict. Erudit. Didascalicæ. Lib. ii. c. 14.
† Sermonum iii. pars 9.
‡ Ric. S. Vict de Eruditione Hominis Interioris. Lib. i. 1. 19.
§ Gouget, Bibliothèque Franc. xii. 274.

arising from the laws of the Creator in the physical order of things, beyond his evident intentions and the obvious necessities of human life. Some works in later times are of a nature that would rather have shocked than interested their feelings. They would have been inclined, with somewhat of the old Greek feeling, to view them as an audacious Titanian effort of barbarian power, and to regard boastful speech with a kind of terror, from having retained so much of the same spirit as to be convinced, with Æschylus, that death in silence with dreadful rage pulverizes the high talkers :—

——— σιγῶν ὄλεθρος
καὶ μέγα φωνοῦντ'
ἐχθραῖς ὀργαῖς ἀμαθύνει.*

A passage from a chronicle of the middle ages will illustrate their spirit in this respect. What it terms "the proud, vain, useless, blasphemous word," of King Alfonso the astrologer, that if God at the creation had consulted him he would have ordered some things better, filled the devout Spaniards with terror and indignation. "O how much wiser David," exclaims Roderic Santius, "who said, 'Mirabilia opero tua, Domine, et quis cognoscet nimis? Quam magnificata sunt opera tua, Domine. Omnia in sapientia fecisti.' A certain soldier, in a vision, beheld an angel who announced that sentence was passed upon the king, and that he should lose his kingdom, and, unless he repented, die a cruel death. This soldier, in consequence, went boldly to the king, who was at Burgos, and told him his vision; but the king only laughed at him, and repeated the same blasphemy in answer, and then sent him from his presence. Soon after, being at Segovia, a certain hermit of most holy life had a similar vision, which moved him likewise to repair to the court, in order to warn and admonish Alfonso; but the king seemed only to be hardened the more, and the hermit was sent out of his presence with scorn. That night God sent such horrible and unusual tempests and whirlwinds, such thunder and lightning and sheets of flame, that it seemed as if heaven were about to fall, and the royal garments were consumed in the king's room by the celestial fire. The king, astonished, and hardly able to speak through fear, ordered the chamberlain to send for the hermit; but so violent was the storm, that no one durst leave the palace. As soon as they could, however, they went in search of him, and introduced him to the king, who, falling down, said, 'It is I who have sinned.' The hermit then said to him, 'O man, who hath placed wisdom in thy bowels? art thou the counsellor of the Most High? O that thou wouldst be mindful of the words of the wisest of kings, and say, 'Vanitatem et verba mendacii aliena fac a me.' Then the king, in great terror, and expecting death every moment, made his confession to the hermit, and publicly retracted the proud words, and immediately the tempest began to subside; but he never raised

* Eumen.

his eyes from the earth until it had wholly ceased. Then he changed his life for better; but though God had now forgiven him, nevertheless he punished him temporally; for his subsequent life was unfortunate, and he lost his crown, being deprived of it by his own son. Murcia, however, which he had conquered from the Sarassins, would never depart from fidelity to him; for which reason, when he was dying, he ordered that his heart should be transported thither and buried in the church of St. Mary, which he had himself built."*

The application of wisdom to spiritual things is guarded from abuse with great care by the scholastic philosophers. "Desire is often corrupted," says Richard of St. Victor, "when the intelligence is illuminated.† How many boast," he adds, "and wish to be glorious in the eyes of men, not because they have virtues or sanctity, but because they know how, prudently and learnedly, to discuss and dispute concerning virtues. O how much better and more useful would it be to have the gold of science, and not to have the silver of eloquence, with which you might make to yourself an idol! See how perverse and damnable it is to seek spiritual doctrine for ostentation alone, and not for edification! What does it profit, or, rather, how is it not perilous, with great labors and study to seek and investigate, and anxiously wish to know what in no manner you wish to reduce to practice? Often we see that it happens to minds of this kind, by a just judgment of God, that as at first they were spiritually provident for spiritual things, so afterwards they become earnally provident for the things of the flesh."‡ Again, "Often when we speak any thing subtilly with our neighbor, in commendation of divine grace, we glory within ourselves in the subtilty of our language. O the infinite folly of man! And rightly indeed do you say that man can do nothing without grace. This should be our deepest and most subtle thought, that in all our study our first solicitude should be to provide that our reliance may be wholly on grace; and that, whatever we effect, we should ascribe it to divine grace."§ The titles of their controversial works are characteristics of this spirit; thus Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, inscribed his book against Berenger, Lanfrancus Misericordia Dei Catholicus, Berengario Catholicæ Ecclesiæ Adversario.

"There are many," continues Richard of St. Victor, "who, when they receive the light of truth, immediately ascribe this to their merits or to their studies, magnifying and exalting themselves, and despising all others in comparison. The soul says to itself, 'Super omnes docentes me intellexi,' and endeavors to apply to itself that sentence of Solomon, 'Præcessi sapientia omnes qui fuerunt ante me.' On the contrary we ought to give glory to Him from whom we have received intelligence."‖

"Qui confidunt in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem: assument pinnas ut aqui-

* Roderici Santii Episc. Palentini Hist. Hispanicæ pars iv. c. 5.
† De Eruditione Hom. Inter. Lib. i. 1. 40. ‡ Id. Lib. i. 1. c. 39. § Id. Lib. i. c. 3.
‖ De Eruditione Hom. Inter. Lib. i. 1. 13.

læ. It is above human nature to have wings, and at volition to fly aloft to the Highest. What are these wings but a certain power of contemplation, which enables us to penetrate into the highest mysteries of hidden wisdom ? But no one should presume of his own strength, or ascribe to his merits such an exaltation of intelligence ; for it is the reward of divine, not of human, merit.''* How interesting are these comments of the school upon the words of St. Augustin, " Noli putare te ipsam esse lucem !"

Let us hear John Scot Erigena :—" The Father is light, and fire, and heat ; and the Son is light, and fire, and heat ; and the Holy Ghost is light, and fire, and heat : for the Father illuminates, the Son illuminates, and the Holy Ghost illuminates ; for from them is derived all science and wisdom. The Father burns, the Son burns, and the Holy Ghost burns ; for they together consume our sins, and convert us like a holocaust, by *θέωσιν* ; that is, deification into their unity. The Father warms, the Son warms, and the Holy Ghost warms ; for with one and the same heat of charity they cherish and nourish us, and, as if from a certain information of our imperfection after the fall of the first man, lead us into the perfect man, into the plenitude of the age of Christ. But the perfect man is Christ, in whom are all things consummated, the plenitude of whose age is the consummation of the salvation of the whole church, which is constituted of angels and men.''†

With thoughts so deep and humble their language respecting themselves naturally corresponded. Let us hear Scot again, who concludes his great work in the following words :—" Such is the matter of this work, divided into five books ; concerning which, if any one should find that we have written any thing unknown and superfluous, let him impute it to our intemperance and want of attention, and with a pious heart let the humble contemplator excuse the human indigence as yet oppressed with the fleshly tabernacle ; for, as I think, there is nothing as yet in this darksome life perfect in human studies, so as to be without all error. Since even the just are not called just, as yet living in the flesh, because they are just, but because they wish to be just, and, seeking the perfect future justice, are so styled merely from the affection of their minds. But if there should smile in it any thing useful pertaining to the edification of the Catholic faith, let it be ascribed to God alone, who alone can unravel the hidden things of darkness, and introduce to himself, deceived by no error, but cleansed from all errors, those who seek him. Let him, unanimous in the charity of the Spirit, return thanks with us to the Universal Cause of all good, without whom we can do nothing ;—drawn by no lust of reprehension, kindled by no torch of envy, which alone, beyond all other vices, endeavors to break the bonds of charity and fraternity ; but, in the peace of all, benevolently receiving the things here composed, and of all beholding them with the pure vision of the mind, or otherwise of all maliciously reject-

* De Contemplatione, i. v. 4. 15.

† De Divisione Nat. Lib. iv.

ing and prejudging things before they know what and how they are,—this work I offer, first, to the God of all, who said, Ask, and it shall be given to you — seek, and you shall find— knock, and it shall be opened to you ; and then I commit it to you, brother most beloved in Christ, and my co-operator in the studies of wisdom, to be examined and corrected ; for it was begun by your exhortation, and by your skill also it has in a manner been brought so far to an end. In the mean while, I trust that you will be content with the things which are already discussed, not considering the virtue of my genius, which is very small or nothing, but the faculty of your solicitude and of my weak but devoted investigation concerning these things, which you ought to defend no less with the strength of your acute intelligence than with the lucubrations of my obtuse contemplation—I do not say with the emulous, but at least with the friends and inquirers of truth. Nor do I think that you will labor much in this ; for as soon as such things come into the hands of those who rightly philosophize, since they agree with their disputations, not alone will they receive them with a willing mind, but even they will embrace them as their own. But if they should meet with those who are more ready to reprehend than to show compassion, one ought not to contend much with them. Let each one abound in his own sense, until that light cometh which of the light of those falsely philosophizing makes darkness, and converts the darkness of those recognizing it into light."*

Such was the philosophic style in the Christian schools. St. Augustin concluded his books on the Trinity with this prayer :—" Domine Deus unus, Deus Trinitas, quæcumque dixi hic de tuo, agnoscant et tui : si quæ de meo, et tu ignosce, et tui. Amen." The same spirit breathes in the last words of his immortal work on the city of God :—" Let those who find that I have said too little or too much pardon me ; but let those who find that I have said what is sufficient, return thanks, not to me, but to God."

The language of great Catholic philosophers, who appeared in Italy in the sixteenth century, is tuned to the same humble tone. Thus John Picus of Mirandula, in a letter to Thadæo Ugolino, speaks in these terms :—" If we have made any proficiency, it is the gift of God : to him be praise and thanksgiving ;—if we have failed in any thing, it is our imbecility, and let it be imputed to us."† In his Apology, defending gently his opinion respecting the mode of Christ's descent into hell, he cites the authority of Durandus, and adds, " that great theologian of the Dominicans, who perhaps surpasses in learning those masters who oppose me as far as I am surpassed by them." Marsilius Ficinus, describing the character of Cosmo de Medicis, after saying that he had happily philosophized with him during more than twelve years, and that, whatever he may have owed to Plato, he owed no less to Cosmo, concludes with this testimony : " than whose mind nothing amongst men is more humble, and on the other hand nothing more lofty."‡

* De Divisione Nat. Lib. v. † Epist. Lib. i. 18. ‡ Mar . Fic. Epist. Lib. i.

But let us return to the school in the middle ages, and hear, as its representative, Richard of St. Victor, whose humility continually breaks out. Thus, on one occasion, he stops suddenly, and says, " But it is better to leave this place to be explained by erudite minds, than on such a matter to presume any thing rashly beyond our strength.' * On another, he thus apologizes for undertaking to supply a commentary on Ezekiel :—" I know, indeed, that the fathers have more negligently passed over certain places of Scripture through which they could easily have penetrated. Let no one, then, be scandalized if we should say any thing otherwise than what is found in the glosses ; let no one be angry if we should wish to collect the scattered ears which remain, or wonder that they to whom it was given to fill so many granaries with the harvest of the Scriptures should have chosen to leave somewhat for the poor. You wish to honor and defend the authority of the ancients, but we never more truly honor the lovers of truth than by seeking, finding, teaching, defending, loving truth. Attend, therefore, to watch, not whether I say any thing new, but whether any thing true. 'Tu vis honorare et defendere veterum auctoritatem, sed nunquam verius honoramus veritatis amatores quam quærendo, inveniendo, docendo, defendendo, diligendo veritatem. Attende ergo non utrum dicam aliquid novum, sed verum.' "†

Again, what deep humility breathes in every line that St. Bonaventura ever wrote ! In all his works he shows himself the humblest of men. Thus in his book on the Confessional he says, " A simple person, writing for the simple with simplicity, I have ordained the parts of the present little work according as things occurred to my memory rather than according to their natural coherence together, supplicating every one, with all the humility and devotion in my power, thus —

> Sis mihi corrector, resecando superflua, lector,
> Veraque digneris, qua desunt, jungere veris :
> Omnem defectum pariter studio brevitatis
> Scribentis tribuas, partim vitio ruditatis."

Above all, in his book " De puritate conscientiæ," we can observe how humbly he thought of himself, never being ashamed to admit his unintentional errors. All these great men use the words of St. Augustin, in the beginning of his book of Retractions, resolving that " he who cannot have the first part of wisdom, may at least gain the second, which is modesty ; and that he who has not been able to say all things not to be repented of, may at least repent having said what he knows he should not have said."‡ Gerson speaks in the same manner, " At the table of wisdom, in the refectory of the church militant, at the banquet of Christ, it is right that new dishes should be assiduously supplied, and different aliments provided, in order that what does not please the internal palate of one may provoke the appetite of another ; for there is as much diversity of internal tastes as there are tastes of the body. Far be it from me, miserable, to

* De Contemplatione, Lib. v. 19. † Explanatio Templi Ezek. c. 10. ‡ In Prolog. Retract

suppose that I could bring excellent meats of my own to the table of wisdom, but every one should bring what he can, and the poverty of one does not detract from the riches of others, but rather serves as a foil to show it to more advantage."

Men talk of the dogmatism of the schools; but such charges arise from an indistinctness of idea respecting its functions. Hugo of St. Victor praises the modesty of Dionysius the Areopagite, for tempering his assertions with an ut estimo.* And, in general, all the great luminaries of the scholastic world adopted the same tone; for which Montaigne might justly have admired them, as contrasted with those who made him, as he says, hate probable things by planting them for infallible. The words which he so loved, as softening and moderating the temerity of our propositions, perhaps, it is said, I think, and such like, abound in the works of these philosophers.

"Let us inquire then, together, concerning this matter," says St. Anselm, "but you must understand me in the manner in which I desire that all things uttered by me should be taken; that is, if I should say any thing which a higher authority does not confirm, although I should seem to prove it by reason, it must not be received as certain, but only as what seems to me, until God shall reveal it better. Moreover, it is to be known, that whatever a man can say, or know, concerning this mystery of the incarnation, there are still higher reasons for it than any which are as yet known."† Melchior Canus says of his master in the schools, that he has learned from him to swear by the words of no single master, and yet to avoid presumption in dissenting from any one. "That man," he adds, "was by nature itself moderate, and when he sometimes differed from St. Thomas, he gained, in my opinion, more praise by dissenting than by assenting; such reverence did he evince in dissenting."‡

In the conclusion of his treatise, "De sapientiæ animæ Christi," Hugo of St. Victor speaks of those who differ from him, and says, "I do not wish to prejudge any one. Let them see in what sense they hold this, lest, perchance, it should be carnal, pronouncing more what is their own than what is true. As for him, however, who thus believes amiss, I do not compel, but I exhort him to believe well. Let him, who will not believe me, believe himself, until he shall come to that place where he will believe with me; only, in the interim, let each one study with humility to abound in his own sense, and not arrogancy presume."§

A thousand passages of this kind might be produced to show, that these great men, whose hearts were knit in Catholic unity, were deeply imbued with the sentiment expressed in these latter times by Frederick Schlegel where he says, "Even if the power were given to me, by a magical force of persuasion, to impart my conviction to the generality of the world, I would not desire it; for I could not

* Lib. Exposit. in Cœles. Hier. c. 11.
† Cur Deus Homo, Lib. i. c. 2.
‡ De Locis Theologicis, Lib. xii. c. 1.
§ Op. Tom. iii. 33.

regard such a command as right or conformable to philosophy. For philosophy can only be a private self-remembrance, and proceed from a personal sentiment and a personal necessity. No communication in philosophy, therefore, can have any other object, than only to excite a living motion, and to set right the result of private sentiment. Whoever earnestly seeks for truth, has already within him a beginning of faith, hope, and charity, in some form or other."*

We see then how little resemblance such men bore to him, whom Cicero feared to reprehend, excusing himself by saying, "Est enim tanti philosophi tamque nobilis audacter sua decreta defendere."† But, in truth, this humility, in the lovers of wisdom, was one of the privileges of the new race, whose hearts had been made clean; and beyond the chosen multitude one could not expect to find it. As the Greek poet says, "The furies are older than Minerva."‡

The Holy Church hath, from age to age, heard herself reproved by men, resembling each other only in their confidence; to each of whom her doctors might justly have applied the language of the prophet: "Superbia ejus, et arrogantia ejus, et indignatio ejus plus quam fortitudo ejus." "Though he provoke to war," used her doctors to say with St. Ambrose, "yet we answer to one attacking as not attacked, for our object was to refute a relation, not to repel an injury."§ You are older and much wiser than I, might they add, in the words of Minerva to the ministers of wrath,—

φρονεῖν δὲ κἀμοὶ Ζεὺς ἔδωκεν οὐ κακῶς.

While the patience and sweetness of those who utter Catholic wisdom, have often succeeded in persuading men, who seemed at first inflexible, and been rewarded with hearing their submission.

Θέλξειν μ' ἔοικας, καὶ μεθίσταμαι κότου.‖

The change, however, which took place in the intellectual character of philosophers and learned men, at the epoch of the great religious revolution, is a fact too important not to be remarked. Joseph Scaliger, whose family pride was itself, indeed, a new phenomenon in the scholastic character, complained, in a letter to Isaac Casaubon, that the manners of the learned were grown more arrogant, and worse in all respects than they had formerly been. "In times past," he says, "there were certain bounds, that minds of this class did not transgress; but now, if Prometheus had wished to make a monster that would exceed the chimera, he would find it in the mind of a pædagogue. At present, no one is learned unless ἀγροῖκος, barbarous, insolent; and this iron age is abandoned by the muses."¶ Alas, they might well look back with regret to the days of Richard of St. Victor, when it was considered a rare thing to find persons, who, if they should make a

* Philosophie der Sprache, 231.
† De Finibus, ii. 10.
‡ Eumenid.
§ Lib. ii. Epist. 12.
‖ Eumenid. 900.
¶ Epist. Lib. i. 52.

short accent long, would feel more shame for that vice of language, than for the vice of pride.*

As a last instance, displaying the humility of the clean of heart in relation to the study of philosophy, we must briefly revert to their devout submission to the authority of God, announced by the voice of the Holy See.

Man, in a state of innocence, was guided and retained in truth by the authoritative voice of his Maker ; and he first began to deviate from the path of truth, when he listened to that voice of opposition, the voice of negation, of criticism, that lying voice " Thou shalt not die." In this, as Petrus Crinitus remarked, the ancient philosophers agree with the Christian wisdom, teaching that nothing is better in life, than to be subject to the decree of divine truth, and to acquiesce in its majesty. The submission of Catholics to the church, is an instance, most eminent, of the advantage resulting to the intelligence from the liberty of a clean heart. Let us refer, however, to their writings, at first, in order to observe the fact.—Hear then how Raymund Lully speaks in the prologue to his Art of finding Truth : " If the great deficiency of our words, or, that we may speak more sententiously, of our genius, or the insufficiency of a translator, should seem to favor any error against the holy Catholic faith, we suppliantly implore the correction of the holy Roman Church."

The same expressions occur in the prologue to his lecture on the same art ; and again, at the end of his lecture on the figures of the art of demonstrating truth, he says, " If we have said any thing ill, or if we have omitted any thing ill, the fault is to be ascribed to our ignorance and our fragility : we suppliantly implore that it may receive the correction of the holy Roman Church ; as also other things which we do, or propose to do, to the exaltation of the knowledge and love of the omnipotent God ;" and in the prologue to his book on the fourteen articles of the faith, he says, " Since I, the compiler of this work, am culpable, and a sinner, very poor in science, and merits, and other things which accord with virtues, I submit to the correction of the holy Roman faith. If in any places in this work, through ignorance and impropriety of words, of their insufficiency to the high matter, I should have said any thing contrary to the holy faith built by our Lord Jesus Christ, and preserved by his chief pontiff St. Peter, and all the prelates of the holy church, subject to the discipline of the Roman faith, suppliantly, and with all the devotion of my heart, I beg that it may receive their correction as the work of a faithful Christian, confessing and protesting that he does not err voluntarily, but alone through ignorance, and because he is unworthy to treat on such lofty subjects." More than twenty times do these professions occur in the different works of the philosopher and martyr.

* Ric. S. Vic. de Præparat. Animi ad Contemplat. cap. 46.

† De Honest. Discip. Lib. v. 8.

Without delaying, however, to accumulate passages from writers more especially theological, whose docility every one is prepared to observe, let us hear the most eminent of that throng of illustrious laymen, who appeared in Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. "I have undertaken," says John Picus of Mirandula, "to write my own apology, not with a view to attack or wound any other, but merely to defend myself from the most grievous charge of heresy, which, St. Jerome says, every Christian should repel, or he must pass for not being a Christian. Some say that, being only twenty-four years of age, it is presumption in me to dare to treat on the loftiest places of philosophy, and on the sublimest mysteries of the Christian theology; but whatever we have written, or shall write hereafter, is said always with this preface,—that only that is to be counted true and holy which the supreme pontiff, and all those of whose judgment he approves, decree to be true and holy. There are, perhaps, many things in my propositions which may offend pious unlearned ears, and for that reason I have now written this apology: I entreat therefore, and beseech friends and enemies, pious and impious, learned and unlearned, by the bowels of Jesus Christ our Lord, by the admirable mystery of his descent into hell, by the eternal fire of the damned which, for heretics especially, and the enemies of the holy Roman church, is inextinguishable; by the sacrament of the true mystical body and blood, by the omnipotence of God, and by the reverence due to the images of his Son, and of his coheirs, that they read without malice, without envy, what I have now written. Let them not read the former propositions, which have not been explained, because we propose to discuss them before the learned only. We have not published them to be read to all—for there are many impious dogmas of the ancient philosophers, Averroes, Alexander, and many others, which we always, both privately and publicly, declared were aliens from true and right philosophy as well as from faith, though, as a scholastic exercise, after the manner of the Academics, we disputed concerning them in secret conclave amongst a few learned men. These things then learned and illustrious men, both of domestic and foreign academies, will examine—the Holy See will judge; and sitting thereupon Innocent VIII., whose judgment to resist or neglect is impious and flagitious. He is the supreme judge on earth; who represents him who is the judge of quick and dead. He is the dispenser and treasurer of truth; who stands in the place of him who is truth itself, and who, being made flesh, dwelt in us, that he might announce unto us truth." Of the advantage resulting to the intelligence from such an authority, we shall have occasion to speak anon.—Meanwhile, from the humility, the transition is smooth to the practical character of the philosophy of the clean of heart, in ages of faith.

Wisdom, according to the scholastic philosophers, is both cognoscitive and appetitive, as making us not only know, but also love and effect what is right. "Knowledge is called science," says St. Bonaventura, "inasmuch as it comprises truth; and it is called wisdom when this knowledge is accompanied with the

love of God."* "The end of theology," says Henry of Ghent, "is practical, appertaining to life and manners."†

"The end of theology," says Melchior Canus, "is the same as that of the holy Scriptures, and of all divine scriptures: the end is love," as Augustin and Gregory remark; "therefore, theology tends not chiefly to contemplation, but to love."‡ St. Bonaventura expresses himself in these remarkable terms, in the prologue to his Books of Sentences. "For if we consider the intellect in itself, it is in such wise properly speculative, that it is perfected by habit, which is the grace of contemplation, otherwise called speculative science; but if we consider it as born to be extended to work, it is perfected by such habit as causes us to become good; and that is practical or moral science. But if, in a middle way, it be considered as born to be extended to affection, it is perfected by such habit as occupies a middle place between what is purely speculative, and the practical, which embraces both; and this habit is called wisdom, which is at the same time knowledge and affection. The grace of contemplation, therefore, is principally given that we may become good. Such is the knowledge delivered in this book. For this knowledge assists faith, and faith is so far in the intelligence, that in its own manner it is born to move the affections. For this knowledge Christus pro nobis mortuus est, and similar, unless man be a sinner and hardened move to love and devotion."

John of Salisbury says, that "keeping the commandments of God is the most secure, and, indeed, the only way of making a progress in philosophy;" a judgment, truly, not calculated to extend his reputation as a philosopher in these days, when every Tyro reverses the sentence of David, and says in his heart, "I have understood more than the aged, because I have disregarded thy commandments." However, not merely in a pious, but in a strict philosophic sense, the wisdom of Israel's holy king was recognized by the clean of heart.

"Mores perducunt ad intelligentiam," says the profound Augustin,§ "which truth, even the ancient sages had discerned, as may be seen in Plato and Cicero, who both show that virtue is the perfection of reason."‖ Frederick Schlegel remarks that, "clear abstract thought, separated from life, is now held to be the only right way of philosophy; nay, that it is identified with philosophy." "This clear and abstract thought, as it is called, suffers," he says, "no supposition to remain valid, and it supplies nothing, and it has no grounded foundation but itself: it goes forth alone, from itself, and has no peculiar beginning and no end; it has no limits, but it revolves eternally within its own magic circle."¶ Such was not the idea of philosophy in the scholastic ages, when the most profound men would, like John Picus of Mirandula, have continually on their tongues the saying of St. Francis, "Tantum scit homo quantum operatur."** Theirs

* De Sept. Grad. Tit. Spir. c. 74.
† Henric. Grand. Sum. tom, i. art. 8, Q. 111. f. 65.
‡ De Locis. Theolog. Lib. xii. c. 2.
§ Tract. 18. in Joan.
‖ De Finibus, Lib. v.
¶ Philosophie der Sprache, 18.
** In Vita, ejus.

was a philosophy not of words and of abstract ideas, but of things and of life. "All men should not be philosophers," say some, but, continues St. Clement of Alexandria, "should not all men partake of life? What say you then? Do you not believe? How can you love God and your neighbor without being a philosopher, and how can you love yourself unless you love life?"* The philosophy of Catholic schools consisted not in pompous phrases and beautiful discourses, but in humble answers and in beautiful deeds; so that it would have been well for many of the new learning, who accused them of wanting a true philosophy, if they could have thought and written as nobly as these men acted. Not as if in the Lyceum or in the portico, disputing with a Greek preceptor, but, in action, did the youth of Catholic nations learn wisdom.

So when John of Salisbury has spoken of the modesty of Christian youtns, and their reverence for age, he exclaims, "what Athens, what school, what foreign academy shall I prefer to this domestic discipline? From them, indeed, proceeded Plato, yet I have known a man greatly inferior to Plato, excepting that he is a Christian, and I do not think it lawful to prefer even Plato to a Christian—I have known a man, I say, who was always suffering from disease, and yet in the midst of pain always rejoicing, strengthened in the knowledge of God, despising the world, and embracing every cross presented to him by the hand of the Lord."†

. The philosophy of the schoolmen, subtle and profound as were their debates, was not that of dialecticians, who would rather dispute acutely than live prudently; nor of physicians, who live in the air, or in the bowels of the earth, and are strangers, not citizens, in the society of men; but it was of men, who, by the discharge of the ordinary duties of their respective conditions, were to make their calling and election sure. This direction of the human energies effected every thing in the society of Catholic states, so that Pasquier can discern its traces even in the eloquence and practice of the bar. "The Roman orator," says he, "had to do with a people who fed themselves on words, and from the people they expected all their grandeur: their sole study was how to harangue in public; but as for us, we must in our pleading have more nerve and less flesh. If we were to allow ourselves the reins like the ancients, we should be laughed at for our pains. We do not profess the art of speaking like them, nor would their style be tolerated in our parliaments."‡

"How often," exclaims Richard of St. Victor, "doth man know the way of truth, without walking in it, being drawn aside and enticed by his concupiscence. Such a man, indeed, has the day of knowledge, but not the cloud of refreshing grace: and some have night, but not the fire of illuminating grace."§ "The shortest and most certain method of discerning truth," says Malebranche,

* Pædagog Lib. iii. c. 11.
† De Nugis Curialium, Lib. viii. c. 8.
‡ Lettres de Pasquier, Liv. xi. 6.
§ De Contemplatione, Lib. v. 15.

" is to live as a true Christian—to follow exactly the precepts of eternal truth—to hear our faith rather than our reason ; for it is by faith alone that God will lead us into that immense light of truth which will dissipate all our darkness for ever. They who trust in God will understand truth, and the faithful will acquiesce in his love." " Better is it," says the great Christian Platonist, Marsilius Ficinus, " to love than to scan eternal things—to judge them well is most difficult—to love them ill impossible ; never can they be loved ill, provided they are fervently loved, for they can never be loved too much, yea, rather they can never be sufficiently loved. It is the contrary with temporal things ; for it is better to judge than to love them."* To the same effect were all the instructions of John Picus of Mirandula ; " see my Angelo," he said to Politian, " what insanity it is not to love God more than we can speak or know, while we are in the body, since, by loving, we make greater proficiency as regards ourselves, labor less, and obey him more. Yet we would rather always by knowledge never find what we seek, than by loving possess that which, without loving, must be sought in vain."†

So truly from the heart did this great philosopher utter these words, that according to the testimony of his nephew, John Francis, he valued more the most minute aspiration of any old man or old woman towards God, than all his own knowledge of divine and human things.‡ These illustrious lovers of wisdom had well meditated on the maxims of the saints, and had drunk deep of that living truth, which breathes throughout their writings. " Although, in human things," says St. Bonaventura, " it is necessary first to understand before being moved, yet in the true and experimental knowledge of divine things, it is necessary first to perceive by love before understanding by the intelligence. For this is the general rule in mystic theology, that it is necessary first to have practice, and then theory ; that is, the usage of exercise in the heart before the knowledge of the thing itself ; for God is above all creatures, and can only be known by approximation ; and since love alone makes the soul approximate to him, the more ardently a soul loves, the nearer it approximates to the fountain of light, and, consequently, the more it is illuminated with knowledge ; therefore, we must love before we can understand."§ In conformity with these views was the whole philosophy of the ages of faith. One of its great characteristics is practicability. Nothing can be so easily reduced to action, and accommodated to all the diversified circumstances of human life. What, for instance, can be more designed for familiar use than the great principle of self-renouncement, of taking up the cross, of obedience, of love ? To think is the great boast of modern times, but it would be well if we attended to what Catholic philosophers observed on this head, " do you wish to think usefully ?" ask Marsilius Ficinus, " then replies he, " think upon as few things

* Mar. Fic. Epist. Jacobo Bracciolino.
† In vita ejus.
‡ Id.
§ S. Bonaven. Mystica Theologia.

as possible. In exiguo cespite latet lepus. Patent ubique mala; in angustum redactum est quod bonum est."* The thinkers of the ages of faith had reduced the essential points of moral philosophy within a small compass, and had expressed them all in what they termed the Christian's alphabet. It was as follows:— "Ama nesciri. Benevolus omnibus. Custodi cor. Dilige solitudinem. Elige paupertatem. Fuge. Gratias age. Humilia te. Intentio pura. Charissimi qui premunt. Labore et dolore. Magnus qui minimus. Neminem spernas. Omne tempus Deo. Placetne Deo? Quid ad te? Revertere. Sobrius esto. Time Deum. Vende omnia. Ὕμνον cane cum Deo. Χριστὸς sit vita. Za, chæe, descende." If you will hear Novalis, no superficial thinker, I suppose, the spiritual life, thus taught, is philosophy, κατ' ἐξοχήν. Beyond the mark at which these men aimed there was no progress to be looked for. "Since," as St. Thomas says, "it is manifest that the goodness of the human will depends much more upon the eternal law than upon human reason, so that where human reason fails one must have recourse to the eternal reason."†

"Therefore," as Bonald remarks, "the name of modern philosophy is one of reprobation, for in morals every doctrine which is not as ancient as man, or as the gospel, is an error."‡ Another characteristic of the Catholic philosophy, arising indeed as a necessary consequence from those already noticed, was its clearness and communicability. Whatever may be said of the schoolmen, in their relation to physical science, within the important sphere of religion and morals, no one can accuse them of indistinctness of idea; for, according to the order prescribed by Richard of St. Victor, those who passed to theoretics, had previously had the eye of their mind purified by ethics. Their language was explicit, not with oracular response obscure, such as ere the Lamb of God was slain, beguiled the credulous nations, but formed of terms precise, conveying unambiguous lore. As Savonarola observes, "never was the world presented with a doctrine so clear and communicable as the Catholic wisdom: all other systems are obscure, and scarcely comprehensible after long study, and always burdened with many perplexities; but, in the Catholic Church, persons of all age and condition, and of both sexes, have an immediate answer to give every one, who asks them concerning the points on which all other men have ever disputed, and do still dispute, and become so constant and immovable, that multitudes would rather suffer a thousands deaths than deny the least iota of what they have received."§ Hence one of the most learned of the holy fathers says, "alike must philosophize, both slave and free man, man and woman."‖ Henry of Ghent expressly shows, that women and boys are quite competent and proper to have the science of theology expounded to them."¶

Francis Picus of Mirandula remarks, "that to the study of divine philosophy,

* Epist. Lib. i. † Q. xix. art. 4. ‡ Legislat. Prim. 27. § Triump. Crucis, Lib. ii. 14.
‖ S. Clem. Alex. Stromat. Lib. iv. 1 ¶ Hen. Gand. tom. ii.

and of the sacred letters, all the ancient theologians exhort men of every condition, and amongst our contemporaries, he adds, Pope Innocent and John Gerson, who say, that not merely those whose especial business it is to study theology as priests and clerks; but that all men of every rank and order, as far as they have opportunity, should so apply themselves." * We observed in the Third Book what care had been expended to instil truth, by even material monuments, into the minds of the people in all Catholic states; for the wisdom of the school, like the powerful but unsystematic speculation of the earliest sages of Greece, was capable of being expressed and taught by inscriptions in the front of chapels, along the public way. It resembled in this capability the old gnomic, or sententiary philosophy of Thales, Anaximander, Pherecydes, and the others of that first period. One of St. Bonaventura's works is entitled Breviloquii. So that on beholding these symbolic holy images, paintings, and inscriptions placed on all sides, with the cross, one might, with peculiar justice, exclaim, "numquid non sapientia clamitat, et prudentia dat vocem suam? In summis excelsisque verticibus, supra viam, in mediis semitis, stans juxta portas civitatis, in ipsis foribus, loquitur dicens, O Viri, ad vos clamito, et vox mea ad filios hominum. Intelligite parvuli astutiam, et insipientes animadvertite."†

"In fact," as Bonald says, "while the law of the state promulgated its sentence in the tribunals, the moral or divine law was taught by religion, and inculcated every where—at the domestic hearth and on the public places, in cities and in the country, in temples and in camps. Each man, whatever might be his profession, 'found wisdom seated at his gate; it showed itself to man in all his paths;' and if it was not obeyed every where, it was at least no where contradicted."‡ No where either was it perverted by professed teachers of religion; for the race had not then sprung up, who turn revelation into a thing of riddles and conundrums, for men to exercise their wits withal, disguising plain and intelligible truth under the form of a silly paradox. The pulpits of the middle ages were not employed for announcing minute systematic arrangements of opinions, building up of paradoxes to be pulled down by explanations, elaborate proofs of mere truisms, when the conclusions are just as easily admitted as the premises, consolations of factitious griefs, solutions of imaginary difficulties, discoveries of new interpretations of texts, removal of fears, which no body ever felt, warning against dangers, which no body ever fell into, but they were used by apostolic teachers, who taught from them the duties of men, as Christians, as masters, as servants, as neighbors, as citizens—who unmasked the delusions of self-love, and vanity, and pride, and passion, which veil men's imperfections from themselves, and impede their progress in the paths of wisdom.

Again, the idea of philosophy, and the mode of popular education in ages of

* De Studio Divinæ et Hum. Philosophiæ, Lib. ii. cap. 1. † Salom c. viii.

‡ Legislat. Prim. i. 213.

faith, differed, no doubt, greatly from that proposed at present; but intelligent observers have remarked, that this abundant external learning, on which the whole of modern philosophy and education are grounded, and in which alone they consist, weakens oftener and blunts the faculties of the mind, the elasticity of the intellectual life, all, in short, that is natural and cannot be learned; so that when men have obtained the office, or post, which was their object in view, in amassing all this learning, entering upon life as men, the majority, when they do not entirely throw aside their philosophy, merely vegetate with lame withered minds, devoid of all higher interests. In Catholic times it was otherwise; the youth did not learn so much perhaps out of books, but neither did he forget so much, and the faculties of his mind remained fresher, more youthful, richer in experience, in sound manly understanding. He had a living interest in what he knew, and an ardent desire after that which he knew not; "his knowledge in general," as Huber says, "was of that kind which gives a lighter and fresher nourishment to the living members of a social state, than can be yielded by the modern stiff book learning, book philosophy, and sentimentality." Shakespeare drew from memory of Catholic manners, when he described "one bred among woods and mountains, and yet gentle; never school'd, and yet learned; full of noble device; of all sorts enchantingly beloved."

Hence, in ages of faith, most thinking men would have agreed with Stephen Pasquier, "in believing that there was never a greater philosopher in the world, nor more true than the voice of the people, which concurs on the same subject." Ventura says, "that in consequence, the rudest people in a Catholic country are more practically wise in all things relative to life, than the teachers themselves of other nations."* The common talk of the one, is wiser than the books of the others, and they speak wiser even than they may be always themselves aware of. St. Thomas, who drew such wisdom from the cross, lays it down as an axiom to guide all instructors in philosophy, that stability and clearness must be ever attended to. Stabilitas, ut non devient a veritate: claritas, ut non doceant cum obscuritate.

We might apply a Thucydidean phrase to all these philosophers, and say γνώμην δὲ ἐποιοῦντο—they had fixed, decided, irreversible judgments; they were not men of vague, fugitive opinions. The Catholic philosophy, notwithstanding all its constellations, had not secular variations; whereas that which opposed it had periodical variations from the influence of each poor meteor that approached it in its eccentric path. Here, then, one perceives that great advantage to which I before alluded, as resulting to the intelligence from the habit of submitting to the voice of the Holy See—which was ordained to preserve the understanding of Christians from passing beyond the bounds of knowledge, to set at rest the questions of curious men, and to preserve the humble from their seduction,—voice he-

* De Methodo Philosophandi.

reditary, with power to condemn every new error, and to determine every question respecting faith,*—" voice, which," as St. Bernard says, " cannot err, such being its prerogative,"†—voice, which in point of fact, has never been detected of error, for what is related in the Roman Breviary of St. Marcellus has been disproved by St. Augustin, has never acknowledged that it might err, has never been revoked,‡—voice of divine power, ordained for the confirmation of the brethren, which would tend to the destruction, and not to the safety of the Church, if it had not been infallible. Let a modern and illustrious disciple, who had been misled by a genius which he over-highly prized, attest its efficacy as regarding himself.

" I came to understand," says Lacordaire, " how I had been subdued in attempting to contend with an intelligence superior to mine. There must be in the world a power, which can sustain inferior minds against the strong, and which can deliver them from the most terrible of all oppressions, that of the intelligence. This power came to my assistance ; I did not deliver myself, but it delivered me. On arriving at Rome, I knelt at the tomb of the holy apostles Peter and Paul, and besought God, saying, ' Lord, I begin to feel my weakness, error and truth equally escape from me ; have pity on thy servant, hear the prayer of the poor.' I know not the day or the hour, but I have seen what I had not seen. I left Rome free and victorious, having learned by my own experience that the Church is the liberator of the human mind ; and, as from the liberty of intelligence flow necessarily all other liberties, I perceived in their true light the questions which this day divide the world."§ What confidence in these words, and yet what humility ! The secret had been long ago explained by the schoolmen. " Behold," says Richard of St. Victor, " how charity makes man presume beyond man, by making him presume in God."‖ With respect to the philosophical instruction of the schools, we have already observed how false is the supposition that it was occupied exclusively with trivial debates and unmeaning subtilties. It remains to show that obscurity was always regarded as its abuse and its defect, while its general object was to impart clear and definite conceptions of truth. Men talk now of the night of the dark ages, but it is not by reference to the scholastic philosophers, that they can substantiate the charge ; for in the serene splendor of eternal light these men walked as had the ancient fathers, and the just have always had immortal light sprung from the fathers of the light of saints. The proud and restless spirits, on the contrary, have been in the pain of outward darkness in times past as well as now.

If the scholastic ages must be designated as night, it was one like that of which the Church so grandly sings at the opening of her Paschal solemnities—the night which purged the darkness of sins by the illumination of the column—the night

* S. Thom. N. 2. q. 1. ar. 10. † Epist. ad Inn. ii. 190 in Præf.

‡ Greg. xvi. Il Trionfo della S. Sede, cap. 24.

§ Considérations sur le Syst. Philos. de M. de la Mennais. ‖ De Grad. Viol. Charitatis.

which restored to grace and associated with sanctity those throughout the universal world, who believed in Christ—the night of which it is written, et nox sicut dies illuminabitur—the night whose holiness put wickedness to flight, washed out sins, restored innocence to the fallen, joy to mourners, dispelled hatred, produced concord, and subdued empires; truly blessed night, in which earthly with celestial, human with divine things were joined. So far from obscurity being characteristic of the philosophy of the ages of faith, we might securely affirm that it is peculiarly distinguished from that of later times, by its aversion to whatever is confused and subversive of clear distinct conceptions.

A German philosopher remarks, "the instructive character which belongs to all the writings of Hugo of St. Victor, which merited for him the title of Didascalus, and also the purity, simplicity, and uprightness, which ever directed him to move straight forward, and say what he thought, without any of that endless reflecting self-consciousness, which, with coldness and vanity, kills in the bud so much that is noble and fair."* He concludes his critical examination of his works, by citing Oudin, who says, "that when a sound criticism has been exercised in giving a new edition, velut os Domini Hugo Victorinus erit." Again, of St. Bonaventura, Trithemius says that, "he is profound not verbose, subtle not curious, learned not vain." But let us hear the scholastics speak expressly on this point.

On the words of Seneca, "Odibilius nihil est subtilitate ubi est sola subtilitas," Peter Chanter, the celebrated theologian of the twelfth century, comments, saying, "Nothing is so adverse to utility as too much subtilty. Do not move and scatter dust, less by so doing the eyes of thy mind be involved and obscured, or even quite darkened."†

"Quicunque auctor scientiarum humanarum," says Duns Scotus, "quanto acutior intellectu tanto plus vitat superfluitatem in tradendo."‡

Against the abuse of philosophy none were more strenuous than those who loved and pursued it with the greatest success, as Pope Gregory IX., who admonished the professors of Paris not to prefer through vanity philosophy to their science, which alone has the true spirit of life; to beware of error, and not to wish to seem learned rather than to be of God learned, not to return from heavenly to the low and dark elements of the world and of nature, which served man only in his childhood; and reminding them that they can only become more and more thirsty by drinking out of the fountains which are not those of grace.§

For advance in philosophy Catholics, in all ages, looked to that Divine Master whose property it is, as the prophetic voice proclaimed, to teach useful things. Ego Dominus Deus tuus, docens te utilia;‖ and, therefore, it has ever been the aim of sophists to persuade the world that the church had no science which deserved the name of philosophy.

* Liebner Hugo von S. Vict. und die Theol. Richtungen Seiner Zeit. 33.

† In Lib. de Verbo Abbreviato, c. 3.

‡ Duns Scot. in Lib. Sent. Prolog q. 11.

§ Regist. Greg. IX. year 11.

‖ Is. 48.

Albert the Great denounces "the study of those subtle books with which the devil leads the minds of men from purely and simply adhering to God."* What would he have said of the philosophic literature of the northern nations in modern times? What would the scholastics have thought of these men, who have no other God, as the ancient poet would say, but the tongue and chaos? each of whom passes his days in nothing else but sophisticating and introducing new ideas, *ἀλλ' αἰεὶ καινὰς ἰδέας εἰσφέρων σοφίζομαι?* What would the Angelic Doctor have concluded from hearing these revolting and insane paradoxes left to the world as their table-talk, which are deemed to be so profound because most shocking and horrible to the common sense of men?—assertions false, or little else but dreams, conjectures, fancies, built on nothing firm? At the least, I think, he would class many books of great celebrity at present with the Talmud, as being compositions in which one can learn little but the art of saying nothing in a multitude of words. It is a remark which occurs in Plato's Republic, as the result of experience, "that the greatest number of men who pursue philosophy, who do not abandon it in youth, but continue to pursue it long after, become altogether most strange and whimsical persons—*ἀλλοκότους*." And this is only another instance of his talent of observation; for that the wisdom which men elicit from their own independent thoughts, unrestrained and disdainful of external instruction, frequently leads to ridiculous results, is a fact which can be witnessed without going back to heathen times; since the most absurd and truly whimsical sentences that can be found in the whole range of pagan literature may be matched, perhaps, without any very great difficulty from the pages of writers in modern times, who profess to aid reflection.

Priam says, that when Ulysses was a guest in his house, he spoke few words, but clear:—

Παῦρα μὲν, ἀλλὰ μάλα λιγέως· ἐπεὶ οὐ πολύμυθος οὐδ' ἀφαμαρτοεπής.†

Such a testimony at present would not be thought to indicate a philosophic traveller, but it would admirably express the effects of Catholic discipline. It is easy, however, to understand why men who love to indulge their genius in an interminable flow of words should detest the scholastic philosophy which includes the gift of Empedocles to stop the wind: men who seem to wish that it should be difficult to know what they think or what they wish must needs consider its logic as vulgarity. How many writers of this kind now launch forth upon a sea of vague unintelligible abstractions, where there is no bottom or anchorage. One can see nothing fixed or solid in their discourses. "Cœlum undique et undique pontus." If you do not find the cross and blessed names interwoven with their compositions, they have deities of their own, like Euripides, the air and volubility of tongue.

St. Clemens says, that Alexander of Macedon, desiring to elect the best of the

* Albert. Mag. de Adhærendo Deo, cap. 4.

† Il. iii. 214.

Indian gymnosophists, chose from them ten who seemed to be the wisest, and who spoke the shortest words, *καὶ βραχυλογωτάτους*.* That would not be the criterion at present. The men who are now most conspicuous in opposition to the Catholic philosophy resemble rather those followers of Heraclitus, or the disciples of Ephesus, whom Theodorus describes to Socrates.

"These men," saith he, "seem impelled to writing by a certain frantic impulse, but you can no more argue with them than with the frantic; for to await reasoning and interrogation, and peaceably to answer in their turns, and to speak, is found in them less than nothing, or, rather, this nothing is what gets the better in them, on account of their never possessing the least tranquillity. If you advance any thing against them, they shoot out enigmatical shadows of sentences as if drawing them from a quiver; and if you seek to seize the argument, and to make out what they have said, they will strike you with another, newly changed in expression, so that you will never be able to terminate any thing with any one of them. Nay, they never come to agreement even with each other; but, above all things, they take care to guard against there being suffered any thing fixed or immovable either in their discourse or in their souls; thinking, as I suppose, that this is the part of one who makes tranquillity and rest; and against this they wage war with all their might, endeavoring to cast it from them." "Perchance, O Theodorus!" replies Socrates, "you have seen these men contending, but never while at peace; for they are not your companions, but I suppose they converse differently with their own disciples." "What disciples?" exclaims Theodorus; "since no one of them will learn as a disciple from another, but they grow up of themselves, each enthusiastically uttering whatever chance may have taught him, and each thinking that the others know nothing."† "Plato, genuine prophet and anticipator as he was of the Protestant Christian era!' says Mr. Coleridge. Be it so; only let us add, also, painter and historian.

Truly, with these philosophers of the misty school, who are more fine writers than deep thinkers, who give empty words, sound without mind, the clearest and most certain things are made to assume the character of a speculation. What will they do with hidden and obscure things, who endeavor to take away light? If St. Thomas had heard one of our great adepts in philosophy, I think he would have been content to answer him from the poet, and say, "I am not wiser than the Minerva of Æschylus, who says, she will learn if one shall choose to deliver a clear discourse *ἐμφανῆ λόγον*."‡

Richard of St. Victor complains that the poverty of human language compels us often to vary the signification of words: so far was he from wishing to study obscurity. Moreover, the Catholic philosophy never suffered men to rest their opinions upon any supposed personal illumination, independent or different from that grace which is equally offered to all. Whereas it is notorious how many

* Strom. vi. 4. † Plato Theætetus. ‡ Eumenid. 420.

eminent professors of modern philosophy are associated with the idea of a continual appeal to feelings and communications, of which no one but themselves can form any notion. This mode of defending unintelligible systems would not agree even with the modesty of the ancient sage, who refrains from speaking of the sign from the Deity which he supposed himself to have received; adding, "It is not worth while to speak of what occurs to myself, for this has been vouchsafed to but few persons, or perhaps to no one else."*

St. Augustin interprets the ten lepers in the gospel to be "those who, not having the science of true faith, profess various doctrines of error; for they do not hide their ignorance, but bring it forward to light, as if it were the highest knowledge and show it with boasting speech."† Much of that literature entitled philosophic opposed to faith, would be rejected by the father of the scholastics, as being not only the doctrines of error, but also as tending to involve the ideas of mankind in a confusion injurious to the light of the gospel. They could never be persuaded that the Almighty had left his creatures to be guided to truth by men who could not perhaps understand the meaning of their own sentences a year after they had written them. In ages of faith there was no such indistinctness in the intellectual world, but it was as on that first day when God divided the light from the darkness and imposed names on both: men could discern the light from the darkness. "Neither," says Lewis of Granada, "ought we with vain labor to construct for ourselves a tower of Babel, in order to escape the flood of waters, when now by the wood of the cross the church proposes a means of sure salvation to us all." "Men knew that there was more danger than profit in such philosophy. As St. Augustin says, "Verba philosophorum excludit simplicitas Piscatorum." Therefore, not from speculators but from God, not in secular lyceums but in churches, not in inquiries and argumentation but in humble and assiduous prayer, did they seek for an increase of wisdom. As St. Ambrose says, "Not by dialectics did it please God to save his people; the kingdom of God is in the simplicity of faith, not in contentions of speech."

In fact, we may apply to the state of philosophy in ages of faith, as contrasted with its present condition, what St. Augustin says of Greece in the time of Thales and the seven wise men: "Nondum efferbuerat ac pullulaverat philosophorum subtilis et acuta loquacitas."‡ For though the writings of the schoolmen are voluminous, and their ratiocination unwearied and acute, the grand points of their philosophy, and all that gave it real importance in their own estimation, were expressed by them in as few and as plain words as possible. The rest was an exercise of leisure, a recreation. Their esssential doctrines, like the wisdom of the ancient philosophy, were, as we have already observed, all conveyed in short sentences—*ῥήματα βραχέα ἀξιομνημόνευτα ἑκάστῳ εἰρημένα.*§ Moreover

* Plato de Repub. Lib. vi.

† Hom. Lib. ii. Quæst. Evang. c. 40.

‡ De Civ. Dei, xviii. 24.

§ Plato, Protag.

every thing was determined with them, even to the forms of expression ; so that it was impossible to be misled by the terms they employed. St. Augustin says, " The philosophers use words as they choose, nor do they fear to offend religious ears ; but for us, it is necessary to follow a certain rule in speaking, lest the license of words should beget an impious opinion concerning the things which they signify."* Accordingly, we find Richard of St. Victor stopping himself on one occasion, and saying, " But, lest our words should seem to savor of human philosophy, or to depart from the plain and simple tenor of Catholic doctrine, it will be better to say as follows†," and Guibert de Nogent, explaining the difference of his manner in historic and philosophic composition by the necessity of adhering to the same rule, saying, " In my history I have adopted a very different style from that of my expositions on Genesis ; for a history may be crowned with more elaborate eloquence, but we must treat the mysteries of sacred things not with a poetic loquacity, but with ecclesiastical simplicity."‡

The immense intellectual advantage which resulted from this precision of the school has not been sufficiently remarked. The body needs the shelter of a thousand artificial limits from the bleak desert air of the wide earth, and so does the mind need shelter amidst the trackless wastes of speculation ; it must have barriers erected for it, and even narrow close divisions, within which it can associate with others, to give it warmth and assistance, to protect it from being frozen or utterly dissipated and lost in wilds of abstraction,

We may observe, here, that in consequence of the same discipline, from the men themselves, as well as from their writings, all whimsical eccentricity was removed. Their whole character was complete, and in unison ; it showed nothing singular, nothing extravagant, but the sweet and beautiful proportions of sound and perfect nature. Witness Hugo of St. Victor—of vast capacity, quick intelligence, tenacious memory, eloquent tongue, graceful speech, and persuasive manner ; effective in work, gracious in conversation, the most gentle and humane of men.

That some of the scholastic philosophers may have exercised their subtilty in vain and frivolous disquisitions, is a fact which no one denies. Sufficient pains are taken to remind us of it ; for " the wise man's folly is anatomized even by the squandering glances of the fool ;" but that they were never left without a warning voice from their contemporaries, and that they needed not the light of modern times to discern the danger and absurdity of such studies, is a fact no less true ; in proof of which might be produced innumerable passages of which modern writers leave their readers in ignorance. On philosophic grounds they were admonished. " Neither does the genius of man deserve approbation," says Hugo of St. Victor, " for applying pertinaciously to things which are difficult, but rather

* De Civit. Dei, Lib. x 23. † De Contemplatione, p. i. Lib. i. c. 5.

‡ Guibert de Novigent. Epist. ad Lisiard. Sues. sionens. Episcop. Gesta Dei per Francos.

for discerning prudently those things which are to be known."* But still more on religious grounds was the danger denounced. "The ecclesiastical discipline," says St. Jerome, "if it even admitted these subtilties, ought to disguise and avoid them, as it does not speak to a few disciples in the idle schools of philosophers, but to the universal race of men."†

When the spirit of controversy enticed the masters of the school into questions foreign from faith and Christian morals, into researches of mere curiosity, frivolous hypotheses, or disputes of words, the whole episcopal order and the brightest luminaries of the school came forward to announce the danger.‡ The consequences, indeed, had been clearly seen in Roscelin of Compiegne, Gilbert de la Porée, Peter Abailard, and Amauri de Bene. Then, above all, was the voice of the Holy See heard.

Pope Gregory IX. wrote to the doctors of Paris in these terms :—"We order and enjoin you rigorously to teach pure theology, without any mixture of worldly science—not to alter the word of God by the vain imaginations of philosophers —to hold yourselves within the bounds placed by the fathers—to fill the minds of your hearers with the knowledge of ecclesiastical truths—and to make them draw from the fountains of the Saviour." The abuse against which this was directed had been feelingly lamented by holy men in all ages, for the pride of reason is of all ages.

Let us hear Peter the Venerable, or Henricus de Palma :—"The ways of Sion lament, because there is no one who goes to the solemnity ; and these words of the prophet may be used in reference to the captivity of souls, and to the ways which lead to God, and to the spiritual Jerusalem ; which ways may be said to lament because there is no one to follow them ; while multitudes, casting off the pursuit of true wisdom, entangle themselves with useless curiosities ; and many men of famous reputation, omitting the right worship of the Creator, serve manufactured idols—that is to say, instead of pursuing true interior wisdom, by which God alone is adored, they fill their minds with different sciences, and fabricated inventions of multitudinous arguments ; as if with certain idols ; and with these their mind is so possessed, that true wisdom can find no place in them. But God did not create the soul to this end, that against its own generosity it should be filled with a multitude of sheep-skins, but that it might be the seat of wisdom, and that the pacific King of the supernal city, the highest God, might reside in it ; for this wisdom, which is called mysterical theology, is taught by St. Paul the Apostle ; and it is indentical with the extension of the love of God, and it incomparably excels the science of all creatures as far as the east is from the west ; for the sciences of the world doctors teach, but this is taught by God immediately, and not by any mortal man : this by divine illuminations and dis-

* De Sacram. Lib i. p. vi. c. 2. † Epist. xxxi.

‡ Berthier, Discours sur les Etudes aux Siècles XII. XIII. et XIV.

tillations is written in the heart, but that is inscribed on the skin with a quill; and this says sufficit, for the soul finds rest in the fountain of goodness and beatitude, but the other never says it is enough; for there is no end to the labors of vanity. Therefore, leaving human wisdom, and the useless curiosity of science, and the bonds of arguments and opinions, the religions soul, by the ascent of love, mounts with desire to the fountain of all things in which alone it can find truth; and as God alone can teach this, it follows that any layman whatever in the school of God may receive this wisdom, which no philosopher and no secular master could ever impart to him."*

"It is permitted us in our republic," as Clemens Alexandrinus saith, "to philosophize without a knowledge of letters, whether we be barbarians or Greeks, though we be slaves, old men, boys, or women; for we are all of the same nature, and capable of the same virtue;"† and the church, in the Prose of Pentecost, as if with an especial view to remind us of this, invoking the Holy Spirit, teaches that the father of the poor is the light of hearts. The instruction of the poor and ignorant was the holiest office of those who spoke wisdom among the perfect. "The intelligence of truth," says Richard of St. Victor, "we receive for our own profit, but the doctrine of truth for the advantage of others."‡

It is this communion with persons who have no pretentions to the character of extraordinary learning and ability, that renders the Catholic philosophy so despicable in the eyes of many. A society which is ready to impart to peasants and domestics the same instruction as to philosophers, can have no charms for the numerous class of men endowed with the sophistic character. O what poor wretches their fellow-creatures seem to them, in their commonplaceness, who yet all, as the patient children and drudges of mother earth, are wiser and better than they! To win their hearts there must be a system which persons in the ordinary walks of life have no time to learn, which minds without the habit of long study cannot comprehend, a phraseology, too, which none can use but those who have made themselves familiar with the most abstruse metaphysicians.

The delightful simplicity of truth, which had such charms for the philosophers of the middle ages, provokes the suspicions or disdain of all such men; and they reject the Catholic rule precisely because it fulfils the divine prophecy, that a fool should not err therein. It cannot be, they seem to think, that God should employ such a plain and obvious method for deciding controversies and preserving unity as authority. Of what avail, then, would be all their investigations and knowledge of languages, and cultivation of their genius? If it were so, their own servant, yea, the Irish peasant, would be as competent to find truth as themselves. "The rule of the church is too uniform," they say: "it can be applied by men of insufficient capacity, as well as by the skilful."§ With such a rule the

* Mystica Theologia Prolog.
† Stromat. Lib. iv. c. 8.
‡ De Erudit. Hom. Inter. Lib. i. p. i. 19.
§ Lettres à un Berlinois, par M. Lerminier.

church can never please them ; and so they continue to reject every idea but what is misty and intricate ; while men of profound Catholic views can have no chance of obtaining a hearing, unless they come before them in the capacity of buffoons, to hazard the expression of their conviction as a jest. Like Cinesias, they take their exordium from the clouds ; for they instinctively know, like him, that their whole art hangs from them. Their words are all aerial, dark as night, and buoyant as the vapor of the sky ; so that they seem to move with every wind.* It is the same disposition which renders them, in questions of history, resolute in rejecting facts, in order to substitute some speculation, which is the farthest possible removed from every thing plain and obvious. Thus they affirm that the religious revolution in England was brought about by causes quite foreign from any of those usually assigned for it ; and instead of hearing the evidence of historians respecting Henry's filthy doings, and what the nobles of his bastard daughter worked with their adulterate money on the Thames, they invite their readers to contemplate the beauty of some pure abstraction, or " the blessed security which resulted from the circumstance that self-willed monarchs and politicians moved the secret wires of the spiritual machine." " The apparent subordination of doctrine to politics in our Reformation," says a recent author, " was a manifest token that a divine hand was at work in it." Any thing tangible in the sphere of religion seems alike repugnant to them ; so that they will have the rock on which the church was built to have been not Peter, but the faith of Peter, or the confession of Peter ; or, if it were Peter, the privilege, they say, was not to pass to his successors : in such haste are they to dissolve what they cannot deny existed. The universal consent of ages past to the sanctity of canonized men is precisely a motive to induce them to call it in question ; and they will rather take the side of those who persecuted them, and envy Cardan for having written a panegyric upon Nero. Indeed, after reading some of their writings, one can hardly conceive that they speak their real sentiments ; but it would seem as if they disputed merely in order to exercise their ingenuity with the difficulty of the matter—like Polycrates, when he praised Busiris and Clytemnestra, and made a discourse against Socrates. Yet are there not wanting philosophers, at present, to show, independent of the error in religion, the folly as well as ingratitude of such views. " A criterion of true philosophy," says Novalis, " is communicability : it must be a thing that can be communicated.† Even in the order of the sciences the most important truths are not those involved in greatest obscurity." The same author remarks, " that the highest and purest mathematics is the commonest and most intelligible. Elementary geometry is higher than the most advanced geometry. The more difficult and intricate a knowledge becomes, so much the more is it delusive, impure, and mixed."‡ " An intricate terminology," says Frederick Schlegel, " and a complete unintelligibility, are the constant attendants and

* Aves, 1385. † Schriften, ii. ‡ Id. 172.

peculiar signs of the false philosophy which supposes that it can find the treasures of truth and real knowledge in an ever wider separation between consciousness and the faculty of thought, and in an ever higher and more naked abstraction. But as often as men seek to raise up a real building of true knowledge by means of this clear abstraction, as it is called, this empty thought separated from life and from all living reality, they repeat again the old history of the tower of Babel and of the confusion of tongues. Every new system of art is now a new cutting off and addition to that original confusion of languages. Every one of these builders of endless error begins by throwing down what had been built by his predecessors; and while he grounds the imaginary tower of his own private knowledge upon the empty space which he has been clearing away, he firmly resolves to build still higher than any one has ever done before. But no one understands the other, any more than himself; so that this new confusion of ideas becomes ever more and more intricate and dark, till at last nothing is left but some incomprehensible heaps of broken thoughts, which are what they always were, only some dead stones, some unintelligible abstractions. A more living philosophy can never choose and follow this way of abstraction; it proceeds from life, and from the feelings of life, and from consciousness."*

Now clearly such was the Catholic philosophy, felt by the people, explained and confirmed by the scholastics. What author was ever more remarkable for a clear comprehensiveness, for admirable good sense, for unerring soundness of judgmen, than St. Thomas? Even modern writers, who object to what they term the scholastic rind, affirm that, if his thoughts were expressed in another form, he would be the most popular of all writers; "he is," they add, "so eminent for truth and justice."† They cannot avoid regarding him as a man of vigorous, practical understanding, disdaining any rhetorical arts beyond what sufficed for expressing plain sense in clear words. Who more averse to indistinctness?

How often might one address the Angel of the school in the words of Adam, to the Angel of Paradise: "How fully hast thou satisfied me, freed from intricacies, taught to live—

> "The easiest way; nor with perplexing thoughts
> To interrupt the sweet of life: from which
> God hath bid dwell far off all anxious cares,
> And not molest us: unless we ourselves
> Seek them with wandering thoughts and motions vain."

But if the philosophy of the clean of heart, beholding God, was thus delivered from the clouds of obscurity which enshroud the mind unpurified, if it was free and common for all, even as broad and liberal as the blessed air and light of heaven, it was not, therefore, without glorious colors and refractions, or void of those deep, ineffable mysteries which give rest, by exciting love and wonder, to the intelligence of man.

* Philosophie der Sprache, 20. † Michelet.

"What is this sweet voice which sounds in my ears?" exclaims the youth, after the senior has spoken in the dialogue by the blessed Denis the Carthusian; and such words are the natural expression of a mind that hears, for the first time, the language of Catholic philosophy, conveying heavenly truths to man in tones of love. "Beautiful, indeed, are the words and promises which you propose to us," used to be the reply of the heathens to the holy missionaries of the middle ages, as Venerable Bede testifies.* To them a voice arose, solemn and sweet as when low winds attune the midnight pines: in fact they brought to them what that great Catholic philosopher Marsilius Ficinus terms "a divine music, namely, a concord of thoughts, words, and actions.—Divina musica est rectus cogitationum, verborum actionumque concentus."† Such was the philosophy of the clean of heart; the result of whose kind and gentle words, accompanied with joyous semblance, was to leave a calm and pleasing solitariness, fed with cheerful and confident thoughts, from beholding the bright countenance of truth in the quiet and still air of delightful studies.

"What ought to be done?" asks Plato, after showing that the studies of young men are pursued with a view to profit, and that in later life they despise all philosophy—"The very reverse of what prevails," is the reply. "For while young, and even in first youth, they should apply to a philosophy accordant with youth, *φιλοσοφίαν μειρακιώδη*, exercising their bodies while they are in flower, that they may possess wherewithal to minister to philosophy: but as they advance in age, and their soul comes to perfection, they ought to cultivate the exercises which pertain to the soul; but when strength fails, and they are no longer capable of exertion, they should be turned out loose like the animals that graze round the temples.'‡ From this passage one might infer that Plato would have found his ideal of philosophic culture realized in the middle ages, and diametrically opposed in the later schools, which produced young men without youth, and old men without dignity. The ancient poet represents an aged, avaricious father laughing at his son for having antiquated notions. Youth and ancient sentiments seemed associated in his mind, saying "*ὅτι παιδάριον εἶ καὶ φρονεῖς ἀρχαϊκά.*"§

So it was in ages of faith. The boy was not then taught to forget his nature, and consigned over to those frigid pursuits, which contract the mind; but he was initiated in the ancient and holy mysteries of that love which expands the heart and illuminates the intelligence. By solemn vision, and bright, holy offices, his infancy was nurtured. Every sight and sound, from the beauteous choir, sent to his heart its choicest impulses. The fountains of divine philosophy fled not his thirsting lips: and all of great, or good, or lovely, which the sacred past in truth or symbol consecrates, he felt and knew. Nor did the studies of mature age efface these early impressions. As the love of poetry was not superseded by a belief in

* Beda Ven. an. i. 25. † Epist. Lib. i. ‡ De Repub. Lib. vi. § Nubes, 767.

allegory, which only began in the fifteenth century, when it was absurdly used to interpret the Æneid and the Divina Commedia,* so the love of truth was not confounded with a desire of abstract knowledge. Positive theology itself was concerned with the beautiful, and imparted to man a perception of many harmonies in the whole scheme of our redemption, which filled the soul with exquisite delight: "There are also many other things," says St. Anselm, "which, when studiously considered, display a certain ineffable beauty in the manner of procuring our redemption."† This Dante felt, and, in the seventh song of Paradise, he introduces Beatrice solving his doubts, and quenching his thirst with drops of sweetness. "Nor ought," she says of this mystery, "so vast or so magnificent, either for him who gave or who received, between the last night and the primal day, was or can be." Delight was sure to flow from every study in connection with theology, for it was with wisdom, in general, as in the human body, of which you know not whether each part was created for the sake of use, or for that of beauty. "Certe enim," adds St. Augustin, "nihil creatum videmus in corpore utilitatis causa quod non habeat etiam decoris locum."‡

"Philosophy sounds like poetry," says Novalis. One can easily understand such an impression, after sitting for the first time in Catholic schools: but what does the voice which succeeded it in nations, directed by the new religious guides, sound like? At least there is no great danger of the young mistaking it for a source of musical delight: indeed, if the thoughts of such men had grown harmonious, the world might have shortly looked for discord in the spheres. In effect, as this philosopher observes, "All evil is isolated and isolatizing: it is the principle of separation, contradiction, disorder—of all prosaic dullness, frigidity, and gloom. Falsehood, in particular, is confined and monotonous, cold and declamatory; while truth is broad, and infinitely diversified, inflamed, possessed of endless powers of assimilation, and, at the same time, mystical and unobtrusive.

The tendency of the public mind, where faith has perished, is towards sameness and dissension, whereas, in the middle ages, it was towards variety and union; of which a type might be seen in that symbolic branch of fire, used in the celebration of the paschal solemnities, which, as the church sings, although divided into parts, yet knows no diminution of light. In order to heal jealousies and lull contention, the best remedy, proposed by our wise men, is to abolish all the institutions and forms which Catholicity produced, in order that there should be no diversity discoverable on any side; whereas, under the influence of that philosophy, which is only another word for the Spirit of God, men knew how to establish and perpetuate variety by love; and instead of acts of uniformity we find only charters of foundation.

Philosophy was then in thought, what poetry was in feeling. Religious learning

* Heeren Gesch. der Class. lit. im Mittelalter, ii. 325. † Cur Deus Homo, Lib. i. 3.

‡ De Civ. Dei, Lib. xxii. 24

was scientific poetry: in short, most of what Novalis delivers as a speculation was then realized; as we may still witness in those dulcet lays, those philosophic epistles, those religious histories, those profound treatises, "which, as long as of our faith the fervor does not fade, shall make us love the very ink that traced them." Indeed, he remarks this himself: "The general expressions of the scholastic philosophy," saith he, "have a great resemblance to numbers; hence their mystic usage, their personification, their musical charm, their infinite combinations. All realities created out of nothing, such as numbers, and abstract expressions, have a marvellous relationship to things of another world, to an infinite series of strange combinations and relations, as if it were to a poetic, mathematical, and abstract world."* It is often a subject of surprise, that almost every eminent man of those ages should have been denominated, as was Baptist the Mantuan, a poet, a philosopher, and theologian; and this might lead us to reflect upon the divine virtue of that wisdom which, in such multitudinous excellence, is imparted to the clean of heart.

The Catholic religion makes men naturally unimaginative think and do what poets utter in divinest strains. All that are with Peter's chair instinctively promote the charms of life, for by their very principles they are bound to protect them. I have often wondered to hear of long grown-up, dull, prosaic persons, resisting unfeeling sophists for a cause that seemed one of children, of youthful fancy—a cause of flowers and of poetry—a cause of the sweet wild pleasures, that hold the innocent fresh heart in a maze of delicious enchantment. How came they to feel an interest in it? the young will at times naturally ask: the fact is, that simple obedience compels them to act thus; so true is it, that children instinctively know more of God, than world-worn men. There is reality in the things which delight the young, in so much that the savages, who would take them away, would, with the same brutal violence and callous insensibility, strip the church of what essentially belongs to her; they would, with the same false cunning, cavil at her doctrine. Such is the secret harmony which must prevail—the mystic law, which cannot be reversed. Nothing can prevent the defence of truth, from being also the defence of poesy—the apology of faith, from being also the apology of the young.

All these countless and indefinite aspirations of the heart, which pass under the name of sentiment, these fair, and glorious, and solemn forms which float before the imagination in the grandest moments, these wreaths of flowers, these mossy cells, these forest depths, this indistinct delicious music of the inmost soul—all are placed under the safeguard of religion, and must be defended with authority; so that, when the barbarian race tries to rob us of them, we have only to turn our eyes to the supreme pontiff, and cry, like the suppliants of yore, Roma, Roma!

We had occasion to remark, in the Fifth Book, in what a deep and wondrous

* Schiften, ii. 171.

manner the ritual of the Catholic Church harmonized with our whole nature. In these ceremonies there was to be found, besides the theological sense, much aspersion of philosophy : they were, in fact, truths embodied, and so presented, in substantial form, to the understanding. In many parts of it, you can mark some cunning artifice, to excite and kindle the sentiments of our poor humanity, as when the pillow of the dead man is placed upon his coffin, during the mass of burial : so that the feelings which, in the modern society, are often exclusively suffered to develop themselves through the infected and pestiferous medium of a novel, were, under the Catholic influence, cultivated and expressed through the pure, noble, and sanctifying forms of religious worship. This was the result of a conviction which deep reflection has imparted to later philosophers, that "it is sentiment which puts the fire as it were to our ideas, and draws us out from the aridity of abstraction, that reason produces but a weak will, often at the mercy of the least obstacle, and that reason must sometimes be converted into a passion to become active."*

According to the school, the use of the imagination extends to the highest and most spiritual inspirations of man. "Without doubt," says Richard of St. Victor, "the sense of the flesh precedes the sense of the heart in knowing things; because, unless the mind first should take sensible things by the corporeal sense, it would never find what it could think respecting them. But perhaps it is not wonderful if the bodily sense should lead the sense of the heart to a place whither itself can never come : but it is strange, in what manner it should lead it thither, when it cannot ascend itself. The corporeal sense does not take incorporeal things, to which, nevertheless, without its guidance by the hand, reason doth not ascend. Certes, if man had not sinned, in the knowledge of things, the exterior sense would assist the interior ; for who denies that Adam received Eve in order to be his assistant? But it is one thing to have a companion, and another a guide of one's journey. And since Eve drew away her husband, against the counsel or precept of God, to follow her counsel, Adam, as a punishment of his prevarication, is so weakened, that now he is obliged of necessity to follow her. Nevertheless, from the guidance of his assistant, not only he need not be confounded, but he may also glory, when, by that intervention, the use of corporeal similitudes leads him to the contemplation of things invisible."†

The philosophy of the clean of heart contained the secret of sanctifying passion, of sanctifying all the countless unutterable affections and desires that are incident to the human mind. It showed how little reason had sense to fear the Creator, who made the earth and its creatures so beautiful to the senses—how little cause there was for distrust, in loving whatever was his workmanship, such as their natural loveliness and innocence, when that exquisite grace of form and

* Alibert, Physiologie des Passions, tom. 1.

† Ric. S. Vict. de Contemplatione, pass. ii. c. 17.

colors had been so evidently contrived by his intelligence, and imparted by his hand.

In another way too did scholastic science come to the aid of the devout mind, when perplexed with the consideration of the two-fold tendencies of flesh and spirit; for in its moments of discouragement, when distrust arose, and a scientific doubt suggested that the very rapture which it was enjoying might, after all, be only a deception of the senses, and darkness of the flesh, reason was brought to the rescue, and, from that moment, the victory to the clean of heart was complete: for reason herself, when enlightened by faith, assured them that the ecstasy was not the less divine and spiritual because the senses had been instrumental in exciting it. Such an employment of their power was according to the ordinance of God, and subservient to the angelic ministry which watched over it. "Who is that queen of the south," asks Richard of St. Victor, "who comes to hear the wisdom of Solomon—that inhabitant of the warm regions inflamed with a desire of truth? Who, I say, is that queen, but a holy soul, valiantly presiding over the senses and appetites of the flesh, over the thoughts and affections of the mind, glowing with love of the highest King and ardent with a longing to behold him."*

"It must be laid down," says the Angel of the School, "that the use of reason requires a due use of the imagination and of the other sensitive faculties, which are exercised by a corporeal organ;" † and again, "those in whom the imaginative, cogitative, and recollective power is best disposed, are the best disposed for intelligence;" ‡ a truth which we may verify by every day's experience, for these unimaginative persons, such inveterate scorners of fancy, while so quick and sure to act from passion, seem always incapable of acting from an idea; they are creatures of blind habit, in the slavery of which ends their pure light of reason.

With these views of the Catholic school the most judicious philosophers of modern times are now agreed. "Our imaginative and poetic feelings," says one of them, "are as much a part of ourselves, as our limbs and our organs of sense. They are so woven into our nature that they mingle themselves with almost every word and deed. For a metaphysician to discard these powers from his system, is to shut his eyes to the loftiest qualities of the soul, and is as unaccountable as it would be for a physiologist to overlook the very integuments of our animal frame. It is by the imagination, more perhaps than by any other faculty of the soul, that man is raised above the condition of a beast. Beasts have senses, and to a certain extent also they possess, I think, the powers of abstraction, though this is denied by Locke; but of the imaginative powers they offer perhaps no single trace. These high attributes of the soul confer on it a creative energy—aid it even in its generalizations from pure reason—bring before it vivid images of the past, and glowing anticipations of the future—teach it to link together material and imma-

* De Contemplat. i. v. c. 12 † S. Thom. 1. q. xxxiii. art. 3. 1. q. lxxxv. art. 7.

terial things—to mount up from earth to heaven. As a matter of fact, men do possess imaginative powers, and ever have delighted, and ever will delight in their exercise; and to exclude them from a system of psychology, is to mutilate and not to analyze the faculties of the soul. They may have been abused, but what of that? Every faculty has been abused and turned to evil." *

To the same effect, speaks Frederick Schlegel: "Fancy is fruitful; it is the inventive and peculiarly creative power of man, but it is blind, and often deceitful. Not in a similar way productive is reason, the power of reflection, the inward rule of customary proportions in his life; for to be really productive and to bring forth truth, it cannot succeed with all its reasoning, or if it should produce any thing, as in false philosophy, or in the mere rational system, it will be something dead-born, empty intellectual phantoms of pure nothing. Reason is but one half of the soul, and fancy is the other half. In love alone is the soul wholly and perfectly reunited in one full consciousness."† What a beautiful summary of the Catholic philosophy in a peasant or a sage! in whom the charity of faith sanctifies every thought and faculty of his being? We are told by the moderns that it was a gross system, rising out of the sensuality of man, and recommending itself only to the imagination of the people: they would persuade us that the schoolmen never saw the pure light of reason. But, such assertions merit little attention even on the ground of a novelty; for when the vulgar derided the seven wise men of Greece, Thales and the rest—they used to call them poets. True, the schoolmen were poets, and the ages of faith were imaginative ages; but not the less were they united in a mystic and wondrous union of intelligence with truth. It is a poor boast of later generations that they have first beheld the empire of reason,‡ when that domination implies the annihilation of one half of the soul, and of the great cementing power, which held the former parts in union.

Alluding to this deep feeling, this power of appreciating the wonderful and wild, a German philosopher observes, "that we have not learned sufficiently to appreciate the beauty of life in the middle ages, and that a consideration of its fresh youthful energy, with its rich religious imagination, might alone convert us to the opinion of Herder, that it would have been well for us to have lived then."§ There is no surrender of sober judgment in having such views.

We have before seen what an immeasurable importance was ascribed to reason by the scholastic philosophers, and we may feel assured now, that if they use the imagination also, it is not to give it an undivided empire. "All these things are beautiful," says St. Anselm, "and are to be received as if a picture; but if there be not any thing solid on which they may rest, they will not seem sufficient to infidels; for he who wishes to make a picture chooses something solid on which to paint, in order that his painting may endure, for no one paints on water or on

* Sedgwick on the Studies of the University, p. 50. † Philosophie der Sprache, 31.

‡ Antichità Romantiche d'Italia, Epoc. 11. 192.

§ Liebner Hugo von St. Victor und die Theolog. Richtungen Seiner Zeit. 240

air. Therefore, when we show to infidels these conveniences of which you speak, as if pictures of a thing, and not the thing itself, they will suppose that we have only been painting on a cloud ; therefore, we must show first the solidity of this truth, and the proof that such things were."* The schoolmen were men of imagination ; the moderns under the dominion of reason. Well, is this a fact so certain? Is it impossible that there should be a mistake here?

Speaking of Malebranche, the Viscount de Bonald says, "that Fontenelle supposed him to have a great deal of imagination in his philosophy. The most severe thinker that ever lived, who puts images only into his style, while his thoughts are purely the suggestions of reason, passed thus for a man of imagination, while Locke and Condillac, who, in a style continually abstract and without figure, thought only of images, who had only senses and sensations in their thoughts, passed for men who had conceptions ; whereas, the truth was precisely in the contrary assertions. Malebranche was a man of conceptions, and Locke and Condillac men of imagination."†

Perhaps what induced so many to suppose that the scholastic philosophy was imaginative to the neglect of solidity, was the indefinite and incomplete character which it presented, under many points of view; but an attentive consideration of the causes which produced this effect, would lead perhaps to a different conclusion. It is true the schoolman and the mystic appears sometimes in his writing, as one who goes, yet where he tends knows not; but the modern critics who censure him, should remark with Novalis, that "order and definition alone do not constitute clearness, and that there is often more fulness as well as progressive capacity in men of intricate minds."‡ The models of classic composition cannot be urged against them, for it was the grammarians of the lower empire who divided the ancient writings into books and parts, and who thought they had done great things in distributing the narrative of Livy into Decades. The scholastic and mystic books, where most they seem indefinite, correspond with our souls, in which feeling and thought, as Tick says, "come like wave upon wave; one thought being cast out by another. Our feelings are only felt as they shift and pass—our delight merely gushes through us, one moment it entrances us, the next it has vanished." Hence St. Augustin complains, that he is always displeased with his own words, as he is greedy of something better, which he often interiorly enjoys before he begins to explain it; and when his words fail to express it, he is afflicted, for his tongue does not suffice to his heart. "All that I understand," he adds, "I wish that he who hears me may understand, and I perceive that I do not speak so as to succeed in this, chiefly, because the intelligence, like a rapid coruscation, flashes through the soul, whereas speech is slow and long, and very dissimilar ; and while it revolves these things, the other has already buried itself in its secrets."§

* Cur Deus Homo, c. 4.

† Legislation Primitive, i. 91.

‡ Schriften, ii. 228.

§ De Cat. Rudibus.

In the mystic writings of the Catholic school, as poets say,

> "Desires and adorations,
> Winged persuasions, and veil'd destinies,
> Splendors and glooms, and glimmering incarnations
> Of hopes and fears, and twilight phantasies,
> And sorrow, with her family of sighs
> And pleasure, blind with tears, led by the gleam
> Of her own dying smile, instead of eyes,
> Came in slow pomp :—the moving pomp might seem
> Like pageantry of mist on an autumnal stream."

Of these grand conceptions the last part, as in a tragedy, as in life too, you rarely find. Theirs is an unfinished structure like so many of their grand cathedrals ; but what sublimity in all that we can see, and what an exquisite harmony in the parts that are completed ! While of wisdom and of justice speaking, amidst soft looks of pity, they dart a glance as keen as is the lightning's stroke, when it doth rive the knots of some ancestral oak. "Undoubtedly, they saw," as St. Anselm says, "that whatever they could say or know respecting the great truths of revelation, there were deeper reasons involved which still remained hidden from them."* They leave much indefinite, for they knew well that the things they had to deal with were indefinite, and that they could not fetter them in the language of a formal definition, without violating their nature.

This caused the different sects of heretics which had each partial view of some one or other favorite truth, to say in Scripture language, that "their trumpet gave an uncertain sound ;" and the charge was true as far as it only expressed their resolution to exaggerate nothing, and color nothing, to frame no system out of disjointed members and isolated sentences. "Let our admiration be discreet," says Richard of St. Victor, "that in the foreknowledge and wisdom of God, we may admire nothing that is false. Let our congratulation be discreet, that we may venerate nothing vain in predestination, or the divine dispositions. Both are wonderful without the aid of falsehood—both are sweet without the condiment of vanity."† Although few, there are not wanting however some later writers, who have understood the real value of this forbearance.

"Some men wonder," says Marsilius Ficinus, "why we follow with such attention Plato, who always seems to be conversant with paradoxes and things marvellous."‡ These could not have been men who had drunk deep of the Catholic philosophy, which presents a similar handle for accusations to the thoughtless vulgar. Probably their style of writing is another reason for denying the character of philosophy to some of their works. Men will not be persuaded to designate as philosophy a book, like that of which Picus of Mirandula could say, "daily when fatigue and weariness come over me, I turn to it as if to retire into a garden, where I find such delight that nothing pleases me now more than to be

* Cur Deus Homo, 2. † De Contemplatione, P. i. Lib. ii. c. 25. ‡ Epist. Lib. I.

again fatigued and weary, in order that a second time I may have the same recreation."* But when the subjects treated of partake of the beauty and grandeur which belong to all Catholic views, this character was a necessary consequence. How could a page be abstract when charity had held the pen? On the other hand, how could it be without food for the imagination, when treating upon spirit? A Bonaventura to men who object that his style is not on a level with humanity, might reply in the words of Æschylus to Euripides—

ἀνάγκη
Μεγάλων γνωμῶν καὶ διανοιῶν ἴδα καὶ τὰ ῥήματα τίκτειν.

Yes, closely allied to heaven-bred poesy must be the expression of Catholic truth.

Having considered the philosophy of the clean of heart, in relation to its humble, practical, popular, and poetic character, let us proceed to remark its Catholicity. Here was its grand prerogative, the consideration of which will require some delay. The aspirations of the human intelligence after the universal view, which the Creator from eternity destined for the beatitude of the clean of heart, can be discerned through all the philosophic literature of the ancient world. Parmenides, in his poems, affirmed and proved, that all things belonged to unity, ἓν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν: and Zeno, as Socrates observed, seemed willing to express the same opinion, only in different words, asserting that there are not many things.† "Since we are by nature most desirous of truth and wisdom, we should be directed," say the Pythagoreans, "to that science which is one, which in itself comprises all things, and which is the sum of all contemplation."‡ Plato has no other idea of philosophy. "The multitude," he says, "can never attain to a conception of the beautiful, and not of many beautiful things; of the essence of all things, and not of many individual things: therefore it can never attain to philosophy."§

"It is an ancient tradition of metaphysicians," says Duns Scotus, "that in the foundation of nature nothing is distinct."‖ The schoolmen were not unobservant of this. "The wisdom of God," says Richard of St. Victor, "is simple and one, although it is distinguished by different words, that it may be more easily taken by us. It is circular, for in all ordinations of eternal wisdom the beginning agrees with the end."¶ "Unity belongs to the reason of goodness," says the angelic doctor, "all things desire unity, as goodness; and things only exist in as much as they are one. Whence we see that all things are repugnant to division, and that the dissolution of any thing arises always from its defect."** "The appetite for unity," he says, "is the cause of pain. Every separation is opposed

* Joan. Pic. Mir. Epist. Lib. i. 23.
‡ Jamblich. Adhort. ad. Philos. cap. 4.
‖ Lib. ii. Sent. Dist. iii. Q. v.
** P. 1. q. ciii. art. 3.
† Plat. Parmen.
§ Plat. de Repub. Lib. vi.
¶ Ric. S. Vict, Allegoriæ Tabernac. Fœd.

to unity. Quid est aliud dolor, nisi quidam sensus divisionis, vel corruptions impatiens? or the good of every thing consists in a certain unity—so that every thing seeks unity, as goodness. Pain, therefore, is caused by the appetite for that unity in which consists the perfection of nature. The separation of hurtful things is desired in as much as they take away the desired unity; therefore, it is the love of unity which inspires an appetite for effecting their separation." *

The same thought breaks out occasionally in the philosophic writings of the moderns. Lord Bacon praises the speculation of Parmenides and Plato, but laments that it was only a speculation in them.† "All ideas," says Fichte, "originally and essentially are one; it is only with reference to the objects upon which that one primary idea pours itself out, and in which it embodies itself within the sphere of our feelings and consciousness, that it breaks itself into a variety of forms, which several forms may themselves now be termed several ideas. An emanation from the one original idea, which employs itself in the constructing and reproducing the whole universe entirely out of itself, that is, by the processes of pure speculation is philosophy; for this has always formed the essence of philosophy whenever it has appeared among men, and will continue to form it for ever."

Heresy, therefore, stands at once condemned, without consulting the ecclesiastical judge. It is in advance rejected by all philosophy. For what is heresy? it is a point of view, a rejection of the grand whole, the choosing of a part cut off. Hear how it is lately defined by one externally attached to it. "Their distinctive peculiarities resolve mainly into a sheer abuse of words; or into an arbitrary and unfounded preference of some over other parts of a complex system of truths; by which means propositions essentially true, being separated from those adjuncts which modify and explain their meaning, come to be, in effect, no better than falsehoods." Heretics answer precisely to that multitude described by Socrates, who are incapable of forming a general conception of things, *οὐ δυναμένων εἰς τὸ πᾶν αἰεὶ βλέπειν.*‡ Open any of their writings and you will see immediately the truth of this observation, for never will you find one of them taking any but a partial narrow view.

When King Balak wanted Balaam to accuse and curse Israel, he said to him, "Veni mecum in alterum locum, unde partem Israël videas, et totum videre non possis; inde maledicito ei."§ This is virtually the counsel of those who encourage one another to accuse the Catholic Church. The sum of their instruction amounts to nothing but this: "Come where you may see a part only, and not the whole; then you may curse it heartily." They look only on one side, which, when they have cut off from all the rest, and isolated, can of course present nothing complete. Hear, for example, what a very worthy writer has lately said respecting the monastic discipline:—"It is a narrow, unsocial, sour, selfish, pernicious spirit,

* P. i. q. xxxvi. art. 4 † Advanc. of Learn. ‡ Plato, Theætetus. § Num. xxiii.

which leads the ascetic to forsake his most obvious duties to bury himself in useless solitude. Cuthbert had to learn that his own personal holiness was attached to the discharge of the active duties." Reader, you observe what clouds are here. From taking only one point of view, he falls into the absurdity of concluding that men of a sour, selfish, pernicious spirit, who forsook their most obvious duties, and became useless, were able to inspire their contemporaries, who yet must be granted to have had common sense, with that love and reverence which can only arise from a conviction of superior virtue.

Again, mere syllables detached have often blinded men to the vision of truth. "All heresies have sprung up," says John Picus of Mirandula, "from men attending not so much to the deep sense as to the outward bark of the words of the evangelists. Thus the letters major me est were fatal to Arius, donec peperit to Elvidius, ut abundaret delictum to Marcion, aliquando to Basilides, scriptum esse dii estis to Eanomius." Therefore Hilary says, "The interpretation of things said is to be derived from the causes of saying them: for things are not subservient to words, but words to things."* Heresy, therefore, it must be remembered, does not consist in pure error, but in a distorted and imperfect view of truth. According to St. Augustin, "All evil is good corrupted;" and the holy Doctor proceeds to say, "Nulla falsa doctrina est, quæ non aliqua vera intermisceat."†

Heretics will look but at a fragment of each Catholic doctrine, and then they logically conclude that it is not a whole truth. Hence the Valentinians used to call the Catholics "simple," attending only to their learned ignorance; the Montanists animal, discerning only their humanity and moderation; Vigilantius ash-collectors, or bone-keepers, remarking only the fact of their having relics in churches; Julian Galilæans, looking only to the country of their founder; the modern sects papists, Romanists, seeing nothing but their obedience to the supreme pontiff and the See of Rome.

Cicero, to make man free, denies the foreknowledge of God. "But the Christian," says St. Augustin, "chooses both, confesses both, and by the faith of piety confirms both; for he will not allow that because God is certain of the order of causes, therefore man can have no free choice: this very choice is in the order of causes, which God foresees; for He who foresees the causes of all things cannot be ignorant of what our choice will be, since that choice is the cause of our actions."‡

Lactantius remarks, that it would be easy to teach nearly all truth by collecting the opinions of the different sects of philosophers. "If any one," he says, "were to gather them up and arrange them all into one body, he would not dissent from us. All truth and the whole secret of divine religion, might thus be obtained."§

This is strictly true of the different sects which have been cut off from unity:

* Apolog. † Hom. Lib. ii. Quæst. Ev. c. 40. ‡ De Civ. Dei, Lib. v. 9. § Instit. vii. 17.

there is not a single doctrine of the Catholic religion for which an advocate may not be found in some eminent disciple of one or other of these heresies ; and it is curious, though painful, to hear them so pompously delivering a Catholic truth, imagining that its discovery is due to their own intelligence. Milton unconsciously bore witness to the fact, in the following remarkable words :—" Truth, indeed, came once into the world, and was a perfect shape most glorious to look on. But after 1500 years arose a wicked race of deceivers, who, as that story goes of the Egyptian Typhon with his conspirators, how they dealt with the good Osiris-took the virgin Truth, hewed her lovely form into a thousand pieces, and scatter, ed them to the four winds. From that time ever since, the sad friends of truth, such as durst appear, imitating the careful search that Isis made for the mangled body of Osiris, went up and down, gathering up limb by limb still as they could find them. We have not yet found them all, lords and commons, nor ever shall do," he adds, indeed, " until her Master's second coming :" but the blessed clean of heart were not the while left, among these sad seekers, to pick truth out of partialities ; for they had followed not lords and commons, but that holy Mother who could bring together every joint and member, and could remould them into an immortal feature of loveliness and perfection.

St. Augustin, commenting on the passage, " Jerusalem, which is built as a city whose participation is in itself," demands, " What do we understand by this itself ? What is this which is always the same, not at one time this and at another that, but which is in the same manner as he who said, ' Ego sum qui sum ?' It is that of which we read, ' Tu autem idem ipse es, et anni tui non deficient.' Behold ' itself,' whose years do not fail ! Brethren, do not our years daily fail ? Already they have failed, and are about again to fail. No one has ' itself ' from himself. Attend to this. The body hath it not, because it does not remain. It is changed by age, by alteration of place and of seasons, by disease and infirmity. The celestial bodies remain not in themselves ; they have mutations and operations to fulfil. The human soul itself does not stand ; for with how many changes and cogitations is it varied ? with how many pleasures, with how many cupidities, is it altered and torn ? The mind itself of man, which is called rational, is mutable : it is not ' itself ': one time it wishes, another it wishes not ; one time it knows, another it knows not ; one it remembers, another it forgets. Therefore, no one has ' itself ' from himself ; it can only be had by turning to the true Lord, who is truly ' itself '; to whom it is said, ' Mutabis ea et mutabuntur, tu autem idem ipse es.' "* This, therefore, was had by turning to the Catholic Church, in which, during all ages, was the most complete and unchanging unity of doctrine.

Savonarola, addressing the philosophers around him, adduces the fact of this permanent unity of belief, among such a series of innumerable intelligences, in proof of the truth of the Catholic religion. " In philosophy," he remarks,

* Tractat. in Ps. 121.

"there were as many opinions as heads; and if the wisest of them were unable to fix the intelligence of man, even in believing the few things which reason dictates and nature herself teaches, how much less could they have succeeded in regard to things surpassing reason? Whereas, in the church, we behold the intelligence and the affections of an infinite multitude of men attached as if with nails of iron to believing and loving things which wholly exceed the capacity of reason, and transmitting the same unchangeable doctrine to their posterity."* The eternal wisdom, which brings to pass all things in order, by appointed means, has left a provision for securing the unity of truth on earth, in the constitution of the church, which was to preserve it, analogous to that by which universal nature is governed and sustained. The primacy was therefore, as Pope Innocent III. remarked on the day of his consecration, attached to holy Peter's chair, by our Lord before his passion, when he said, "Thou art Peter;" during his passion, when he said, "Simon, Satan hath sought thee, but I have prayed for thee: when thou art converted, strengthen thy brethren;" and after his passion, when he said to him thrice, "Feed my sheep."† The church of Jerusalem, indeed, as the same pontiff remarks, in point of dignity, as Andrew was called of all churches; but Rome was such, in point of dignity, as Andrew was called earlier than Peter, who yet was preferred before him.‡ So that, whoever departed from the doctrine of the Roman Church, to use the emphatic language of Savonarola, was known to depart from Christ.§

Let us hear those speak who first beheld the descent on earth of the city of God. "I think that no one would contest this position," says St. Clement of Alexandria,—"that there is only one true church, which remounts to the apostolic time by means of its traditions, and to which all those belong who practice justice and virtue; for as there is but one God and one Lord Jesus Christ, it was proper that the church, that is to say, what is most venerable after God, should exhibit the great character, of unity; since it has God himself for a model. The church, which is essentially one, ought then necessarily to be composed of elements of the same nature; and woe to the heretics who endeavor to make it lose this precious unity by dividing it! For us, we recognize only one ancient and Catholic Church, which is one by its nature, by its principles, by its origin, by its excellence, which reunites all its children in the unity of one same faith."‖ "Such," says St. Irenæus, "are the instructions, such is the faith, which the Church has received; and although she is spread throughout the universe, she guards with care this precious treasure, as if she inhabited but one house; she professes each of these articles of faith with a perfect conformity, as if she had only one soul and one heart. Behold what it is she teaches, what it is she preaches, what it is she transmits by tradition, as if she had only one mouth and only one tongue!"¶

* Triump. Crucis, Lib. ii. 3. † In Hurter. Geschichte, tom. iii. 1. 93. ‡ Id. i. 283.
§ Triump. Crucis, Lib. iv. 6. ‖ Strom. Lib. vii. ¶S. Irenæ advers. Hæres. Lib. i. 10.

Human power had nothing to do with the bond of this vast society; so that to all who belonged to it the Platonic words might have been justly addressed:—"O men, I consider you all as being relations, fellow-domestics, and citizens by nature, not by law; for like natures are relations; but law, being the tyrant of men, forces many things contrary to nature."*

We have heard the fact. Now let us attend to the mystery. "Matter," says an illustrious historian, "desires dispersion, spirit desires unity; matter, essentially divisible, aspires to disunion and discord. Material unity is nonsense; in policy it is a tyranny. Spirit alone has the right to unite; alone it comprehends, it embraces, and, to say all in a word, it loves. Unity must exist by spirit, by the church; but, to give unity, the church itself must be one; then, in the material dispersion, the invisible unity of intelligences will appear—real unity, that of spirits and wills. Thus the feudal world contained, under the appearance of chaos, a real and powerful harmony; while the pompous delusion of the imperial unity contained only anarchy."†

The philosophy of the ages of faith, emanating from that house upon the mountain to which were to come all nations, was not therefore local, as that of the school of Elea or Crotona, the Italic and Ionic (for the term Romanos, used by Engippius and other ancient writers to signify Catholics as opposed to Arians and other early sects, was merely an allusion to the supreme jurisdiction of Peter's chair, mentioned by St. Irenæus)—or national, as that of the Indians and Egyptians, and according to the fancy of certain poets in modern times, who extol the revolution of the sixteenth century as being "the deliverance of national individualities"‡—or confined to casts, as that of the Brahmins and Magi—or derived from any man, as that of Pythagoras, Zoroaster, or Solon. Heresies, ever trusting in some one or other individual of extraordinary eloquence, as in the most glorious mortal that ever existed, like an Arius, Faustus, or the apostate of Erfurt, all of whose unrivalled powers of discourse are attested by St. Epiphanius,§ St. Augustin, and Belarmin, were even called from paticular men, as from Arius, Valentinian, Marcion, and Basileidus.‖ But all the great luminaries of the church were zodiacal, being successively swallowed up in the rays of the sun of justice. The one true ancient church was Catholic, universal as to place, common to all nations and to all races, and had God alone for its founder. Against its constant and unbroken chain of testimony nothing in the intellectual order could prevail—not a philosopher, if you will only credit Lord Bacon, who, after remarking that in latter times men who come in their own names are received, concludes that "the coming in a man's own name, without regard of antiquity or paternity, is no good sign of truth, although it be joined with the fortune and success of an 'Eam recipietis.'" The preacher might be learned, profound, elo-

* Plato, Protagoras.

† Michelet, Hist. de France, tom. i. 433.

‡ Rosenkranz, Geschichte der deutschen Poesie im Mittelalter, 30.

§ Hæres. 69.

‖ Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 17.

quent, invested with dignity, ἀλλ' οὐ γὰς πρό γε τῆς ἀληθείας τιμητέος ἀνήρ,* —not a bishop; he might become a teacher of error. Nestorius was patriarch of Constantinople, the second see of the Christian world, and yet he became chief of a party. For no individual were men to abandon the unity of the church. St. Augustin says of the holy fathers, "What they believed I believe; what they held I hold; what they taught I teach; what they preached I preach;"† and yet he says, "I do not receive what blessed Cyprien thought on one point, because this the church hath not received."‡ Such was the language of Catholics in all ages. "The opinion of St. Thomas is nothing to the question," says Picus of Mirandula, "because to depart from the opinion of Thomas is not to depart from faith; and there is often a difference of opinion among the Thomists concerning his opinion."§ Scotus, in the third of the Sentences, undermines the whole process of Anselm, in his book Cur Deus Homo. Scot and Thomas differ respecting the fall of St. Peter. "You cannot say," he adds, "this contradicts Augustin, or Jerome, or Gregory, or some other father: therefore it is heretical; for although the writings of the holy doctors, without the canon of the Bible, are to be delivered and read with due reverence, nevertheless their sayings are not of such immovable authority that it is not lawful to contradict them, unless when the contrary is evidently and expressly proved or firmly determined by the church."

Such was the doctrine of all Catholic theologians. "Mark the sentence which excommunicates all heresy exalting itself against the Catholic faith: he does not say," continues Melchior Canus, "error exalting itself against a bishop, against inquisitors, against theologians, whether of Paris or of Salamanca, Complutensia or Cologne, but against the Catholic faith." The school gives great license, and permits one to defend whatever is probable; so that what is contrary to the Scotists or Thomists is not necessarily an error, for it is only the authority of the Sentences, in which all agree, constituting a principle of common faith which cannot be opposed without rashness. The axioms of the school are twofold: the one are chiefly concerned with philosophy; the other with the faith and manners necessary for a Christian people. From the former men may freely differ; from the latter to dissent is a danger which we should shun as poison. Still it is most certain, that whatever dogma is received by the whole school is held also by the universal church; and there is no decree of the school which has not a certain origin, either in the sacred writings, or in the apostolic tradition, or in the definitions of councils or pontiffs; so that the placita of the schools cannot be denied without danger of the faith. The opinions of the school are a very different thing; for these may be disputed or denied by any one, without impiety."‖

But the view of the blessed clean of heart was Catholic in a more profound

* Plato de Repub. vi. † Lib. i. Cont. Jul. cap. 5. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 32.
§ Pic. Mir. Apol. ‖ De Locis Theolog. Lib. xii. 9.

sense than any in which we have as yet considered it. It was Catholic: therefore some would say, at one time, "it is a religion for the people," at another, "it is a religion for kings"—one observer would remark its adaptation to the wants of the poor and ignorant; another, its admirable fitness for the learned and thoughtful. Every object of nature and art, every part of the social state, even in countries where it was abjured, presented as it were a finger to point the way to it; from all sides were avenues leading to it and centering in it; and every man could enjoy it in connection with the peculiar disposition, habits, wants, and desires of his own intellect. "Vere multiplex spiritus," exclaims St. Bonaventura, "qui tam multipliciter filiis hominum inspiratur, ut non sit qui se abscondat a calore ejus."* Hence among converts to the Catholic Church, were persons of every possible variety of character: poets, metaphysicians, œconomists, historians, the imaginative, the positive, the lover of quiet, the lover of action, the artist, the mechanical philosopher, the sensitive, the phlegmatic, all come to her:—

> ———and all
> Are blessed, even as their sight descends
> Deeper into the truth; wherein rest is
> For every mind."†———

"The Catholic religion is Catholic," says Bonald, "not in the consequence of the universality of place, but of the necessity of principles. It is Catholic or general like geometric truths, which would not cease to be general truths though there were not to be a geometrician in the world; and the reformed system, though it were extended over the universe, would only be a particular religion, a private opinion, a heresy.‡ This, according to Staudenmaier, constituted its essential character. "In it lies the highest principle, inasmuch as it includes all principles. One cannot say that it proceeds from any one point of view and follows any particular direction, for it is its property, in view of truth, to contain all points of view and to involve all directions."§

Hence the great metaphysical power of the church, no less wondrous than its moral. It furnished the solution of all difficulties, and therefore, should have received homage from the human intelligence, if it were only to the principle advanced by all philosophers, that the degree of confidence which a theory merits, is in proportion to the number of truths or phenomena of which it gives a reason: accordingly Savonarola concludes that the Catholic religion must be true, from the observation that it affords a solution for all objections, and that the more it is attacked the more its perfections are brought to light.‖ A philosopher, on embracing it, might with a peculiar sense exclaim, in the words of the Introit on the Sunday within the octave of Corpus Christi, "Factus est Dominus proctector meus, et eduxit me in latitudinem." In fact, from

* Medit. Vitæ Christi, c. xxxvi. † Dante, Par. xxviii. ‡ Legislat Prim.
§ John Scotus, und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. i. 218. ‖ Triump. Crucis, ii. 8.

that moment, every thing in art or nature seemed to offer itself to serve him. As the poet says, all things became slaves to his holy and heroic strain :

> " Earth, sea, and sky, the planets, life, and fame,
> And fate, or whate'er else binds the world's wondrous frame."

The Catholic is he who, even on social and human grounds, according to Marsilius Ficinus, should be honored by all ; for he himself honors all ; he favors the good, extols the ingenuous, admires the learned, venerates the saints, and adores God in all.* Embracing the grand whole without break or interruption, the Catholic view was the most rational, the most complete in all its parts, or rather it was the only view which could satisfy reason throughout. Moreover, it had something to correspond with all parts and faculties of human nature, and demanded no destruction to secure its action. Novalis might be well struck at this fact. " The Herrnhuters," he says, " annihilate their reason, persons of susceptibility their penetration, persons of penetration their heart. No act is more common among men than the act of annihilation."† The Catholic possessed that privilege which poets have so often longed for ;—he could embody and unbosom that which is most within him—could wreak his thoughts upon expression, and thus throw soul, heart, mind, passions, feelings strong or weak, all that he would have sought, and all he sought, bore, knew, felt, and yet breathed, into one word—and that one word faith.—Therefore he spoke with hope, while other men lived and died unheard, with a most voiceless thought.

The moderns love and see opposition, and a spirit of mutual destruction, where men of the middle ages loved and saw union. " It is not a little singular," says a recent historian, " that while the Hibernians were the first teachers of scholastic theology in Europe, so an Hibernian, John Scot Erigena, himself unrivalled among the dialectitians of his day, should have been also the first to introduce into the arena the antagonist principle of mysticism :" than this, it would be hard to frame a more erring sentence ; and yet the profoundest writers of the modern discipline seem to experience the same difficulty which lead to it. Albert Leibner, in his valuable work on Hugo of St. Victor, speaks of the scholastic and mystic principles, as constituting two extremes in psychology : " How," he demands, " could a union of two such contradictory elements be possible ?"‡ Nevertheless, he admits the fact that, according to the views of this philosopher, both were necessary for the perfection of the highest spiritual life, and that in his own mind the union had been realized. The logical school was concerned with truth, more immediately, indeed, in relation to the intelligence, and the intuitive or mystic school was concerned with it more directly, in relation to love—but these were not antagonists, they were rather identical ; or at least when one was wanting the Catholic type was not followed.

" Tantum lucere vanum," says St. Bernard, " tantum ardere parum : lucere et

* Mars. Fic. Epist. Lib. viii. † Schriften, ii. 160. ‡ P. 45.

ardere perfectum."—Let us pause awhile to consider the union of beams in the undivided light. Mystic is derived from μύω, a word which, at one time, gives the hollow sighing sound caused by closing the mouth and holding the lips together, which indicates that secrecy is a holy thing. St. Bonaventura says, that it is called mystic theology because it is closed or occult to all but those to whom it is revealed by God.* Some have said that mysticism is to be traced from the writings of Dionysius, and of Plato ; but it is in general an error to suppose that any philosophy has been able to overcome the freedom of the human spirit ; and it argues as little knowledge of mysticism to derive it from Plato, as it does of the scholastic philosophy to ascribe its invention to Aristotle. " In Christian contemplation," continues Staudenmaier, " and in the gnosis of St. John, must be sought the root of true mysticism. Mysticism is the scholastic of sentiment, and scholastic philosophy is the mysticism of the philosophic or speculative reason. They appear together, and are inseparably interwoven." St. Anselm says of the former, " Qui non crediderit, non experietur ; et qui expertus non fuerit, non intelliget."†

Truth can only be in totality. The whole can only be known rightly, when it is seized and understood on all its sides. The general is as important as the particular : therefore the harmonious cultivation of the powers of the soul is the most wholesome, and the most joyful exercise ; and by this, reason and feeling are both developed together, and united so as to form one spirit. Right reason does not therefore render cold the inspiration, nor will feeling so overwhelm the reason as to incapacitate it to discharge its functions—thought becomes truth, and feeling, life : both occupy the spirit, and are inseparable where truth is living, and life is true. The feeling strengthens its truth by means of thought, and thought its life, by feeling ; but the spirit is one and the same in both.

It was thus in the middle ages. So the equilibrium remained ever constant ; and in the mighty energy of men, who stood on one or other of these sides, was revealed the eternal energy of the one Christian spirit. The thinking mind was ever at the side of the holy life of feeling, and vice versa. This unity appears in all the great luminaries of the Church. At one time it was the endeavor of these men, through the faculty of thought, through scientific inquiry, in a word, through philosophy, to put down in an immense system the one great truth of the world, and of Christianity ; and in this effort they worked as scholastics ; at another their efforts were directed to bind themselves in the unity of their spirit with the divine Spirit, to make that unity the soul of their whole life, that inexhaustible holy fountain, from which springs the power of the ideal, the mighty life in godly ideas, and the highest inspiration—and in this they worked as mystics. The harmony of all powers and exertions consisted in this union and combination of all in one. Such was Scot Erigena in the ninth,

* S. Bonav. Mystica. Theolog. ad fin. † De Fide Trinit c. 2,

Bonaventura, who in such a remarkable manner combined subtilty of dialectics and the deep interior power of mysticism, speculation, and contemplation, in the middle of the scholastic and mystic ages, and Gerson towards their close. Thus the scholastic Hugo of St. Victor was also a mystic philosopher, and the mystic Richard of St. Victor a scholastic philosopher. Albertus Magnus and St. Thomas of Aquin, by their commentaries on St. Dionysius, and their love for that author, showed clearly that to them the mystic element was any thing but foreign. Even St. Bernard, who came forward more as a mystic than as a scholastic, did nevertheless impart the same unity of direction to his efforts. And had not Abailard evinced a rash spirit of speculation, the holy light of Clairvaux would never have appeared in opposition. Only the false scholastics did St. Bernard attack and not the true, with which his mysticism always was combined on the common ground of faith. So that, in short, when Gerson wrote a theory, in which religious speculations and mysticism were presented in close and inseparable union, he did nothing else but what the whole middle age had done before him.*

Another characteristic of the Catholic view, was the deep and practical conviction associated with it, arising out of the circumstance of its not being a selection at choice out of different opinions. "The idea of philosophy," says Novalis, "is a mysterious tradition. All eclectics are sceptics at the bottom, and the more they embrace, the more are they sceptical"—profound and lucid words!

We have already seen that Catholic philosophers could only confirm and illustrate the truths transmitted to them. Their wisdom, being Catholic, was traditional, and that it was so understood by them may be witnessed in the chronicle of Ademan, a monk of St. Eparchus, who brings down his history to the year 1028, and thus records the progress of the school: "Bede taught Simplicius, who taught Raban, who taught Alcuin, who taught Smaragdus, who taught Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, who taught Helias, the Scot, bishop of Angouleme, who taught Henricus, who left the monks Remi and Ucbald heirs of philosophy."†

Touron remarks how much wisdom St. Thomas derived from attending to the counsel. "Neglect not the narrative of seniors, for they are learned from their fathers; since from them you will learn understanding, and in time of necessity you will give an answer."‡ "Much avails human study," says the Angelic doctor, "when a man carefully, frequently, and reverently applies his mind to the testimony of his ancestors, not neglecting it through indolence, or despising it through pride."§

The ascetic writers themselves, were rather collectors and transmitters, than professed authors of thought. The Imitation, as Michelet remarks, was nothing but an abridgment of the ascetic writers of the middle age; there is nothing in it which cannot be found in former writings; it is only a judicious selection from

* Joan Scot. Erig. und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. 478.

† Bulæus Hist. Univers. Paris, tom. i. ‡ Ec. viii. 14. § ii. 2. Q. 49. a. 3. ad. 2.

them. Besides observing the natural consequences of the combination of intelligence, which could be discerned by the ancient poet, who said, "Nemo solus satis sapit," men were impressed with a conviction, in ages of faith, that an influence to kindle and illumine, far above any natural cause, prevailed within the pale of this unity. The Væ soli of the Scripture, are words to them full of mystic and divine wisdom, which would have been quite sufficient to show the fatal consequences of isolation, and the folly of those who would read "Happy those who stand alone."

"You are deceived, holy Thomas, you are deceived," says St. Bernard, "if you hope to see the Lord separated from the College of the Apostles. Truth does not love corners; bye paths do not please it. It stands in the midst; that is, it delights in common discipline, common life, common studies. How long then will you seek private consolations with such labor of self-will, and beg for them with such blushing?"* "Let them gnaw as much as they like," says Louis of Blois, "in their holes and corners, the dry bark of their errors: never will they be nourished with the grace of God unless they be within the splendid house of God, that is, in the Catholic Church."†

Again, a great and most remarkable privilege, attached to the Catholic view, was the power which it imparted of detecting in an instant the true relation of things, and their ultimate consequences. The philosophy at present opposed to it, which offers nothing universal but the variations and anarchy of religious opinions, leaves its disciples without the means of finding their true position, or of being able to orient themselves, according to the expression of many languages. The Catholic religion, in an eminent degree, instructs its children in what Novalis terms "Socracy," which is the art of finding the point of truth, out of any given place, and of determining the relation of that given place to truth.‡

The gift of wisdom to the clean of heart, as Goerres remarks, is also the gift of all higher ideas, as far as relates to the use of knowledge, to the quickness with which the true nature of these ideas is discerned, to the power of seizing the whole depth of their contents, of understanding their mutual relation, of making clear their beginning and end, of holding them fast in their reciprocal positions, and of managing them in their movements.§ Nor is this advantage confined to the sphere of intellectual exercise, for he who is taught by God and not by man, that is, he who hears the church and bows to her authority, sees and estimates all things of life and manners as they are, and not as they are called or estimated. Therefore, from the first instant, he knows the real worth of all that he comes in contact with:— genius, learning, rank, dignity, are all valued by him exactly according to their real worth, and not the least higher than God intended them to be. Hence the self-possession, the noble air of freedom and conscious equality,

* S. Bern. in Ascensione Dom. Serm. vi.
† Epist. ad Florentium.
‡ Schriften, ii. 138.
§ Die Christliche Mystic, ii. 195.

joined with the strictest respect to degree of every kind which characterizes the Catholic. The reason of this was evident to the schoolmen ; for as Duns Scotus says, " nothing is perfectly known, unless God be perfectly known ; therefore nothing is simply known, unless He be simply known. As the first heat is the cause of heat in all other things, so is God the cause of knowing all other things, and, therefore, is He the first object of the intelligence."* St. Clement of Alexandria says, that it is the property of this high wisdom to be able to distinguish the sophist from the philosopher, the rhetorician from the dialectician ;† and that truth, shining out as the sun, enables us to discern what is really true in the Greek philosophy, and to detect and convict all sophistical confidence of speech.‡ " Non literatus sed spiritualis omnia dijudicat," says Hugo of St. Victor.§ The Catholic, if faithful, is in fact this spiritual man who judges all things, and is himself judged of no one : a few moments' conversation between him and other men, however his superiors in all other respects, will place this beyond doubt : and, in fact, how could it be otherwise ?

" True notions, not alone of history," as Wagner says, " but of all things ordained for social life around us, are only possible from the Christian, that is, Catholic point of view, in which we recognize the personal and holy God, as also the personal and free action of man."‖ If we know not the object of Almighty God in creation, nor his will in the progress of the Church—history and the whole order of human life will be a sealed book.

The extraordinary predominance of vanity and worldly emulation in London, arises from there being no divine type kept ever present, by a daily office, in the minds of men, by which they could judge of their own motives and actions. The fancy of each man is his rule.

Euripides represents Æthra, the mother of Theseus, speaking of being in error as to the gods dishonoring them, but thinking justly on all other subjects.¶ The boast is absurd, as even some heathen philosophers themselves would allow. " He who knows God," says Staudenmaier, " knows in him all other things in their true condition : in this manner thought has become, by means of Christianity, much deeper, more true and intimate in relation to the heart. Its ideas are universal, as its consciousness is divine."**

From how many errors and absurdities would men have been delivered in their capacity of historians, metaphysicians, moralists, legislators, œconomists, and rulers, if they had been content to adhere to the great rule, never to condemn what the church has expressly sanctioned and approved, and never to approve of what she has condemned. Do you ask for a demonstration ? Experience is the proof, and it is conclusive ; for it is here that we see verified the remark of Lacordaire, that " God provides ingenious insults for the pride of man." Hence it

* Duns Scot. in Lib. i. Sent. dist. iii. 9. 2. 3. † Stromat. 1. 9. ‡ Id. vi. 2.
§ Erud. Didasc. Lib. vi. 4. ‖ System der Ideal Philosophie, 97. ¶ Suppl. 303.
** John Scotus Erig. und die Wissenschaft seiner Zeit. 1. 31.

is that a conversation between a Catholic and a disciple of any other philosophy, is sure to terminate like one of Plato's dialogues, when a Sophist has opposed Socrates—for the lame in the right course outstrips the swift, who has left the way. The issue might remind a looker-on of what Socrates says, "that the meanest Lacedæmonian, though at first he would appear awkard in his language, would in course of conversation throw in like a dexterous lancer, some short and nervous remark, so as to make the other look no wiser than a child."* There could not be a happier image to describe the contest between a modern philosopher and a humble disciple of the Catholic Church: for what was it which enabled the latter, starting up even in perversest times to bind the scorpion falsehood with a wreath of ever living-flame, until the monster stung itself to death? It was the truth of pure lips contained in a few short plain words. The objections of men, who, if they had the power, would confound all unity on earth, can copiously and diffusely with choice words and grave sentences, be amplified and adorned; but they can never stand before the short logical and acute answers of the Catholic, who has learned well his catechism. He who hears the Church will not care for ten thousand words of men. The objectors are soon made to appear confused at their own objection, and to wear the countenance of Protagoras, when Socrates drew him to reply that he would call some things good, even though they were not useful to mankind. These professors of reformed notions too, can all make long speeches; but none of them are as clever or as bold as Protagoras, who pretended to be able in reply, to make short also to specific questions. He, indeed, would have shrunk from making proof of his ability, in that respect, had not Socrates risen to depart, and all the hearers interposed to make him fulfil what he had engaged to do, when he declined absolutely relinquishing the mode of a lengthened harangue.† To combat each of the objections separately, would, indeed, be a long and wearisome task; but it was in the comprehensive glance at the grand whole, that lay the secret of the Catholic's power, as in those Grecian games which Pindar sung, where he who won the prize of the Pentathlon, which included the five games, might also boast of having carried off that of the Stadium,‡ because in the former the length and difficulties of each were considerably less than where each taken separately was made the trial; so in this contest, where the conviction of any adversary was the prize, one and the same conqueror might win the merit of having proved one point, though his demonstration of the whole system had previously rendered that one and every other certain. St. Francis Xavier was said by the Bonzes of Japan, to have had the power of removing by one word several different and even converse objections addressed to him at the same moment from all sides. Something of the same power may be said to belong to every one who defends the same cause; the cross is a universal answer, and the vast structure of Catholic wisdom is like that pyramid of the

* Plato, Protag. † Plato, Protag. ‡ Olymp. xiii.

Egyptians, which was counted among the seven wonders of the earth, because receiving light on all sides, it did not obstruct it to any spot whatever, as it cast no shadow.*

But we should never finish were we to dwell upon all the advantages which resulted to the intellect from the Catholic faith. It made each person like many persons, a genius. "Every person," says Novalis, "is the germ of an infinite genius." Catholicism could develop it, and bring out from each many persons in harmony. The Catholic philosopher necessarily lived as it were in many places, and in many men.

Vox sermonum ejus ut vox multitudinis.† To him there was nothing peculiarly his own, and nothing foreign: all was at the same time his own and foreign: he knew how to appropriate to himself what was foreign, and to make foreign what was his own. "Let no one blame me," says Picus of Mirandula, "that I have been a guest in all schools, as if to whatever the tempest bore me; for I have always been accustomed to examine every kind of writing, esteeming it the sign of a narrow mind to confine one's self to any one porch or academy. In every family there is something remarkable, which is not common to it with others. There is in John Scot something vigorous, and full of force to overthrow —in Thomas, the solid and equable—in Ægidius, the terse and exact—in Francis, the strenuous and acute—in Albert, the ancient, ample, and magnificent—in Henry, as it seems to me, always something sublime and worthy of veneration."‡ Thus, in a strict and philosophic sense, was continually fulfilled the prayer of the Church, "ut quod singuli obtulerunt ad majestatis tuæ honorem cunctis, proficiat ad salutem."§

According to Hugo of St. Victor, philosophy is to be extended to all acts of men, so that there are as many parts of philosophy as there are diversities of things. Thus Vincent of Beauvais notices expressly, that there is a philosophy of architecture;‖ and Michael Scot, in his division of philosophy, distinguishes that part which relates to the common acts of life; in fact, all which the Catholic philosopher did, said, and suffered, was, whether with or without self-consciousness, on artistic, scientific product, or operation; he spoke in epigrams, the maxims of the saints—he acted in a theatre, with angels and angelic men for audience— he held dialogues, even when the speakers were only within himself; for as language must be considered as thought rendered external and visible, so must thought be regarded as an internal language, and a continued conversation with one's self, and this in a sense so purely psychological, that we, ourselves, when we are alone, or think ourselves alone, are accustomed to think as if we were two persons, so as to feel that our inmost and deepest selves are really dramatic; and if this be the case with all men by mere nature, how much more so is it with him, who, by grace

* Tacitus, An. i. 99. † Dan. x. 6. ‡ Joan. Pic. Mirand. de Hominum Dignitate.
§ VII. Sund. after Pent. ‖ Spec. Doctrinale, Lib. i. c. 15.

and truth, has been enabled to recognize and hear distinctly the twofold action, and the double voice within his soul ?

" Hence," as Frederick Schlegel remarks, " the holy hermits of past ages, in the deserts, who have led a life of meditation on godly things, and mysteries, represented the result of their meditation as no other, desired to clothe it in no other garb, and to bring it into no other form of view than a conversation of their soul with God. He who enjoyed the Catholic view again was pregnant with histories and anecdotes, for he held by tradition. When he appeared, he appeared as an artist, as a musician : his life was a poem. In a word, he gave to every thing that he touched or did, a scientific ideal form." To him a wide circle and a multiplicity of things were continually present, while his mind was a tower, that, firmly set, shakes not its top for any blast that blows. Thus was formed that true great presence of mind which shone with such splendor in Sir Thomas More, and in myriads who resembled him through the long lapse of believing ages, making them kings of thought, lords of their oppressors, and natives of the world.

Hence we can understand the constant sleepless effort of men during ages of faith to Catholicize, that is, to arrange in the true order of the whole, to reduce to the ideal in which it exists in the eternal mind, every thing—politics, science, art—their ingenious endeavors to introduce the symbols of truth, amidst social forms, and to make religion enter into the detail of manners ; for, as we remarked elsewhere, their leading thought appears to have been that the state and the family and the individual " ought each in its way to reflect the image of that order and harmony by which they know the universe to be sustained and regulated."

Hence the type of all things in their minds was Catholic, that is to say, alas, the converse of what it is now ; hence, their resolution, not to look without the Church for truths which they possessed within it. Their conclusion being that of Tertullian, who says, " even though we were still and always to inquire, yet where should we inquire ? is it with the heretics, where all things are extraneous and adverse to our faith, and to approach whom we are forbidden ? What servant would seek nourishment from a stranger, not to say from an enemy of his master ? What soldier would accept a donative and stipend from foreign, not to say hostile kings, unless he were a deserter and a rebel ? Nemo inde strui potest unde destruitur : nemo ab eo illuminatur a quo contenebratur. Quæramus ergo in nostro, et a nostris, et de nostro."* And, in sooth, not to have been content with that limitation, if such a solecism can be excused, would have been the extreme of ignorance, for where could be truth or wisdom, if not in the Catholic philosophy, in the mind which looked at the grand whole ?

Could it be with the sages of the ancient world, of whom the first and wisest professed to know this only, that he nothing knew ? or, with those, who, under the pretence of a more sound religion, have in these latter times revived that old

* Lib. de Præscript. 12.

philosophy. Alas! what can they teach, and not mislead; ignorant of themselves, of God much more? But in times maligned, how successful were the efforts of the clean of heart, to keep their wisdom Catholic and pure. Under the Roman emperors, and in the old society of the world, the pagan philosophy still left roots, and heresy was prompt to spring up as at first, in the time of the Apostles; but in the middle ages there was nothing to interrupt the holy simplicity, the one great view.

Who must not admire this admirable composition of discipline, this incredible order of things? For what can be found either in nature, than which nothing is more full of exquisite adaptations, or in the works of men's hands, so compounded, so compact, and so cemented and jointed together? What is there last, which does not agree with what is first; what is there that follows which does not answer to what went before? What one part is there not so interwoven with the other that by the mere moving of a letter, all the rest must fall? Nor, indeed, is there so much as a letter that can be moved; and then how grave, how magnificent, how constant became the very person of the Catholic? What consolations had they? What exhortations, yea, what admonitions and counsels written to the greatest men? All these qualities which the philosopher beautifully enumerates, as constituting the highest and noblest ideal of wisdom, were found united and infinitely extended here. Many good persons, I am aware, have never learned to see the admirable and glorious connection between their religion, and all that adds lustre and dignity to the present life of men, while others cannot be persuaded by any effort to look upon the beauty which they have betrayed; but, as a late writer remarks, even for those who do not comprehend all its most profound and exquisite relations, the Catholic view ought to appear, at least, as the grandest of all those that have ever illumined the human race. In every order of things, he observes, it has left a footstep, a giant trace, a trace which the world adores, and which future generations will never equal. In poesy it made a Dante, the Homer of soul, and of the world of spirits, as the other was for the world of bodies. In art it made a Michael Angelo, and we do not speak of that common herd of great men, that crowd of illustrious geniuses, mixed together like the luminous souls in the glorious garlands of Dante, each of whom would have graced a world. In the conduct of nations it produced those two names, which still, in spite of the aberration of ages, represent the poles on which European society revolves, Charlemagne and Gregory VII., and the third ideal in which the fusion of that double genius was realized — St. Louis — Gregory VII., Charlemagne, and St. Louis, and by them, the most beautiful social edifice that ever existed, the grandest, the most holy federation, that which comprised the greatest number of nations —that which was of all others the most fruitful in every kind of glory. The Greek federation scarcely lasted two centuries, and they were stormy and uncertain. The union of nations under the Roman despotism endured longer, but its end was more dishonorable, and more bloody. The Christian republic en-

dured, at least, for ten centuries, and in spite of the decay of the principle, which gave it birth, nothing but a return to barbarism can wholly overthrow it.

Initiated by truth itself in all the secrets of man and of society, the Church has never had any but grand views; therefore, as often as proud mediocrity, fierce and haughty on the ground of its isolation, has attempted to measure by its own standard the vast conceptions of Catholicism, one has heard it proclaim as false and untenable the divine views, whose magnificent totality is unveiled only to those intelligences, which are enlightened by all the light of which the Church is the focus. This is what was to be expected. Where could the spirit of man, spirit partial in its nature, learn to know and to feel that which is grand, that which is Catholic? In describing the narrow circumference which is assigned to it, if its attention be arrested by a detail which seems to it imperfect, it stops there, it declaims, it blasphemes, it remains eternally nailed to that spot; to leave it only one thing is wanting; to extend a little its regards, but this is to ask from it what is beyond its ability. Weakness, very excusable! if it were not in reality the fault of the heart. For our religion is admirable in this respect, that by it the man "of good will" placed on high, enjoys an horizon of which the extent can never be conceived by the man who wishes to be a rule unto himself. Happy prelude to that vision which is reserved for the clean of heart, in the abode of light, holy and eternal.

There remains but one characteristic of the Catholic philosophy, not as yet especially noticed, which may be denominated its generosity and ennobling influence. That the perfection of the mind is not opposed to that of the heart, is proved, as we have seen, by the writings of the holy fathers and the schoolmen; the effect of their philosophy is to dephlegmatize and to vivify. It formed no ice-hearted counsellors. "The tree of wisdom," says Hugo of St. Victor, "is only strong through love, it only becomes green through hope, which yields the joy that keeps the heart warm during the winter of this life."*

The language of the saints, with respect to the flames within their hearts, is well known. What astonishing things are recorded by faithful witnesses of St. Francis of Assisium, St. Theresa, Mary of Oegnis, Peter of Alcantara, and others? The heart of St. Catherine of Sienna glowed with such love, that she felt as if the common elementary fire was more cooling than warming.† "What is to be wise," asks Hugo of St. Victor,‡ "unless to love God? Love is wisdom." It would have been hard to convince this great luminary of the school, that hatred and mistrust were the best criterion of a vocation to philosophy, and that he was the best proficient who could repeat Satan's confession—only in destroying I find ease to my relentless thoughts. The peaceful loving character of Catholic wisdom gave all who possessed it an immense intellectual advantage, not only over the followers of the irreligious school in general, but also over those

* De Arca Morali, iii. 7. † Goerres die Christliche Mystik, ii. ‡ In Eccles. Hom. xii. 149.

who advocated that system in particular, which rests on the supposed reformation of the doctrines of faith ; for the protestor, who believes himself in exclusive possession of pure truth, being necessarily pressed upon from both sides by what he terms Romanism and ultra Protestation, must in effect be like a pedagogue of the Elizabethan school— always teaching and always angry ; and Cardan remarks that " the pedagogue's office is one of those, which, by their very nature, produce folly, not only from the custom of teaching, but also from the habit of being made angry."*

The Catholic wisdom, moreover, taught men what a dangerous thing it is to admit such dark spirits and phantoms as spring from suspicion into their soul : it warned them that the habit of mistrusting others would in time utterly drive out all truth, and love, and strength, and faith. Charity, while it prepared them for the worst, made them always believe and anticipate the best things. No frigid atmosphere came from them ; for their hearts were kept inflamed by their intelligence ; so that the monk Evagrus, showing the importance of continuing to explain to pagans the principles of religion, says, " at least, in approaching the torch to the eyes of the blind, if they do not see the light, they cannot avoid feeling its warmth.† To each student of the Catholic schools one might apply Plato's expression, ἐξημμένος ὑπὸ φιλοσοφίας ὥς περ πυρός.‡

In fact, to the light which issued from them the universal world owed warmth and lustre. Thanks to its influence, there was no winter in the spiritual region, nor were souls ever cut off from each other and frost-bound by selfishness, but all were blended and fused everlastingly into one living whole by the breath of love. St. Thomas remarks, that the first angel sinning is termed cherubim, which is interpreted plenitude of science, and not seraphim, which is glowing, as if through charity.§ The spirits whom faith had renovated, though, as Dante saith, "wonderful for wisdom of cherubic light," were yet still more admirable for meriting the title of seraphic ; and this praise belongs not to the school alone, but also to those great men of the sixteenth century, who sought to reconcile the views of Plato and his old philosophy with the Catholic faith. When one reads the philosophic epistles of Marsilius Ficinus, or of Picus of Mirandula, the heart is inflamed, the intelligence cheered and invigorated—one feels more pious, more confiding, and the effect of such study is to sweeten, to illumine, to sanctify the heart, and on the wings of their sublime contemplation the soul ascends to God. With what a noble sense of the dignity of the human intelligence does Ficinus encourage his disciple, saying to the Antonio Faventino, " God himself will fight for religious philosophy, for piety—Stergo Deus pro nobis quis contra nos ?"‖

In later times natural philosophers, by confiding their attention to the parts and mechanism of the external world, have learned to speak of the human race as

* De Sapientia, Lib. v. † Apud Dacher. Spicileg. tom. x. 3.
‡ Plato, Epist. xii. § LXIV. art. 1. ‖ Epist. Lib. x.

forming but a very humble portion of the creation because they consider in man only the anatomical organization of his body; but the views respecting the importance of the rational creature, entertained by the schoolmen, who kept their eyes fixed upon the spiritual grandeur, the divine privileges, and the eternal destinies of man, were very different. St. Anselm says "that all who live justly are angels of God;"* and John Scot Erigena expressed himself to the same effect, saying, "divine Scripture and reason prove that the human and the angelic natures are the same, or most similar."† "Even we," says St. Augustin, "inasmuch as we taste something eternal in our mind, are not in this world."‡ You are not sent," says St. Bernard, "to behold the sun, moon, and stars, neither the firmament, nor the waters which are above the firmament. All these, although above you in place, are beneath you in dignity; they are bodies, but a part of you is spirit, superior to which you will search in vain for any thing which is not spirit."§

The Catholic view might naturally suggest the words of Plato, that in determining the character of a real philosopher, we must remember that minuteness is most contrary to the soul, which is about to aspire to a conception of the whole of things divine and human; that there must be in the mind a certain quality of magnificence, and a perception of all time and of all essence, which will necessarily lead to a contempt for human life, and a conviction that there is nothing terrible in death.‖

"The sacred mysteries," says Picus of Mirandula, "commemorate seraphim, cherubim, and thrones." Than these we shall be no ways inferior if we wish; for let us observe what they do and how they exist, that by doing the same, we may have an equal lot with them. Seraphim burns with the fire of charity—cherubim shines with the splendor of intelligence—thrones stand by the firmness of judgment: therefore, if we fulfil the duties of the active and inferior life according to justice, we shall be established with the solidity of thrones; if suspending action, meditating on the Creator in the things created, and on the things created in the Creator, we employ ourselves in contemplation, we shall shine on all sides with cherubic light; if in charity we desire only the Creator, we shall be inflamed with that fire which is devouring in the seraphic image.¶

To these lofty views, of the dignity of our nature, all conceptions of its moral character corresponded, so that in the schools of faith, grandeur and virtue were shown inseparably combined. "True philosophy," says Novalis, "is suicidical—it destroys self; that is, the real beginning of all philosophy." This profound thinker then would admit to the fullest extent the claim of the scholastics to be true philosophers, for the result of mystic love, according to Dionysius and Hugo of St. Victor, is to expel man from himself, expelli incipiat et exire etiam a se.

* Cur Deus Homo, ii. 8. † De Divisione Naturæ, Lib. iv. ‡ De Trin. 4.
§ De Consideratione, v. 3. ‖ De Repub. Lib. vi.
¶ Joan. Pic. Mirand. de Hominum Dignitate.

This, in fact, is the Catholic view, diametrically opposed, therefore, to the moral system of the Utilitarian writers, deriving its strength from the selfish passions of our nature. The ancient philosophers themselves had shown the folly of supposing that selfishiness is the secret principle of human actions. Plato says, "that in love it is not what belongs to themselves, that men love as some have thought, unless, indeed, it be said that goodness belongs essentially to themselves, and that evil is something foreign to them, for it is nothing but goodness which men love and immortality."* Assuredly, it would have been difficult to persuade the schoolmen that the holiness without which no man shall see the Lord, could be compatible with the adoption of such a rule of life. "Utilitarian philosophy," says a distinguished living writer, "in destroying the dominion of the moral feelings, offends at once, both against the law of honor and the law of God. It rises not for an instant above the world, allows not the expansion of a single lofty sentiment; and its natural tendency is to harden the hearts, and debase the moral practice of mankind."

The generous communicativeness which characterized the spirit of the Catholic philosophy, breaks out in a curious passage of Richard of St. Victor, where he shows that the consummation of perfect goodness and love cannot be obtained without three persons. "Let it disturb or anger no one," saith he, "if for the more clear intelligence of truth we speak in a humane manner of things divine. We convert this kind of speech to our purpose, with the more confidence, as we find it frequently in the holy Scriptures. The highest degree of goodness seems to be when the highest love is directed to that where nothing will be wanting to the fulness of its felicity. But this highest degree of perfection cannnot be found between two persons only; for though each of these, without doubt, would draw the delights of love from the other, yet greatly is this joy increased to both when there is a third person to whom they can exhibit their love, and communicate their surpassing delights. For there would be something wanting to the sweetness of the two, if there were not a third to whom they could impart a communion in their love. Therefore, without a completion of the Trinity, there could not be the consummation of perfect goodness."†

But we must conclude this chapter. In general, the Catholic view verifies the remark of Richard of St. Victor, "that in proportion as the heart of man is delighted in admiration of the wisdom of God, it is expanded to the conception of more and greater things,"‡ that was in fact its godlike recompense.

The writings of St. Thomas, the great representative of Catholic philosophy, might be adduced in evidence, as exhibiting all the characteristics which we have ascribed to it. For, say those who have made his shining volumes their constant study, his philosophy is angelic. It is "sicut angeli," according to Clement the Eighth, whose brief begins with those words;—it explains all things on the earth,

* Conviv. † De Trinitate, Pars I. Lib. iii. c. 18, 14. ‡ Allegoriæ Tabernaculi Fœd.

seeing effects in causes, and causes in effects :—it is holy, for, as Pope Clement the Sixth says, " From the writings of his wisdom and learning the universal church collecting the fruit of spiritual abundance, is continually refreshed :"—it is sublime and beautiful, clear and in order, so that a learned theologian says, " After the sum of Thomas nothing remains but the light of glory—Neque aliud superest nisi lumen gloriæ post summum Thomæ :"—it contains universal truth, so that Labbæus says, " He who understands Thomas hath learned all things, yet doth not he who hath learned all things understand the whole of Thomas ;"—and it is so capable of being applied to the purposes of truth, that the celebrated Jerome Casanato says, if every one were agreed to follow the principles of St. Thomas, there would be no heresies in the world, no relaxation of morality which rules the consciences of men, and no wandering or illusion in mystic theology which prepares the way for holiness."*

Such were the views not of one individual but of the ages of faith in general ; for nothing singular can be detected in the wisdom of this great glory of the schools. The same character belonged to each one whose eyes were fast fixed on the eternal wheels, though with equal radiance the supreme light showered not over all.

CHAPTER XI.

IN divine speculation, the philosophers of the ages of faith considered man to be well in a twofold manner ;—first, common and human ; the second, excellent and perfect.—The first, say they, is when by intellectual virtues and sciences, by physics, and especially metaphysics, which teach him to consider divine properties from creatures, the intelligence is illuminated by God so as to believe in his existence and to see that virtue is preferable, which is to know God from the properties of creatures ; but the second is excellent and perfect by beatitude, which is cleanness of heart, by which the human mind is joined to God so as to be immeasurably illuminated concerning occult and divine things. Of this beatitude, the influence upon the race of men in ages of faith has already been considered, in relation to the study and incidental results of moral and intellectual purity commencing with the heart. It remains to observe the direct evidence of history, with respect to the reward of such purity, as far as it could be inherited in the present life. " Now," says St. Bernardine of

* Epist. Encic. R. P. Anton. Cloche.

Sienna, "the reward is greater than that of the preceding beatitudes. The one God, immense, eternal, immortal, incorruptible, and incomprehensible, is ineffable by word, uncircumscribable by place, interminable by time, conquering and superexceeding all our intelligence, and spiritual and corporeal vision: He dwells in light inaccessible. What is this promise then of the Saviour? Is a heart of flesh fit for this vision? To the spiritual substance of our soul, for a time united to a body, and to be separated from it hereafter either penally or happily, the Saviour prescribes this spiritual cleanness before the divine vision. To such a heart a triple vision of God is promised, first by nature, secondly by grace, thirdly by glory."

"In the wall of ignorance," says Alanus de Insulis, "which separates us from God, there are four windows—for God can be known by creatures, he can be known by reason, he can be known by divine inspiration, and he can be known by the divine Scriptures—but these windows are often darkened, when the Creator is not read in creatures, when reason is made the handmaid to sensuality, when man is deserted by grace, and when the sacred Scripture is despised."* This passage will serve to direct our steps through the remainder of the present book: for we shall consider in what manner those who had attained to purity beheld God in creatures, in what appeared a deviation from the general laws by which the visible world is sustained, in the order of human life, in the records of men during the darkness of paganism, in the holy Scriptures, in the mysteries of faith, in the adorable Eucharist, and in the mystic union of their souls with his divine nature.

That the vision of God by nature was sought for by the ancient philosophers, appears from many passages of their writings; and St. Bernardine of Sienna says, that it was in some measure imparted to them by creatures, for man has natural reason by which he can know God, as the lamb by natural instinct knows its mother.† Let us hear Plato.—"Even that beauty of person, which seems so worthy of love, should lead men to love all beauty, and not to confine their affection to the beauty of one person which so quickly perishes, but rather to despise any single and detached instance. Afterwards we should esteem the beauty which is in the soul as far more worthy than that of the body, and this is what we should still more love. Thence we should proceed to discern the beauty which belongs to the objects of intelligence, and so, in fine, instead of being arrested by the beauty of some one person or some one sentiment, we shall learn to direct our view to the great sea of beauty, where, contemplating many beautiful and glorious sayings, we shall be strengthened, and enabled to produce corresponding sentiments, and arrive at beholding that one knowledge, as that one beauty. And then, O Socrates, there will be a wondrous vision, when we behold that beauty of essence for the sake of which, formerly, all labors had been endured! which, in the first place, always exists, and does not perish and come again into being, neither increasing nor diminishing;

* De Pœnitentia.

† Serm. X

again, which is not beautiful in one part and vile in another, or beautiful then but not now, or beautiful in one respect but vile in another, or beautiful in that place but vile in this, or beautiful to some but vile to others; which will appear beautiful, not as a face, or hands, or any other body, not as some one discourse, or some one object of intelligence, or as any thing which exists in some one or other being, whether in an animal, or in the earth, or in the heavens; but that which is in itself, that one single essence from which all things derive whatever degree of beauty they possess, which is never either greater or less, and which can never suffer change—then we shall, at length, learn to know what is beauty, and then, if any where, man may truly live beholding it. For, since such is the power of this imperfect and partial beauty, which exists in creatures, that you are always ready to forego eating and drinking provided you might always associate with those who possess it and behold them, what, think you, will be the enjoyment of those who can behold clearly that pure unmixed beauty, not polluted with flesh, and human colors, and other such dross, but that divine essence of all beauty.'"*

He insists upon pursuing the study of the sciences with the same intention and for the same end: thus, with geometry, he says, it is necessary to examine whether it tend to enable the mind to see more clearly the ideal of good; but that it does tend to this is evident, inasmuch as it compels the soul to turn to that place in which is the greatest happiness of essence, which it is necessary in every manner to behold. If it compel us to look on that, it is a fitting study, but if it lead us to look only on what is generated and corruptible it is useless. How conformable to the prayer offered up in ages of faith, not by a few philosophers only, but by the whole multitude, when every tongue repeated, "Deliver me from setting my heart upon any of thy creatures which may divert my eyes from a continual looking up to thee."

But let us hear the continuation of the philosopher's discourse.

"What is not unimportant, though difficult for others to believe, in each of these branches of learning, that is, in studying the science of numbers, and geometry, and astronomy, a certain organ of the soul is purified and reanimated, which perishes and is rendered blind by other pursuits, though it would be better to save that organ than a thousand eyes. For it is only by this that truth is seen:" *Κρεῖττον ὃν σωθῆναι μυρίων ὀμμάτων, μόνῳ γὰρ αὐτῷ ἀλήθεια ὁρᾶται.* The advantage ascribed to the study of astronomy may be admitted, if we are convinced that it compels the soul to look upwards, and leads it from things here below; but, on the other hand, it may be objected, that the very objects which this presents before the eyes may be an impediment to the real end of looking upwards; "for I do not think that any kind of instruction can make the soul look upwards, excepting that which is concerning the Primal Being, and the invisible: *περὶ τὸ ὄν τε ἦ καὶ τὸ ἀόρατον.*†

* Conviv. cap. 29.

† De Repub. Lib. vii.

Nor were these views confined to Plato : Aristotle described the predominant thought of feeling of Xenophanes, by saying that he gazed upon the whole heaven and said that the one Being was the Deity. All such passages, however, may be adduced rather as illustrations of the views of men in ages long subsequent, than as furnishing ground for exalting the merits of the heathen sages. It may not be necessary to impute unphilosophical motives of vanity or ambition to the early inquirers of Greece ; however admirable may have been their views, as respected themselves and a few choice disciples, the testimony of the Apostle is conclusive against them. If they knew God they glorified him not as God, but left the multitude to perish in the darkness of their idolatrous worship.

Albert the Great says, in general, that " there is this difference between the contemplation of Catholics and of the Gentile philosophers ; that the contemplation of the latter is on account of the perfection of him who contemplates, and, therefore, rests in intellect, and so their end is in this knowledge of the intellect ; but the contemplation of the saints, that is, of Catholics, is on account of the love of God, who is the object of their contemplation ; therefore, it does not rest in the intellect by knowledge, but passes to affection by love."*

Let us then resume our view of the Christian philosophy, and observe how the clean of heart beheld God in creatures.

St. Augustin, in his book of Retractions, acknowledges his former error, imputing total blindness to the unconverted, and says, " I do not approve of what I uttered in prayer, ' O thou who hast wished that none but the pure should know truth,' for it can be answered, that many who are not pure nevertheless know many truths." It was something very different from a natural faculty of acute perception, that distinguished the clean of heart. Satan, in the middle ages, was regarded as surpassing, above all things, in the capacity of logician ; and Plato had remarked that men of narrow minds, addicted to evil, have a most singular sharpness of discernment.—" Have you never observed," he asks, " in men that are called bad, but skilful and wise, how acute is the perception of their little soul, *ὡς δριμὺ μὲν βλέπει τὸ ψυχάριον*,—how clearly it sees all the objects to which it turns itself—what a piercing sight it possesses, but compelled to minister to evil ? So by how much more clearly it can see, by so much the more is it capable of doing evil."† This extraordinary acuteness, or perhaps, this diabolic cunning, is very different from the faculty of the pure, which enables them to behold truth. The vision of God, even in creatures, is ascribed by the schoolmen to a good will, assisted and directed by the illumination of divine grace ; and therefore Richard of St. Victor exclaims, " Felix cui visibilium scientia fit scala ad invisibilia cognoscenda." Happy then were the scholastic and mystic philosophers, the literate and the illiterate in ages of faith ; for these men, like the angels, as

* Albert. Mag de Adhær. Deo. cap. 9. † De Repub. Lib. vii.

‡ Ric S. Vict. de exterminatione mali et promotione boni, p. i. Tract. iii. 16.

Nieremberg observes, always beheld the face of their Father, who is in heaven.* The great contemplatist and poet accordingly, on meeting them in paradise, perceives this to be their grand characteristic; for thus he sums up their intellectual excellence,—

"———all these, on one sole mark,
Their love and vision fixed."

"What is the form of visible things," asks Richard of St. Victor, "unless a certain picture of things invisible."† "Omnis natura Deum loquitur," says Hugo of St. Victor, "omnis natura hominem docet."‡ Again, in another place he says, "There is nothing in the universe which has not some participation in the highest good, and which, therefore, may not conveniently represent its image and similitude."§ Accordingly we find that this great doctor shows a Socratic boldness in naming the lowest and most familiar things, for nothing was contemptible in his eyes. All spoke to him of God; for he could even feel with Shakespeare, that "there is some soul of goodness in things evil, would men observingly distil it out." Through all his writings there is a great abundant religious contemplation of nature. With deep living feeling he speaks of seeking, finding, and understanding God in nature. This whole visible world is, to him, like a book written with God's hand, and in the beauty of creatures is revealed to them that highest, everlasting, mysterious, and ineffable beauty.‖ Albert the Great sees God in every art; "for nothing," he says, "can subsist of its own virtue or act, unless in virtue of God, the first moving power and first principle, who is the cause of every action, and who works in every agent."¶ "Ubi est Deus tuus?" say the impious, "O ignorantia cœca," continues St. Bernardine of Sienna, "nescire ubi est ille qui ubique est."** These men beheld God in the sublime faculties of the human intelligence, but no less also in the smiles of infancy; for when they saw a child delighted, and as if frantic for love and admiration over some lifeless toy, they could discern at such hours angels gathered about the little creature sporting lovingly around it, and they could see proof in that instructive ecstasy that God himself was near. The fond play of a child, therefore, leads Dante to contemplate the felicity of heaven; for thus he sings—

Forth from his plastic hand, who charm'd beholds
Her image, ere she yet exist, the soul
Comes like a babe, that wantons sportively,
Weeping and laughing in its wayward moods;
As artless and as ignorant of aught
Save that her Maker being one who dwells
With gladness ever, willingly she turns
To whate'er yields her joy.††

* Doct. Ascet. Lib. iv. p. iv. c. 34.
† De Contemplatione, p. ii. Lib. ii. c. 18.
‡ Erudit. Didascalicæ, Lib. vi. c. 5.
§ Lib. Exposit. in Cœlest. Hierarch. c. ii.
‖ De tribus diebus, or de Trinitatis per visibilia agnitione.
¶ De Adhær. Deo, c. 16
** Serm vii.
†† Purg. xvi.

Men of mystic illumination beheld and adored God, even in the sufferings which they underwent in conformity to the decree of his Providence, or the order of nature. The seraphic father, on his bed of death, composed the last strophe of his song of the sun as follows:—"Praised be my Lord for our sister corporal death, from which no man living can escape: woe to him who dies in mortal sin! Blessed are those who repose in thy holy will. The second death shall not be able to hurt them. Praise and bless my Lord, return him thanks, and serve him with great humility."

"Although," says St. Augustin, "that eternal and incommutable nature which is God, dwelling in himself, as it is said with Moses, Ego sum qui sum, be far different from all created things; although that substance is ineffable, nor can be disclosed to man by man, unless by means of certain arbitrary words of time and place, since he is before all time and beyond all place; nevertheless, 'He who hath made us is nearer to us than many things, which are made. For in Him we live and move and exist, but many of these are removed far from our minds through the dissimilitude of their nature, since they are corporeal.' Whence it is that to discover them greater labor is necessary, than to find Him by whom they were made, while it is better, to a degree of incomparable felicity, to discern Him in the least particle, with a pious mind, than to comprehend all these universal things. Therefore, rightly these inquisitors of this world are blamed in the book of wisdom. 'Si enim tantum,' it says, 'potuerunt valere, ut possent æstimare sæculum, quomodo ejus Dominum non facilius invenerunt?' For the foundations of the earth are unknown to our eyes, and he who founded the earth approaches near to our minds."*

The philosophers of the middle ages evidently felt what is so beautifully expressed by Novalis, that man stands with the visible word in as various and incomprehensible relations as with his fellow men; that as it shows itself childlike to the child, and bends itself condescendingly to his childish heart, so does it appear godlike to divine men, and sound in harmony with the highest spirit.† "It was their passion," as a poet saith, "nature's low tones and harmonies to hear—heard by the calm alone." To these tones, to these harmonic sympathies pervading the universe, we find repeated allusion in the lives of the saints, whose hearing was a communication not alone between soul and soul, but also between soul and things of which we know nothing or but little.‡ Hence, in their books are continually occurring sentiments, which poets borrow, as when they say,

> In lonely glens, amid the roar of rivers,
> Where the dim nights were moonless, have I known
> Joys which no tongue can tell:—

Mary of Oignys used to retire from all observation, and escape into the fields

* De Genesi ad Litteram, Lib. v. 34.

† Schriften, ii. 75.

‡ Goerres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 95.

and woods, and the whole day would elapse before she could be found again. We read of many holy persons, that they used to repair by night to solitary places, so that the poet does but echo what they felt, when saying,

> To follow through the night the moving moon,
> The stars, and their development ; or catch
> The dazzling lightnings till my eyes grew dim ;
> Or to look, listening, on the scattered leaves,
> While Autumn winds were at their evening song,
> These were my pastimes, and to be alone.

We have observed before, how dear to them was the spectacle of this beautiful world, how theirs were all the hues of heaven, sights and sounds of day's rise and decline. "Who can speak," says St. Augustin, "of all the beauties and treasures of the earth, and sea, and sky, that opake shade of woods, the color and odor of flowers, the diversity of painted and singing birds, the multitude of admirable creatures, the changing hues of the ocean which clothes itself with different colors, as with a garment, that bland temperance of the air? And all these things are the consolations of the miserable and condemned, not the rewards of the blessed. What then will these be, if such be the former? Quid dabit eis quos prædestinavit ad vitam, qui hæc dedit etiam eis quos prædestinavit ad mortem?"*

It was the old Catholic thought, therefore, which a later poet has expressed, when saying,

> "If God has so arrayed
> A fading world, that quickly passes by,
> Such rich provision of delight has made
> For every human eye.
> What shall the eyes that wait for him survey,
> Where his own presence gloriously appears
> In worlds that were not founded for a day,
> But for eternal years?"

"O my God, O sweet life of my soul!" it is Louis of Blois who speaks, "O my true health, O my only and eternal good, what do I wish? What do I seek but thee? Have I not all things if I have thee who didst create all things? Nothing is dear to me which thou didst not make. Behold, the beauty of the blessed angels, the beauty of holy souls, the beauty of human bodies, the beauty of brute animals, the beauty of the heavens, of the stars, of the earth, of plants, flowers, gems, metals, and all colors, the sweetness of sounds, of tastes, and of all delights, all proceed from thee, whatever of beauty, grace, gentleness, elegance, sweetness, virtue, and dignity exists in creatures, all flow from thee."†

Then elsewhere alluding to the vision of God, hereafter, he says, "if the spectacle of these visible heavens, if the sparkling lustre of the stars, the radiant

* De civ. Dei, xxii. 24. † Ludovic Blos. Enchirid. Parvulorum, Lib. ii. cap. 7.

splendor of the sun, the pale illumination of the moon, the brilliant light of day, if this spectacle be so ravishing, if it be so sweet to contemplate the elegant clothing and the engaging colors of the birds, and plants, and flowers, if the song of the nightingale and the lark, if the melody of instruments have such charms for us, if one inhales with such delight the odoriferous air embalmed with roses and lilies, with aromatic plants and rich perfumes, if the savor of the various fruits be so agreeable to the taste; if, I say, all these things procure for us such lively enjoyment, with what a torrent of delight will not our soul be inundated when it shall contemplate without a cloud that infinite beauty, when it shall taste that ineffable sweetness whence flow all the beauty and all the sweetness of creatures."* Therefore, if at any time discouragement and grief arose from the thought of being obliged, as the poet says,

"To leave unseen so many a glorious sight,
To leave so many lands unvisited,
To leave so many worthiest books unread,
Unrealized so many visions bright:"

Instead of exclaiming O! wretched, yet inevitable spite, the soul was hushed and vain regrets were stilled, with the remembrance that all would be found in God. "Nothing is lost," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "that is loved in God, since in Him all things are saved to us."† How charming then is the first vision! Ah, those morning walks through fairest bowers of Italian shore—those mountain walks o'er moor and snowy alp—those friends and comrades of our elastic youth—those enchanting moments of inhaling the sweetest loveliness of nature! Where are they? Who will give them back to us? At times men believe they are returning, but they mistake memory for hope. They are gone; yet not for ever perished. He who gave them can restore them; they were in his mind before we existed, and they will exist there, when we shall have removed hence.

Ah, in heaven, we may have again those early walks, fresher than ever the balmy breath of incense-breathing morn yielded on this earth! In heaven we may have them all again—lakes, woods, mountains, and Ausonian skies, in angels ever bright and fair—the friends and comrades of our youth!

"He alone never loseth what is dear to him," says St. Angustin, "to whom all things are dear in Him, who is never lost." Such was the great secret of Catholic generations in ages of faith.

O fortunati quibus est fortuna peracta
Jam sua, nos alia ex aliis in fata vocamur.

"We, miserable," exclaims Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Lorenzo de Medici, "are always following the Italy which flies, whereas of necessity he alone can rightly follow Italy, and happily obtain it, who follows not that which flies, but that

*Ludovic Blos. Instit. cap. Spirit. cap. 5. † Serm. vii.

which remains. Remain, therefore, happy, my Lorenzo, in the love of God, who remains for ever.* "In eternal felicity," as St. Augustin says, "there will be present whatever will be loved, nor will any thing be desired but what will be present. Every thing there will be good, and the supreme God will be the supreme good, and he will be present for the enjoyment of those who love him; and what above all is most blessed, it will be certain that so it will be for ever."†

You perceive, reader, how different is the vision of God to the clean of heart, from the scientific discernment of his power by the observer of creation. From the contemplations of a mere naturalist, the mind often draws melancholy, because, whatever food may be derived for vanity, the spectacle of his operations, without the constant and steady light of faith, leaves the heart cold, comfortless, and hollow; but the poor hermit in his forest shade sees God with simple eyes, yet with unmixed delight; though he may not be able to discover all the purposes of utility which the worm answers, he never passes him by with disgust. As he sits under some aged oak, he watches the dark earth, and each creeping thing reminds him of his Creator. Come, let us observe him seated in the deep wood—see how he follows with his eyes the least creature at his feet; at one time it is, perhaps, a golden beetle carrying homeward something for its young—at another, a red spider, and then a spider striped like a zebra, and then an ant, heavily laden; and, observe how he praises aloud the mercy which is upon all flesh, the goodness which breathes life and happiness around him.

He repeats the words of Hugo of St. Victor, "as the soul is in all parts of the body constituting its life, so God is essentially in every creature, preserving it from annihilation, though how or in what manner I know not."‡ Mysticism in the Desert, is the title of one chapter in the beautiful work of Goerres, in which he shows the great St. Antony, and the holy fathers around him, studying the nature of created things, as a book containing the word of God.§ Nor was this book neglected in the middle ages. It was while wandering on the banks of the Po, near Mantua, that Osanna Andreasi saw an angel, and heard those voices of all creatures and elements singing, "Love God all ye who dwell upon the earth."‖

In numberless places we find attested in the lives of saints, the fact of a mystic sympathy between their souls and all parts of creation, trees and plants, birds, and beasts, and insects. Blessed St. Francis, who used to speak to all created things, as if they had intelligence, loved to recognize in their various properties some trace of the divine perfections. His sermons to the birds and those of St. Anthony of Padua to the fish, cannot be read without an intimate conviction of one's own comparative blindness and insensibility to the relations and harmonies of nature. In all ages this was a study which could draw the holy recluses into the

* Mars. Fic. Epist. Lib. iii † Trinit. cap. vii. ‡ Annot. Elucid. Evang. Joan.
§ Die Christliche Mystik, i. 178. ‖ Goerres, Christliche Mystik, i. 331

woods; for, as St. Theresa says, "as the labor of the bee does not prevent it from leaving its hive to search through different flowers, the matter for its work, so the study of one's self does not prevent the soul from sometimes taking its flight to consider the goodness and majesty of God, in the perfection of his creatures."

Thus walking in a trance of loving care,
They saw and felt the beauty shed around,
The blue above, the music in the air,
The flowers upon the ground.

"Love," says the ascetic contemplatist, "makes the circuit of heaven and earth, sea and land, and refers all things which it sees and hears in creatures to the glory of the Creator; for there is nothing so little or vile in the nature of things in which may not be seen the goodness of the Supreme Being, his work in accomplishing, his power in creating, his wisdom in disposing, and his providence in rightly governing all things. This consideration causes the devout mind to praise God in all places and at all times, to exult, and to be glad."* The blessed clean of heart were the true students of nature: to them the visible world seemed a garden of roses, and a valley of lilies; so conversant were they with such sweets, that the very titles of their books are borrowed from the flowers of a garden. "If your heart be right," says the ascetic guide, "then every creature is a mirror of life, and a book of holy doctrine." Having become like children, it was as if all that our first parents drew down upon themselves by disobedience, had been cast off from them. They walked again, as in Paradise; and the Lord came forward, as he did then in the youthful age of the world, to meet the transfigured man.

Yes, it was for such hearts, inflamed with the love of God, that natural philosophy had, indeed, charms. Each one might have employed the poet's words, and in a sense peculiarly his own, have said,

The current, when his fair course is not hindered,
Makes sweet music with the enamelled stones,
Giving a gentle kiss to every sedge
He overtaketh in his pilgrimage,
And so by many winding nooks he strays
With willing course:—
I'll be as patient as a gentle stream,
And make a pastime of each weary step,
Till the last step have brought me to my love.

That the philosophy of the middle ages should have tended to the extension of these religious, rather than to the encouragement of merely scientific views of nature, can form no ground of reasonable objection to any one who reflects upon its character in other respects, and who admits that it is not unphilosophical to be

* Thom. à Kempis, Horlutus Rosarum, 13.

consistent. What secures for the modern system in general the accession of many illustrious names, is the opinion that the inductive sciences constitute the only true philosophy, and that these did not commence until the decline of faith. A universal excitement in the minds of men to pursue natural philosophy was, undoubtedly, one result of the religious revolution; for from causes already noticed, physical reasoning had been neglected, and "it seemed," says a great philosopher of our times, "as if the genius of mankind, long pent up, had at length rushed eagerly upon nature, and commenced with one accord the great work of turning up her hitherto unbroken soil, and exposing her treasures." Certainly, there was sufficient proof at that time of a great commencing change in the direction of the human faculties; and upon the whole no one can question but that the identifying of all philosophy with a steady uninterrupted application to scientific pursuits, which has produced what the same illustrious philosopher terms "this happy and desirable state of things," may be justly ascribed to the founders of a new theology, whose principles were quite adequate to give a totally different direction to the human mind, from what it had been receiving during sixteen centuries, and to produce a state of society, in which truths of a different order would be regarded as of the first importance, while those which had before engrossed the world would be consigned to men of inferior capacity, as not being worth the attention of real philosophers. But when all this is admitted, much remains to be proved, before arriving at the conclusion which so many draw, that the philosophy of the middle ages was contemptible, and that those who pursued it, preferring to see God in creatures to fixing their eyes on his material works, were men totally void of any genuine principle conducive to wisdom. We have already seen how far the theological element entered into all views of philosophy with the ancients, and it may assuredly be a question whether they would have approved of the view of philosophy adopted by their professed admirers in subsequent times.

The lessons of Pythagoras were certainly not confined to particular branches of mathematics, or physical science, but were clearly meant to throw the fullest light on the greatest questions which can occupy the human mind.* Cicero, in extolling the excellence of the earlier Romans, appeals to qualities which no one would now presume to mention in any assembly, when discourse turned on philosophy, "quæ enim tanta gravitas," he says, "quæ tanta constantia, magnitudo animi, probitas fides, quæ tam excellens in omni genere virtus in ullis fuit, ut sit cum majoribus nostris comparanda?" Evidently he would have termed such not a barbarous and melancholy epoch, but rather "a happy and desirable state of things." Yet there is no mention of a progress in science, but on the contrary he proceeds to say that philosophy was then unknown." "Philosophia jacuit usque ad hanc ætatem." † Let us hear the wisest of the Greeks:

* Thirlwal, Hist. of Greece.

† Tuscul i. 1

"O Cebes, when I was young, it was wonderful how greatly I desired to acquire that wisdom which relates to natural history; for it seemed to me to be a proud thing to know the causes of each physical phenomenon, to discover its origin and its end, and why it perishes; and oftentimes I turned myself up and down, examining such things, endeavoring to discover whether it was from the blood that we had the faculty of thinking, or from the air, or from fire, or from none of these things, but from the brain, which afforded us the power of hearing and seeing; and again examining the causes of destruction, and the things in the heavens, and those of the earth, at last, I came to the conclusion, that I was not qualified by nature for such investigations. For in the first place I found that this study only rendered me more conscious of ignorance, and that it deprived me of much that I had before known. It seemed then to me afterwards when I had examined the essence of things, that it would be necessary to take care lest I should suffer what those persons experience, who look steadfastly at the sun; for sometimes they lose their eyes, unless they look at its reflection in water, or through some other medium. This, then, I understood, and I fear, lest, altogether I should blind my soul by looking at things with my eyes, and endeavoring to touch each of them. Therefore, it seemed to me to be necessary to take refuge in words, and in them to look at the truth of things, setting out on the principle of there being something beautiful and good, and great in itself, and from that proceeding to demonstrate that the soul is immortal."* His prayer seems thus to have been that of Solomon, "Animo irreverenti ne tradas me Domine," and his experience and conclusion similar, "Proposui in animo meo quærere et investigare sapienter de omnibus quæ fiunt sub sole. Hanc occupationem pessimam dedit Deus filiis hominum ut occuparentur in ea."†

Many of the fathers had revived, in a still more peremptory form, the opinion of Socrates, that the only valuable philosophy is that which teaches us our moral duties and religious hopes.‡ "Thus," Eusebius says, "it is not through ignorance of the things admired by them, but through contempt of their useless labor, that we think little of these matters, turning our souls to the exercise of better things." St. Augustin, after quoting the celebrated lines in Virgil's second Georgic, remarks, that Christians do not think it a source of happiness to know the causes of the great physical movements of the world, of the tides and the elements; but that they count only him happy who acquires the knowledge which serves to deliver him from moral error, that would endanger his salvation.§ St. Clement of Alexandria also shows the evil of continuing to rest in a mere secular instruction; "for some," he says, "enticed by the philtres of handmaidens, neglect their mistress philosophy, and grow old, some in music, others in geometry, others in grammar, and the greatest part in rhetoric. But," he continues, "as the vulgar sciences are intended to wait upon philosophy, their mistress,

* Plato, Phædo, 99. † Eccles. ‡ Brucker, iii. 317. § Enchirid. cap. v.

so also philosophy itself must wait upon the possession of wisdom; for philosophy is a study, a discipline, but wisdom is the knowledge of things divine and human, and their causes. Wisdom, therefore, has superiority over philosophy, as the latter has over elementary instruction."*

Such were the views of philosophers in the middle ages. "If you wish to be wise," says Peter the Venerable, "do not boast in the loquacity of logic, or the curiosity of physics, or in the knowledge of any thing but of Jesus Christ and him crucified."† "Philosophy and learned study," says Melchior Canus, "can not afford happiness, for they yield to a thousand and the vilest things. They must necessarily be confined to a few. They increase not the rest but the labor of man; they do not satisfy, but excite our desires. Humana quippe mens quamdiu hic vivitur, rerum cognitione torqueri potest, satiari non potest."‡ Their deep conviction might have been expressed in Dante's words:

> "Well I discern, that by that truth alone
> Enlightened, beyond which no truth may roam,
> Our mind can satisfy her thirst to know."§

The schoolmen and philosophers of ages of faith, therefore, instead of being employed with one accord in the great work of turning up the soil of nature, and exposing her treasures, were united in the task of evangelizing the nations, preaching, illustrating, defending, and confirming the truths relating to the soul, and the worship of God, and the future destinies of man. But are they on that account to be set down as void of any principle of genuine philosophy, and deserving only reproach? Would there not be much more solid ground for condemning those who would confine philosophy to the physical and geometrical sciences, which Bossuet styles the "vain pasture of curious and weak minds, because they nourish pride at little expense of mind, and demand from the passions no sacrifice." "Physic," says Lord Bacon, "carrieth men in narrow and restrained ways, subject to many accidents of impediments;" but latæ undique sunt sapientibus viæ; and Solomon elegantly describes this saying, "when thou goest, thy steps shall not be straitened; and when thou runnest, thou shalt not stumble." Chemistry, mathematics, sciences of destruction and of abstraction, did not so engross the attention of men as to leave them without solicitude for the philosophy of life, which seemed of infinitely greater importance, when "by the balance of experience it was found that the astronomer looking to the stars might fall into a ditch, that the inquiring philosopher might be blind in himself, and that the mathematician might draw forth a straight line with a crooked heart." However, it must not be inferred from hearing the declamations of Lactantius,‖ that the Church in general discommended the study of natural philosophy, and that the schoolmen deemed it

* Stromat. Lib. 1. cap. 5. † S. Pet. Ven. Ab. Clun. Epist. Lib. i. 9.
‡ De Locis Theolog. Lib. ix c. 9. § Par. IV. ‖ Whewell, Hist. of Induct. Science, i. 253

empty and false. The latter never spoke with disrespect of science. Sir William Temple was not of their college, who says, "as to that part of philosophy which is called natural, I know no end it can have, but that of either busying a man's brains to no purpose, or satisfying the vanity so natural to most men, of distinguishing themselves, by some way or other, from those that seem their equals in birth and the common advantages of it. More than this, I know no advantage mankind has gained by the progress of natural philosophy, during so many ages it has had vogue in the world, excepting always what we owe to mathematics."* The schoolmen, indeed, along with all the devout people in ages of faith, daily besought God, in the words of David, to teach them goodness and discipline, as well as science.† But it is in later times that metaphysicians have been found to utter words of discouragement to check the ardor for scientifical inquiry. At the same time what persuasion on their tongue, when saying with Malebranche, "men are not born to become astronomers or chemists, to pass all their lives hanging over a telescope or a crucible, to draw from their labors consequences of no very great importance. Let their efforts be crowned with ever such complete success, they may have gained reputation in the world, but are they wiser or happier?"‡ Alas! one can read the answer to the latter question in the looks of philosophers. Mark that subtle mechanician who journeys from the valleys of the Jura to the cities of Constantine, and the farthest capitals of the west, to exhibit his wondrous fabric, in which images of birds fly round miniature magicians, who shake their cups, performing feats of secret art, while sweetest music warbles from the little temple. Do you not observe how unmoved, dark, and mournful he stands, looking on vacancy, evincing by his countenance how little his heart partakes in the rapture of the astonished gazers, who behold for the first time the work on which twenty years of his life have been consumed? So much for their happiness; but are they wiser?

An illustrious philosopher of modern times has remarked, that the mathematicians who have only deduced from the principles of the great original discoverers of the laws of nature, who have taken for granted those primary laws, and only worked out from them, who so often have been irreligious men, careless or deniers of a Creator, possessed in reality no peculiar privileges or advantages, that their errors are no more worthy of notice than those of common men, and that from the deductive habits of their mind, we have no reason to expect any other result."§

"By a too exclusive devotion to the pursuit of natural truth," another eminent Professor observes, "the higher intellectual powers may be cramped; for in the pursuit of any subject, however lofty, a man may become narrow-minded, and in a condition little better than that of moral servitude."‖

* Essays. † At Tierce. ‡ Recherche de la Vérité, Preface.
§ Whewell, Treatise on Astronomy. ‖ Sedgwick, Address to Geolog, Society, London, 1831.

Before the rise of the new opinions, the genius of mankind had been directed towards nature's God, as chiefly manifested by revelation, and, therefore, as the scientific knowledge of material things was not the paramount and ultimate object of pursuit, there was neglect in their investigation. In ages of faith men were aware that this was so. "One does not find," says Malebranche, "that Jesus Christ and his apostles wished to remove certain errors from men, which Monsieur Descartes has detected;" but what then? Can we condemn them for concluding with the same philosopher, in the words which terminate his great work on the Search of Truth, that, after all, "it is much better as good men to pass some years in ignorance of certain things, and find ourselves in a moment enlightened for ever, than to acquire by natural ways, with much application and pain, a very imperfect science, which leaves us in darkness for all eternity?"

It is an error to suppose that the barbarians, on their invasion of the Roman empire, in the fifth century, interrupted the progress of the sciences. They had ceased to be cultivated with any general application since the second century; and Baron Cuvier remarks, that this was a necessary consequence of the rise of the Christian religion, which had diverted the minds of great men to the contemplation of things divine, and quite of a different order from those which occupy the attention of the natural philosopher. He says, that it was not till the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century that the cultivation of natural philosophy revived, on the decline of the religious spirit which had prevailed in the middle ages. From this proposition, however, and its proof, it can never be concluded that in any age the philosophy of the school was hostile to the great and interesting investigations of natural science. The holy fathers, notwithstanding the bursts of declamatory eloquence in which some of them indulged, held a very different language." St. Clement of Alexandria, showing the importance of philosophical study, remarks, that Abraham had occasion to evince his knowledge both in astronomy and arithmetic.* "Some," he observes, "thinking to be ingenuous, make no account of philosophy, neither of dialectics, nor of natural sciences, but desire only faith; but as in husbandry and in medicine he who has the greatest variety of knowledge is better able to excel in those arts, so also every kind of instruction conduces to serve truth; and whether it be in geometry or music, grammar or philosophy, assists us to guard our faith."† Such was the universal sentiment throughout the middle ages. "If true devotion," says Richard of St. Victor, "can convert to some use of virtue the very sciences, which are, without doubt, perverse, what is to be thought of those which can be useful and good."‡

The schoolmen, in one sense, accepted of Michael Scot's definition of philosophy, who says, that it is the knowledge of every thing;§ but then they added, with

* Stromat. Lib. vi. c. 11. † Id. Lib. i. c. 9. ‡ De Erudit. Hom. Interior. p. i. Lib. ii. xi
§ Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Doctrin. Lib. i. 13.

Henry of Ghent, "all human sciences are ordained to the end of human life, which is the clear vision of God hereafter."* "It is certain," says Hugo of St. Victor, "that all natural arts and sciences serve divine wisdom, and that the inferior, rightly ordered, can conduce to the higher wisdom."† Accordingly, in all the great encyclopedical works of the middle age, the study of the sciences is shown to be subservient to theology, as may be witnessed in the vast collection known under the title of the Vocabularium Salomonis, by the monks of St. Gall, in the ninth or tenth century, in which the terms and object of all branches of knowledge are given from the works of the holy fathers, of historians, orators, poets, physicians, naturalists, Christian and heathen classic authors, and arranged in alphabetical order, occupying one thousand and seventy pages; "a writing which we think," says Ekkehard, "will never be surpassed." In this work, among Greek authors, are quoted Aristotle, Hippocrates, and some but little known at present, Pandectus Medicus, Placidus, Afrinius. There is no naturalist named, but only in general we read "hoc physici dicunt." Still more clearly is this spirit expressed in the analogous compilations of a later date, such as the Didascalion, or the Eruditio Didascalica of Hugo of St. Victor, the Mirrors of Vincent of Beauvais, the Metalogicus and Polykraticus of John of Salisbury, and the work of Honorius of Autun de Animæ Exilio et Patria, the grounds of all which were furnished by Cassiodorus, in his work on the Arts and Discipline of Liberal Letters, as also on the Institutes of Divine Letters, and by Isidor of Seville, in his twenty books of Etymologies. The address in Dante—

"O thou, who every art and science valuest!"

might, therefore, have been applied, with strict justice, to the philosophers of the middle ages.

"The wisdom of man in this life," says Hugo of St. Victor, "consists in the search and investigation of wisdom."‡ "Our intelligence in the present life," says the Angel of the School, "has a natural aptitude for knowing material things, and, therefore, at present, we cannot know God unless by material effects. Hereafter the defect of our intelligence will be removed by glory, and then we shall be able to see God in his essence."§ He even says, "to seek science not on account of something useful is not vain, since a natural desire cannot be vain."‖ It was not a rare thing in the schools of the middle ages, to see some disciple from a rustic village, like the poor lad whom Pythagoras took from his play to instruct him in geometry, who would enthusiastically support his instructor rather than lose the advantage of hearing him.¶ Touron says, "that St. Thomas drew his wisdom in part from the study of nature," and cites his words: "This consideration

* Hen. Gand. sum. 1. art. vii. q. ix.
‡ Hugo S. Vict. in Eccles. Hom. xii.
‖ In Metaphys. Arist. Lib. i.
† De Sacramentis, Lib. i. pars 1. c. 6.
§ P. 1. q. lxxxvi. art. 2.
¶ Jamb. de Pyth. vita, c. 5.

of nature leads men to admire the virtue of the Highest God, and from his admiration proceed the fear and reverence of God ; it also kindles the love of the divine goodness."* Nothing, in fact, can be stronger than his language on this point throughout the four first chapters of the second book contra Gentes. "The consideration of creatures," he says, "is even necessary, not only for the instruction of truth, but also for the exclusion of errors ;† for error concerning creatures redounds to a false knowledge concerning God. Error circa creaturas redundat in falsam de Deo scientiam."‡ Hence the church, in the office of Tierce, beseeches God, in the words of David, to teach her children science.

But who can now conceive the simplicity of heart and spiritual illumination with which the men of faith pursued even these natural sciences ? "To know truth," they said, "was to be united to God by natural force ; to contemplate the true ideas of things was a kind of possession of God. An application of mind to metaphysics, to pure mathematics, and to all universal sciences, which rule over and comprise particular sciences, was held by them to be the purest and most perfect application of the mind to God of which man is by nature capable."§ And hence we find Roger Bacon speaking of those "who had holily pursued mathematical science." To them all knowledge was mathematical. St. Thomas says, that it belongs to science to have a true judgment of creatures ; for want of which man is lost, as where he rests in them as his last end, and thus offends God. "Flagitiosum facinus est," says St. Augustin, "frui utendis et uti fruendis." So that, in his eyes, devotion itself was science. "Meditation," says Hugo of St. Victor, "delights in having a vast open space for exercise, where it may have a free scope for contemplating truth, for investigating the cause, one time of this, another of that, then, again, penetrating into deep things, and leaving nothing doubtful or obscure. If any one should learn to love such studies and pursue them, he would render his life sweet, and provide a great consolation for time of adversity ; for this it is which separates the mind from the noise of earthly actions, and imparts even in the present life a certain sweet foretaste of eternal rest. And when, by the things which are made, he learns to seek and to understand Him who made all things, he at the same time instructs his mind with science and refreshes it with joy."‖

Even in scientific inquiries, the philosophers of the middle age evinced the deepest humility. "Since the things of which we treat," says Roger Bacon, "are great and uncommon, there should be grace and favor shown to human fragility. Nam ea quæ sunt maxime cognitionis secundum se, sunt minime apprehensionis quoad nos. For truth involved is hidden, and placed in the depths."¶

The manner in which the more curious investigations of nature were recom-

* Lib. ii. Cont. Gentes, c. 2. † Lib. ii. c. 23. ‡ Lib. ii. c. 3.
§ Malebranche. Récherche de la Vérité, v. ‖ Hugo S. Vict. Didasc. Lib. iii. c. 11.
¶ Opus Maj. p. i. a.1.

mended and pursued during the middle ages may deserve attention, even while speaking of the laudable zeal for scientific observations. Isidore* and Martianus Capella† endeavor to show that the doctrine of numbers is of great importance; and they remark, that in many places of Scripture a mystery is attached to them. The construction of the ancient churches, on the principles of a secret harmony, showed how their architects had been familiar with those curious mensurations of the human body which the ancients copied in all their works, and how scientific were their conceptions of proportion. In the type of Gothic architecture subsist the traditions of antiquity respecting the doctrine of numbers and proportions, as Michelet shows by measurements made in the different cathedrals of France:‡ and it is the remark of a great English philosopher, that this art did not flourish at all the worse for being treated in a manner somewhat mystical, and that the relations of geometrical figures, which were employed as appears from Cesario's plan of the cathedral of Milan, may really involve principles of beauty or stability.§ The treatise on the analogy of names by Cardinal Thomas Cajetan, truly a second St. Thomas, may show how alive were Catholic philosophers to pursue every subject under a scientific form. If, however, we should be disposed to accuse those of the middle age as inclining to fanciful speculations, we should remember that they never lost sight of a solid and useful end; and, in fact, their aim seems to have always been to pass, as Cicero says, "from these shells to the kernel; and as it often happens that he who is recommended to some one makes more of him to whom he is recommended than of him by whom," so they would have said with the same philosopher, "it is not strange that we, at first recommended to wisdom by such elementary things, should afterwards prize Wisdom herself far more than those who first conducted us to her."‖ Some of their inquiries, to which they attached importance, had occupied the attention of the greatest intelligences in the ancient world. Every one has heard that a candidate who sought admission among the Pythagoreans had to satisfy the eye of the master, who would not receive any one to his friendship, or even amongst his acquaintance, unless from his countenance and external manner he conceived a good opinion of his mind,¶ Cylo the Crotonian being objected to by him on no other ground. The observation of nature with a view to this kind of proficiency was much practised in the middle ages. Raban Maur says that Vultus is so called "quod per eum voluntas animi ostenditur."** The address of Michael Scot to the emperor, recommending him to study physiognomy on the ground that nature does nothing in vain, and that nothing in bodies is without its purpose, is a passage which cannot be read without interest. His book, compiled at the request of the Emperor Frederick, begins as follows:—

* Etymolog iii. c. 5. † De Nuptiis Philologiæ et Mercurii, Lib. vii.
‡ Hist. de France, ii. 676. § Whewell, Hist. Induct. sc. i. 350. ‖ De Finibus, Lib. iii.
¶ Porphyr. de Vit. Pythag.
** Glossæ Latino-Barbaricæ de Partibus Humanæ Corporis apud Goldast. tom. ii.

" Emperor, amongst the things about which you ought to be solicitous is the knowledge of good and evil. It is necessary for you to investigate by yourself, in books of authors of all sciences, and especially of those which are called arts; and this you will do when your mind is in quiet rest and your body has liberty, putting aside the business of nations pertaining to your majesty; for you should know that there are two times to a man living—the time of peace and the time of war; and there are two times of food—of corporal and spiritual: and as the corporal retains the body in a good state, so does spiritual the mind, when taken at a proper season, for not at all times all things are fitting. So spiritual meat retains the mind in a good state if it be taken with reason and measure in fitting time, respecting both age and virtue in man; for it is written, as frigid by warm and warm by frigid is tempered, so contrary things are cured by contraries. Similarly it is useful to inquire from diverse authors and masters, on account of diverse sciences, because different men feel different things, diversi diversa sentiunt; therefore, it is my advice that you keep always carefully with you doctors, masters, and men naturally ingenious, and that you often converse with them on many subjects, wisely and in a domestic manner. You will think of different things with different men, and you will question them, and you will treasure up their sayings in your heart, that afterwards they may be profitable to you and to others. It is your study to reign long, and this will result if you give yourself to virtues, avoiding vices; and of such mortality I will say something, if God willeth; but here I will say that you give your heart to the knowledge of good, according to the measure of discretion; that you may be the friend of God in faith, hope, and work, nor omit to embrace that science which, by philosophers, is naturally named physiognomy; and this is that science, amongst others, by which many men cautiously are accustomed to boast and to be exalted with the great of the earth—emperors, similarly, with many kings and barons; not because they have precedence of other men, but on account of this science, and on account of many others of the same kind which they know secretly. Therefore, it is said, honor a man on account of science; seek a known friend on account of necessity: for with some it is better to philosophize than to be rich; and with some it is better to be rich than to philosophize; and with some both are injurious, and with some neither ought to be required—as with those making true penance in this life; for the investigation of science is the most beautiful thing in nature, and its perfection is ascribed to physiognomy by many of the ancient philosophers. Therefore, this science drew its name from that study of nature which was long and long investigated, and with innocence congregated; for a wise man saith physiognomy is the science of nature, and he that is skilled therein can sufficiently know the differences of animals and of persons in all their degrees, and in effect all science. Physiognomy is the doctrine of salvation, the election of good, the renouncement of evil, the comprehension of virtue, and the putting aside of vices. But this is induced by the true love of God and the fear of the devil—by meritorious faith,

the hope of an imperishable reward of eternal life, and the judgment of death ; because it seems almost as if here all things are left to others, because they are held ; and to no one availeth science, or power, or congregation of persons, or the grace of beauty or will ; therefore, some other saith, Omnia transibunt, nos ibimus ; ibitis ; ibunt : cari, non cari conditione pari ; and elsewhere it is said, Omnia transibunt præter amare Deum. Establish, therefore, to thyself, O Frederick, emperor ! abbreviated rules and constitutions of this science of physiognomy, the yoke of which will draw upon you a great price of praise, of wisdom, and virtue ; there will increase to you also greatly a vast genius of wisdom, which if you keep always in mind you will better understand the sayings of those who speak to you, you will more cautiously estimate your wise men and others by seeing or hearing them, and also other men indifferently who may have occasion to address you, which is not a little thing ; and by industry in this science you will have in you secretly a great part of the counsels of those counselling you."

That science of this kind entered largely into the wisdom which passed in romantic literature for magical, may be presumed. The Dean of Badajos, who consults the magician Torribio of Toledo, to whom he vows eternal gratitude, who on descending into his caves beneath the Tagus has a vision, in which, supposing himself raised to the highest offices, he repays his benefactor with insult and cruelty, and thus verifies what his teacher had predicted, until the latter removes the spell and brings him back to his sense, is an instance in proof.

With respect to the more solid studies of physical science, we may observe that the love for the beauties of external nature, which was so predominant in ages of faith, and so interwoven with the simplicity of Catholic manners, was not remotely allied to a spirit of subtle inquiry into her secrets. The public voice in the middle ages would not have resembled that of the young sophist in the comedy, who affirms that the sole prerogative of men over other animals consisted in their having the power to vote.* The standard of beatitude, in those times, was not that of Strepsiades,

Νικᾶν πράττων καὶ βουλεύων, καὶ τῇ γλώττῃ πολεμίζων

but the general conviction rather was, that the prerogative of man consisted in the faculty of investigating creatures, and his beatitude in seeing God who made them. This gave a charm even to all the ordinary labors of life. Who can doubt but that to the children of St. Benedict spread over the world, the tilling of the ground became as much an exercise of philosophy as of penance. Their example alone, in that respect, was sufficient to prepare a new era for society ; and the cultivation of the earth was no longer ignominious. "Agriculture in Paradise would not have been laborious, as after the fall," says St. Thomas, "but it would have been delightful, on account of the experiment of the virtue of nature."†

* Nubes 1329.

† P. i. q. 11. art. 3.

That the Church protected and encouraged every department of science, is a fact which no one denies, until he has some end to answer in misrepresenting the ecclesiastical authority. Copernicus, as we have already seen, addressed the work which contained his discoveries to Pope Paul III. ; and it was published, as the author states, at the entreaty of friends, one of whom was a cardinal, Nicolaus Schonbergius, whom he styles in omne genere literatum celebris, and the other a bishop, Tidemannus Gisius, whom he describes as sacrarum et omnium bonarum literarum studiosissimus.*

But, it will be replied, granting that the study of the sciences was sanctioned and encouraged, still the result was undeserving of the name of philosophy. That such an opinion should be nearly universal at present is not strange, when we read in one of the best and most popular works on the history of science, that "previous to the publication of the Novum Organum of Lord Bacon, natural philosophy, in any legitimate and extensive sense of the word, could hardly be said to exist." But, as far as relates to incompatibility of principles, we have already seen on what ground such statements depend, since it is not true that the method of conducting physical investigations had previously been exclusive of experiment and induction. With respect to the positive results, too, it would not be difficult, perhaps, to awaken doubts, lest much that has been written by men who wanted either leisure or inclination to consult the works of the middle ages may not require some correction. Roger Bacon complains that for the last thirty or forty years mathematical science has declined.† Such a complaint is rather inconsistent with the common opinion that his light was that of a new and solitary star. The science which was possessed by the Anglo-Saxon monks cannot be wholly overlooked by an impartial observer.‡ One meriting that title will not forget their eagerness to calculate the orbits of the planets, their rising and setting, and the return of the eclipses, and that the influence of the moon on the tides was not a secret to Bede. He will remark that the smallness of our globe compared with the heavens was known to them through the work of Boethius. A scientific astronomical table showing the course of the stars, was for three hundred years shown in the abbey of St. Gall as the work of Tutilo in the ninth century.§ In the same cloister Hermann Contractus, in 1050, published astronomical works. Hartmotus, who was abbot of that house in the tenth century, made a map of the world with subtle ability, as old writers say. That science was sometimes prized may be inferred from the fact, that Alphonso X. of Castile, in 1262, gave more than four hundred thousand crowns to some Arabs for drawing up astronomical tables. The views in general with which men pursued medicinal philosophy, though it was rather diætetic than pharmaceutic, being counted not among the liberal arts, but as a second philosophy, which required a knowledge of them all,‖

* Præf. ad Paul III.

† Specula Mathemat, I.

‡ Bede de Natura Rerum—De Ratione Temporum.

§ Ildefons. von. Arx Geschichte S. Gall, i. 100.

‖ Isidori Etymolog. Lib. iv. 13.

seem to indicate that they were not wholly ignorant of its proper mode of cultivation.

A list of the possessions in art and science, which we inherit from the middle ages, would certainly startle any one who never heard of them excepting from modern historians of philosophy.

If the assistance of Aristotle was demanded in the study of natural philosophy, we must by no means conclude that his commentators in the middle age never sought to obtain additional truths or new generalizations, or to bring his assertions to the test of experiment. The servility ascribed to them by a recent author is not reconcilable with their avowed intentions. Albert the Great, being appointed by the Dominicans to lecture on Aristotle, explains his plan as follows, in the beginning :—" It is our intention," he says, " in natural science, to satisfy, as far as we are able, the brethren of our order, who for many years past have been requestioning us to compose for them such a book on physics as will convey to them a knowledge of natural science, and also enable them to understand Aristotle. Our manner, therefore, will be to follow in this work the order of Aristotle, and to add whatever will be necessary to explain his meaning, but without making mention of his text ; and besides this, we shall occasionally make digressions."* Their having taken for granted the moral truths revealed respecting the universe, was a feature of their philosophy which ought not to have given offence. " In general," says Marjorin, " the object of a science referred to its cause, considered in its type, and in a manner seen in God, furnished that science with a general theorem, which implied the law of generation of all the realities relative to that object, and the principle of all truths manifested by them ; and though modern philosophers, who reject all considerations of causes and ends, and confine themselves strictly to the observation of facts, deserve praise for not suffering vain fancies, in the absence of true principles, to interfere with that observation, one cannot doubt but that their progress would have been greater if they had imitated the scholastics, so far as not to neglect systematically the light of revelation and the action and destiny of man in appreciating the system of the universe." In some respects it would seem as if the expressions of philosophers in the middle ages, relative to scientific subjects, had been less fettered than those of some modern writers of late in England—or rather, I should say, there is reason to conclude that the idea of any restraint being required on religious grounds, as long as they did not seek to make religion come forward to confirm their scientific views, never occurred to them. The allusion of Dante,

> There are who deem the world hath oft been into chaos turned,†

seems to indicate that the opinion of modern geologists was not unknown to the middle ages. In fact, St. Jerome, speaking of certain notions in the work of

* Physic. Lib. i. Tract. i. c. 1. tom. ii.

† Hell. xii.

Origen, περὶ Ἀρχῶν, says, that in the second book he asserts that there are innumerable worlds, not existing at the same time, and like one another, as Epicurus held, but that at the end of one world another would begin; and that before this world of ours there had been another world, and that another would succeed it, and so on, in long order; and, he doubted, whether these worlds resembled each other, or were dissimilar;* and St. Jerome says, he supported this notion from the text, "Quid est quod fuit? ipsum quod erit. Et quid est quod factum est? ipsum quod futurum est. Et non est omne novum sub sole, quod loquatur et dicat: Ecce hoc novum est. Jam enim fuit in sæculis pristinis, quæ fuerunt ante nos:"† on which passage St. Jerome makes no comment. St. Basil, indeed, expressly says, that "before this world there existed something that our mind can imagine, but which the Scripture suppressed in its recital, because it was not convenient to speak of it to men whom it instructed, and who are children for knowledge. "Yes, without doubt," he adds, "before this world was created there existed a constitution more ancient, agreeable to the celestial powers—a constitution which has preceded visible times, which has had a beginning, but which will never have an end."‡ The schoolmen would not have been alarmed at the works of some modern professors, which have excited uneasiness, of late, in England.

Hugo of St. Victor, speaking of the sayings of the holy fathers respecting the creation of the world in six days, says, "I rather believe that under the form of assertion they often propose inquiry; and," he remarks, "that many interpreted expressions in the first chapter of Genesis in a mystic sense."§

The advanced state of all physical studies in the middle ages has been briefly pointed out in the Third Book of this history. Albert the Great, receiving his sovereign during the depth of winter amidst trees loaded with fruits and flowers, is a fact not to be explained by crediting the injurious report of men who came long after him respecting his magical power. There must have been considerable optical science, when mirrors and painted images were made, by means of which, figures could be shown in the air at moonlight, such as Cornelius Agrippa tells us had been formerly made by Pythagoras, and lately, too, witnessed by himself.‖ The same author speaks of perpetual lamps, and of unctions, by means of which, red-hot iron could be borne in the hands. An iron fly was shown to Charles V., which, "without aid of any one, took its gallant flight, made an entire round, and then, as if tired and endued with judgment, perched on his arm." Admirable, no doubt, were the scientific figures, the bronze speaking heads, and all the other mechanical subtilties which were contrived by Albert the Great, Michael Scot, Roger Bacon, Pope Sylvester, John Denys, and Francis Flussard de Candale, the Archimedes of Gascony.

* Id. Epist. xciv. ad Avitum. † Ecclesiast. i. 9, 10. ‡ S. Basil Hexameron, Hom. i.
§ Hugo S. Vict. de Sacramentis, Lib. i. p i. c. 2.
‖ Cornel. Agrip. de Occult. Philosoph. Lib. i. c 11. 1.

In allusion to such science, John Picus of Mirandula cites, among the moderns who study the occult mysteries of natural magic, Alchindus, Roger Bacon, and William of Paris.* These men could execute, too, as well as contrive ; which at least ought not to be objected to them, since we are told by a great philosopher that early talent of this kind is a general prognostic of a true inductive genius. Gabriel Barrius says that he knew a priest, Jerome Faba of Cænisius in Calabria, a man of most holy life and not void of learning, who had nearly an universal genius, being skilled in the lowest and highest things, being a carpenter, painter, and sculptor, many of whose carved pieces were so admirable that they seemed miraculous to the Emperor Charles V., and to Philip, King of Spain.† Still, it is true, the object in all investigations and collections of natural science was connected with the beatitude of the clean of heart. The mechanism of the clock of the cathedral of Cambria, made in 1397, as it is said, by a shepherd, which showed the hour, day, and year, course of the sun and moon, was employed also, when it struck, in producing bronze figures, representing a part of our Lord's passion, which came out in procession and moved on before the spectator till the number of strokes was completed. Similarly the study of minerals and stones, and pursued in reference to the churches, or even to the conveyance of religious admonition by symbols ; as when, King John, being a diligent examiner and collector of precious gems, Pope Innocent III. sent him aring and sought to instruct him in his duty as a Christian, by turning to an allegorical sense the colors of its different stones.‡

Still, as we before observed, however the study of the sciences may have been sanctioned and encouraged in the middle ages, there were some impediments in its way, which in later times have been removed ; for, to return to the remark of Cuvier, it is unquestionable that religious fervor and the high ascetic union of such multitudes of souls with God must have partially interfered with its cultivation. Many capable of making great advance might have exclaimed with Dante, after he had seen Beatrice, or the supreme wisdom,—" How these things are, I know not ; but mine eyes have now taken view of her by whom all other thoughts are barred admittance."§ Beyond doubt, many of the holy inhabitants of cloisters preferred to a proficiency in science the edification of the poor. Thus Vincent of Beauvais laments his having spent so much time and pains in the physical and medical parts of this great work ; " in which," saith he, " as I neither feel satisfied myself, so do I fear I may have displeased both God and men ; not that the things themselves are not good and useful to those who study them, but because it did not become my profession so diligently to apply to investigate and describe things of that nature."‖ Generally, too, an intense application to natural philosophy was only deemed laudable when the farthest end was something different from the mere scientific result.

* Apologia. † Gabriel Barrii de Antiq. et Situ Calabriæ, Lib. iii.
‡ Hurter Geschichte Inn. III. ii. 60. § Purg. xxxii. ‖ Vincent Bellov. Prolog. cxviii

"Some," says Hugo of St. Victor, "seek truth, and love to have it, on account of God; but yet they do not seek it on account of the supreme good. Such are they who investigate the secrets of nature, and are impelled by a strong desire that they may know what is true only in hidden things. In this, indeed, there is also what may justly delight them, provided that the heart of man, by that which it loves below, may be raised to the love of Him who is the supreme good."* "The first science arises from the vision of God, who is the fountain and origin of all the science which man possesses."† It was this, and not the delusion of alchemy or magic, as some affirm, which animated the exertions of the noble and accredited philosophers of the middle ages in all their studies. The scientific investigator of nature would repeat, with no less fervor than the mystic theologian, the words of St. Augustin, "What shall I do that I may find my God? I will consider the earth; it is beautiful, but it has a Maker. Wondrous are the secrets of seeds and plants; but they have a Maker. I look at the vastness of the ocean: I am amazed: I seek its Maker. I behold the heaven, and I admire the beauty of the stars, and the splendor of the sun: these things are wondrous, they are to be praised; they are not earthly, they are even celestial; but yet my thirst is not satisfied;—I thirst after Him who made them. I return to myself, and I inquire, who am I who ask about such things? I find that I have a body and a soul; I perceive that my soul is better than my body, for it can command it, and the body only serves it; for when I looked at the earth, and the sea, and the sky, my eyes were only windows to my soul: it is something interior which sees, for when any one is absent in thought, in vain do the eyes open and glare. The God whom I seek is not to be sought for with the eyes. The soul, moreover, sees something by itself, which it does not perceive by the eyes, like colors, nor hear with the ears, like sounds, nor smell by the nostrils, like odors, nor feel by the touch, like bodies. What can this be? Take wisdom or justice; they have neither color, nor sound, nor smell, nor can they be touched; and yet they are beautiful, and they are beheld by the soul. What did Tobias see, when, blind, he gave counsel of life to his son, who saw? There is, therefore, something which the mind, the ruler and inhabitant of the body, perceives without the instrumentality of the senses, but by itself; for it sees itself, by itself; and so far from needing the corporeal senses to know itself, it, on the contrary, tears itself away from them, as from so many impediments, that it may see and know itself by itself."‡

In a word, the blessed clean of heart saw God in creatures, and they studied even physical sciences, chiefly from a desire of fixing and extending that vision. And now, ere we advance further, returning from past to present time, let us direct our eyes downward and contemplate what a world already stretched under

* Erudit. Theolog. ex Miscellan Lib. i. tit. 72.

† Erudit. Theolog. ex Miscellan. Lib. iii. tit. 3.

‡ Tractat. in Ps. 41.

our feet there lies : for how few, comparatively, are the persons living, who look around them with enthusiasm, and feel that they behold the Deity in the varied productions of his almighty power. With the fathers of the Church, and the masters of the school, the exercises even concerning bodies, were referred to incorporeal things. " It is the part of the more sublime reason," says St. Augustin, " to judge of these corporeal things according to incorporeal and eternal reasons."* But, as with the ancients, after the rise of Epicurism, so with the moderns after the rise of the new opinions, natural discipline, omitting all higher objects, was pursued only in reference to public or private physical utility, and physics became the study of bodies, for the sake of promoting the pleasures and advantages of men ; so that there is in effect a return to that spirit lamented by St. Chrysostom, when he says, that the rich, looking on their parks and mansions, repeat what the Apostles said on Thabor, " bonum est nos hic esse."

> ——————Studious they appear
> Of arts that polish life, inventors rare,
> Unmindful of their Maker.

Nor is this all ; for how often is the investigation of natural philosophy pursued with a view not to strengthen, but to weaken moral truths, or rather to overthrow them ?

In the system which reduces the divine action to the mechanism of the universe, nature raises itself as a wall of brass between man and his Creator ; there is no communication between them—no active relation—no society of love, " and deism," as a French theologian remarks, " is in fact, only the absence of the Deity, as atheism is the denial of his existence." From this arguments are attempted to be gathered to deny the existence of the Deity—the immortality of the soul, and all religion, which is styled superstition, after the manner of the Epicureans of old, whose master says, " having known the nature of all things, levamur superstitione, we are delivered from the fear of death : we are not disturbed by the ignorance of things from which those horrible fears are wont to arise."

A time there was when science and theology went hand in hand ; but now the natural philosopher goes out with the spirit of Cain into the fields of human speculation ; and if reminded from time to time of God, by his humble brother, who remains within the sanctuary, he will turn against him with bitter words of scorn, to tax him with servility, and become, perhaps, in moments of social convulsion, not his critic only, but his murderer. The race is of all times, but how is it multiplied of late ! " Lingua eorum et adinventiones eorum contra Dominum."† The only reply which the scholastic philosophers would make to their objections, would resemble that of just reason in the ancient poem,

> Ὦ μοι μανίας τῆς σῆς, πόλεώς θ',
> Ἥτις σε τρέφει
> Λυμαινόμενον τοῖς μειρακίοις.‡

* De Trin. Lib. xii. c. 2. † Is. ii. ‡ Nubes, 891.

CHAPTER XII.

WE come now to consider how the clean of heart beheld God, in what appeared as deviations from the general laws, by which the visible world is sustained and governed, and this will lead us to remark some essential characteristics of the Catholic philosophy, by which it is distinguished from that of modern times. The way is already prepared for us, having seen its piety, humility, and Catholicity, for piety must recognize the agency of God, humility adore his absolute and ordinate power, and Catholicity admit the whole system of his manifestations. The piety of men in ages of faith led them to see not only the divine hand in the conduct of all human things in general, but also an especial providence guiding and determining events with relation to each individual. Without the clue, indeed, which supernatural light confers,

> ——— Full hard it is to read aright,
> The course of heavenly cause, or understand
> The secret meaning of th' eternal might,
> That rules men's waies, and rules the thoughts of living wight.

But for the clean of heart, even though their own fate might sometimes have been included among these divers obscure judgments, on which they had expressly treated, as in the instance of Gui de Roye, who, after composing the Doctrinal de Sapience, perished in a manner so tragical, and so unlike what any one could have anticipated,* there was an abundant vision. St. Augustin alludes to the disorders of human society, and says, "fire, hail, snow, ice, the spirit of whirlwinds accomplish his word." "It would be long to commemorate," he adds, "the apparent disorders in the world, which, by fools, are ascribed to chance, and by the wise to the word of God. Wherever he wishes the fire shines, and the clouds are borne, which bring either rain or hail. God knows what he is about, do you only fear and be good."†

"Who knows not," says Richard of St. Victor, "to what confusion is subject the various multiplicity and multitudinous variety of this visible machine, in which all things happen equally to the just and to the impious, to the good and to the evil, to the clean and to the unclean, to him who immolates victims, and to the

* Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. xv. 236.

† Tract. in Ps. 148.

despiser of sacrifice."* Yet so far from the perturbations of time rendering them insensible to the hand of Almighty Providence, in the conduct of nations, they affirmed that the history of the world is not comprehensible, without a government of the world.

St. Thomas remarks, that the Scripture, in order to show that casual things proceed according to the order of a certain superior cause, saith, "time and chance are in all things under the sun," and not simply chance, because it is according to a certain order of time, that casual defects are found in these things; for according to one act of the government of God, things are differently governed according to their diversity; for some by their nature are self-agents, and these are governed by God no less, for they are moved by God operating within them, and persuading them to good, by precepts; and this is according to the perfection of his government, that some are used as instruments in like manner as a master makes his pupils not alone to understand but also to teach others.†

Hence, those solemn and curious reflections, so common in the middle ages, respecting the interposition of Providence in this life, as when the death of Emerick, king of Hungary, in 1204, was considered an indication of divine judgment, from his expiring on the same day on which the preceding year he had thrown his brother Andrew into prison, laden with chains, having caught him by stratagem.‡ Men of the spiritual life, who watched the events of the world, could recount many strange and admirable instances of this kind, and a book composed from their conversation, would have exhibited the action of Almighty God in a point of view that could not fail to excite love and reverence. Repeatedly they feel constrained to say these are not natural events; they strengthen from strange to stranger. Their thought was, therefore, that of Schelling, when he observed, in his lectures on Academic study, "that amongst the holy there is nothing holier than history—that great drama of the world—that eternal poem of the divine intelligence, from a consideration of which view Hurter applies to history, what Lord Bacon affirms of philosophy, 'Leviores haustus avocant a Deo, planiores ad Deum reducunt.'" Many of the expressions of this belief which had been remarked, as characterizing the conversation of eminent men, are recorded by ancient writers. The Emperor Maximilian Second, we are told, used always to console and strengthen himself in affliction, by saying, "Dominus providebit."§ And Alphonso, the wise king of Arragon, to one who asked who was the happiest man, replied, him, I judge to be the happiest, who accepts all things which happen to him, no otherwise than as things done by God.‖ In short, it was the spirit of these ages to recognize the hand of supreme mercy in all things, whether, as St. Chrysostom says, "the object of Providence should be discerned or not; whether the will of men co-operated or not, for it is well known that God confers many favors upon

* De Contemplat. P. 1. Lib. ii. c. 26.

† P. 1. q. q. ciii. art. 5. 6.

‡ Chron. Austral. Chron Claustroneob.

§ Drexelius de Conform. Hum. Volunt. cum Div. Lib. v. 6.

‖ Panormitan in vita ejus.

us against our own will, and many which we do not know to be such at the time."*

"Our Lord," says St. Bonaventura, "may seem to sleep, as when with his disciples in the ship during the storm, which terrified them, and yet he does not the less attend to our safety."† "Born in turbulent times," says Cardan, "exposed to many vicissitudes, suffering from poverty, forced to travel so often with men not only aliens from religion, but also its enemies, it must be ascribed rather to a miracle than to wisdom, rather to the divine assistance than to virtue, that I should not have been moved. But I was always most observant of religion, and the worship of God, mindful not alone of the divine majesty, but also of the blessed Virgin Mary and of the blessed Martin, being admonished in a dream, that under his patronage I should lead a more peaceful life."‡ To men of such intellectual habits it used to seem as if God in the government of the world was pleased to attend even to many of those sacred delicate harmonies between thought and things external, which the human mind delights to trace or to imagine, as when some holy person whose patron was St. Michael, and whose fervent vow through a long sickness, had been to obtain release upon his festival, would sweetly expire on that day, and at the moment when the Church was singing, in conspectu Angelorum Psallam tibi Deus meus.

There is no occasion, however, for producing instances of this spirit, as they may be found in every page of the ancient Catholic writings; but we may remark in passing that it was this habit of seeing God in all the events and affairs of the world, which rendered life in former times so full of high mystic inspiration, so poetical, so ideal. "Circumstance," which a modern poet styles, "that unspiritual God," was then a most fruitful source of spirituality; every act and turn was full of thought—full of mystery; the giving a cup of water—the doffing a cap in salutation—the lifting of an aventayle to greet some holy man—the holding a stirrup in a procession, was an intellectual act, associated with the love of Christ. Every one true to his profession deserved the appelation of Israel, the man seeing God, and might have said too, "vidi Dominum, et salva facta est anima mea."§

The justice of these views was evident, indeed, from faith, but considering them only with the eyes of a philosopher, it was deemed more wise to adopt the principles of the stoics and Pythagoreans, than to confess one's self an Epicurean who held the contrary. In fact, they were part of the great primeval traditions of mankind, conveyed in those noble fragments of ancient poesy which are so often cited by the early fathers, as in the lines given by St. Clement of Alexandria—

——— τόν οὐδέποτ' ἐῶμεν
ῥ̓ῆτον, μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαὶ

* Hom. Coloss.
† Medit. Vitæ Christi, cxxi.
‡ Hieron. Card. de Vita Propria, Lib. ii. c. 22.
§ Isidori Etymolog. Lib. vii.

πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραὶ, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα
*καὶ λιμένες, πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κεκρήμεθα πάντες.**

The study of etymology itself indicated the first notions of all people, Θεὸς seemed to be derived naturally from *θεάομαι*. The *Ὀλύμπου σκοποὶ* of Pindar,† and the Homeric expression of *πόποι* for *ἐπόποι* or *ἐπόπται* sufficiently evinced too what was the faith of the earliest times. What else was it but this tradition which the different philosophers taught, as when the Pythagoreans said that nothing happened by fortune, but that the providence of God determined every thing :‡ a conviction which Pindar, who belonged to that sect, introduces into his fifth Pythian ode—*παντὶ μὲν θεὸν αἴτιον ὑπερτιθέμεν* and which is delivered by Æschylus in all the characteristic majesty of his expressive style ;

ἰὼ, ἴη δικαὶ Διὸς
παναιτίον πανεργέτα
τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται ;
τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν ;§

Hence Dionysius of Halicarnassus, in allusion to men who ridicule the belief of divine appearances ascribing them to human arrogance, and teaching that there is no providence, says, " those who profess this godless philosophy, if indeed one must call it philosophy."‖ The error of those naturalists, who look only to secondary causes, seems to have been so deeply estimated by Virgil—for, notwithstanding his supposed panegyric of Lucretius, his Anacerontic views of happiness,¶ and his Pantheistic notion,** I would be slow to believe him an Epicurean—that, after ascribing this impious speech to Palinurus,

" Magnanime Ænea, non, si mihi Jupiter auctor
Spondeat, hoc sperem Italiam contingere cœlo,"

he represents him as retaining the same mind even on the banks of Cocytus, still unable to recognize an ordaining intelligence ;—

" ———nec me Deus æquore mersit,
Namque gubernaculum multâ vi forte revulsum
Cui datus hærebam custos, cursusque regebam
Præcipitans traxi mecum."††

Moreover, in ages of faith, it was a sign of the good spirit recognized by every one, to revere with sincere piety the saints reigning with God, and the servants of God still on earth ;‡‡ and this disposition prepared men for discerning the hand of the Creator stretched out to honor, in the eyes of men and angels, those who were found faithful.

But while the piety of the Catholic philosophy was thus, at all times, disposed

* Stromat. v. 14. † Olymp. 1. ‡ Jamb. de Pythag. vita, cap. 28. § Agam. 1485.
‖ Antiq. Rom. Lib. ii. c. 68. ¶ Geor. iii. 6. 6. ** Æn. vi. 724. †† VI. 348.
‡‡ Bona de Discretione Spirituum, c. 6.

to recognize the agency of God, its humility caused men to adore his power, and thus removed another great obstacle which prevents the impious and proud from beholding him in the more extraordinary acts of his Almighty Providence. The clean of heart, therefore, saw God in his miraculous operations amongst men.

Here is a great difficulty for the moderns. "We live in times," says Berthier, "when the wonderful, as soon as it presents itself, becomes an object of criticism. This is praiseworthy on many accounts: hence are prevented error, superstition, and fanaticism, the shameful effects of a precipitate admiration.* But," continues this historian, "in this, as in all other respects, criticism ought to be judicious, impartial, and attentive," rules unhappily by which it has not been always directed in reference to the subject of this Chapter; so that it is as much the language of the critics, as the object presented to them, which imperatively demands criticism. Let us hear them speak: "These miracles," says a late writer, "are a terrible reproach to the Roman Catholic Church of the middle ages. Why did she sanction them? Why require that miracles should precede canonization? Why approve miracles at all? Why not uniformly receive them with distrust? They have, indeed, been long exploded, and for this we must thank the progress of knowledge." Such are the questions and assertions of many at present, which one conversant with ages of faith may answer with a smile, as this other doubt which moves them is less harmful, for it brings no immediate peril of removing them from God. It is, however, a difficult pass for the faultering steps of some who would wish to follow, and we must endeavor to make it smooth for them; a formidable task if one much regards the rubrick of the Dresden Library, "Philosophi falsa et fanatica," supposing its particular application just. At all events it is one that ought not to be undertaken lightly, for it requires more reflection than most others devolving on an historian; and as Socrates says, "until we philosophize sufficiently, it will not be possible for any one to speak properly on any subject."†

Inaccuracy as to facts ought first to be corrected. The reproach then must not be limited to the Roman Church, or to the middle ages; miracles were uniformly received with distrust; and they have not been long exploded, since hardly a year passes without bringing conviction to the minds of many persons that miracles continue to take place. Hugo of St. Victor remarks, "that the apostle does not reprove the philosophers for having inquired into the nature of things, but for having endeavored to confine the power of God, which is infinite, under the dominion of natural causes."‡

The philosophy of the ages of faith, in lending a willing ear to the witnesses who attest instances of a supernatural and immediate interposition of divine agency, superseding and surpassing all the known power of physical secondary causes,

* Discours sur la Pucelle d'Orleans.

† Phædo.

‡ Hugo S. Vict. quæst. circ. Epist. ad Philippens.

evinced only a strict logical consistency with its own essential principles, which required it not to resist or question the power of Almighty God. In the first place, the fact was so. This interposition did take place; or, as St. Thomas says, "God does produce sometimes the effects of secondary causes without them, or effects to which secondary causes do not extend."*

There was a mystic, supernatural, or miraculous side to all things, noticed in the preceding books of this history, to which I have seldom alluded, in order to accelerate our course; but of the reality of which I must now declare, once for all, my unlimited conviction. Yes, throughout these ages there were continually seen by the clean of heart, miraculous gifts and manifestations of God;† all is true of which we read in the lives of saints, so far as concerns the general fact, that they felt, heard, saw, and understood things beyond mortality. Without going back to primitive times to tell of what Cyprian, Marianus, Perpetua, and the holy martyrs saw before or during their passion, let those who would observe instances in proof, refer to what Goerres has collected from the lives of Mary of Agreda, Jerome Gratianus the Carmelite, Joseph of Cupertino, the Capuchin friar, Catherine of Sienna, and other canonized men and women of the middle ages alone.‡ I will not delay to notice the trivial phrases, with which the Catholic belief on this head is chiefly assailed: such as, "Miracles are impossible"—"The age of Miracles is passed"—"Miracles were invented by interested priests;" and such like: for as they rest on no ground of reason, it is for reason, to despise them; but if any thing sound like argument let us attend. "If an eye-witness exist," says a modern historian, "he never as such (we confine our observations to the earlier ages of the Church) alludes to miracles."

This would, indeed, be much, if there were much truth in it; but what can be concluded from an assertion opposed to fact? Let any one read the account which St. Augustin gives of the miracles which he saw with his own eyes wrought at Carthage and other places, and he will know how to estimate its value. The instances which St. Augustin relates in the twenty-second book of his City of God, are precisely similar to those which Catholics in all ages, as well as in our own, have believed were passing under their eyes. St. Irenæus reproaches the heretics against whom he writes, that they could not give sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, or raise the dead to life, as he testifies was frequently done in the true church.§ Tertullian‖ and St. Pacian¶ pursue the same line of argument. Miracles are attested by Theophilus of Antioch, Minutius Felix, Arnobius, Lactantius, St. Athanasius, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome and others of the holy fathers, and by a cloud of witnesses in long succession through the middle ages. St. Nicetas, bishop of Treves, in the sixth century, in order to convert her husband, Alboin, king of the Lombards, from Arianism, advises Queen Clodosind to induce him to send confiden-

* Sum. p. 1. Q. cv. 6. † Goerres die Christliche Mystik, passim. ‡ 11. 83. 97. 101.
§ Cont. Hæres. Lib. ii. c. 31. ‖ Lib. de Præscrip. ¶ Ep. ii. ad Symphor.

tial messengers to witness the miracles wrought at the tomb of St. Martin, St. Germanus, or St. Hilary, adding, "Are such things done in the churches of the Arians ?"* About the same time, Levigild, king of the Goths in Spain, an Arian, who was converted, or nearly so, by his Catholic son St. Hermengild, reproaches his Arian bishops that no miracles were wrought among them, as was the case, he said, among the Catholics.† The seventh century beheld the miracles of our apostle, St. Augustin of Canterbury, wrought in confirmation of the doctrine which he taught, as was recorded on his tomb.‡ In the eleventh century we have no less a witness than Richard of St. Victor, who, speaking of the proofs of the Catholic religion, exclaims, "O Lord, if what we believe is an error, thou art the author of it, since it is confirmed amongst us by those signs and prodigies which could not be wrought but by thee."§ St. Bernard, St. Dominic, St. Francis Xavier, all appealed to the miracles which God wrought by their hands in proof of the Catholic doctrine. Those of St. Bernard in the twelfth century are innumerable, and nothing is deficient in the evidence by which they are attested. All France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy, bore testimony to them ; and prelates, princes, and the emperor himself, were often the spectators of them. In a journey which the saint made into Germany, he was followed by Philip, archdeacon of Liege, who was sent by Sampson, archbishop of Rheims, to observe his actions. This writer, accordingly, gives an account of a vast number of instantaneous cures which the holy abbot performed on the lame, the blind, the paralytic, and other diseased persons. Speaking of those wrought at Cologne, he says, "They were not performed in a corner, but the whole city was witness to them. If any one doubts or is curious, he may easily satisfy himself on the spot, especially as some of them were wrought on persons of no inconsiderable rank."‖ Preaching at Sarlat against the Henricians, he took some loaves of bread and blessed them ; after which he said, "By this you shall know that I preach to you the true doctrine and the heretics a false doctrine ; all your sick who shall eat of this bread shall recover their health :" which prediction was confirmed by the event.¶ St. Bernard himself, addressing Pope Eugene III., as also in his letter to the people of Thoulouse, refers to the miracles which God enabled him to work.** But the reader should refer to the eloquent pages of Goerres for proof and illustration.†† What might not be said also on the miracles of St. Francis Xavier, and on those of St. Philip Neri, St. Francis de Sales, St. John Francis Regis, and numberless others ? At one time, two thousand persons afflicted with different maladies, came to the convent of the Recollects in Horta, to beseech Salvator, a poor Catalonian lay brother, to pray for them : after they had all made their confession and communion, he blessed them in the name of the holy Trinity, and they were all healed in the same hour.‡‡ Twenty-two bishops of Languedoc wrote to Pope Clement XI. in these terms,

* Labbe Concil. tom. v. p.835. † Greg. Turon. i. ix. c. 15. ‡ Bed. Eccles. Hist. i. ii. c. 3.
§ Ric. S. Vic. de Trinit. i. ‖ Mabill. ¶ Geof. in vit. Bern. ** De Consideratione.
†† Die Christliche Mystik, l. 251. ‡‡ II. 212.

" We are witnesses that before the tomb of Francis Regis, the blind see, the lame walk, the deaf hear, the dumb speak."

We need not multiply instances. Let us, however, hear St. Ouen, recording a miraculous cure in his own age, in verification of the divine promise, that he who believes in Christ shall do the works which he did; for the passage will show the spirit with which all operations of this kind were believed to be effected. During the anniversary celebration of St. Denis at Paris, while vigils were chanting in the choir, Eligius entered the temple, and saw a man contracted, lying at the sepulchre of the saint. Moved with charity, he went up and inquired from him how long he had been lame, and the cause of his disease, and asked him whether he had hope in Christ, if he believed that he could be cured, if he believed that he would rise from death and receive a recompense according to his works; and when the other replied that he believed all this, then said Eligius, why do you lie here any longer—do you believe that this saint can obtain from God the cure of your malady? If then you do so believe, promise to the Lord that from henceforth you will serve him, and if you have firm faith the Lord will heal you. Then Eligius knelt upon the ground and prayed, with eyes and hands raised to heaven, calling upon our Saviour Jesus Christ: and then turning to the sick man he took him by the hand, and desired him to rise up in the name of Jesus, and the sick man immediately felt strength in his joints, and he arose and was healed from that hour.

Goerres has written a most remarkable chapter on the miraculous healing of the sick in general, in the Catholic Church;* but we cannot delay to hear it. I shall only observe that passages like the above, appeared to the count of Stolberg to contain the strongest internal evidence of truth. When relating the answer of Pope Gregory to St. Augustin, who had sent him an account of the miracles which he had wrought in England, this profound philosopher says, " It seems to me that the Apostolic manner in which Gregory regarded miracles, places beyond a doubt the authenticity of those which he records as having occurred in his time."† The point of attack will now perhaps be changed, and we shall be told that eye-witnesses cannot be credited when they affirm that they have seen such things.

" They had a passage for a time, will some one say," quoting Lord Bacon, " by the ignorance of the people, the superstitious simplicity of some, and the politic toleration of others, and came to be esteemed but as old wives' fables, impostures of the clergy, and badges of Antichrist." This is a side on which the ancient philosophers would not have ventured to make an assault. " It cannot be," says Plato, " that faith ought not to be placed in the sons of the Gods, even although they may speak without probable and invincible demonstrations." " Truly," says Socrates, " it is not easy to refuse assent to what Simonides says, for he is a wise and a divine man."‡ What then would these philosophers have thought of

* Die Christliche Mystik, i, 385. † Life of Alfred, chap. 3. ‡ De Repub. i.

persons, who should refuse to credit such men as St. Bernard and St. Francis Xavier, and refuse too on the very ground of their being divine men? Yet this is the argument of the moderns. "Men were religious," say they, "and anxious to uphold religion by every means; or they were religious, and, therefore, liable to delusions." Another difficulty presents itself to them. "If miracles did take place, all the world, they conclude, would have known it, and every one would have heard of it." But can they be so sure of this? Here, again, facts overthrow their arguments. Immediately before attesting as an eye-witness, the miracles which had been lately wrought, St. Augustin says, "Miracles are now indeed wrought by his name, by the sacraments or prayers, or by the memorials of his saints; but they are not illustrious with the same brightness as those related in the gospels, because the canon of the holy Scriptures being spread every where and recited, all nations know them; but when these miracles occur, they are scarcely known in the very city itself in which they pass, for generally very few persons know of them, the rest being ignorant of their occurrence, especially if it be a great city, and when they are related to others elsewhere, there is no such authority to substantiate them as to make them to be credited without doubt or difficulty, although they are related by faithful Christians to faithful Christians."*

Might not one suppose that this referred to what was every day passing in our own times in various parts of Europe? The same apathy appeared during the middle ages. Wandalbert, deacon and monk of Prumens, writing in the ninth century, says in the prologue to his life of St. Goar, addressed to the abbot Marcuvard, "To attest the merits of the saints, so many miracles continue to be wrought, as in the first ages, that in consequence of their frequent occurrence, men no longer regard them with admiration."† Peter the Venerable, abbot of Cluny, says in the prologue to his book on Miracles, "that he used often to feel indignant that no one should ever think of writing down a record of the miraculous events which were occuring in his time, and that it was that consideration which tempted him to set about removing the deficiency."‡

Sometimes a fear of offending God by silence compelled men to speak of miracles, which fell under their own observation. "Thus," one ancient writer says, "it would be tedious to relate each of the miracles and wonders that God has wrought in this monastery of Kœnig Sael, in Prague, since its foundation: many are written, but more have been omitted and have perished from the memory of men; yet some things which I have myself seen, and which have been proved perfectly by others, and which I dare not pass over, and cannot with a clear conscience, I will note here, for I have been in this monastery from my youth."§

"I certainly think," says Marsilius Ficinus, "that to us undeserving, certain

* De Civit. Dei, Lib. xxii. 8. † Acta S. Ord. S. Bened. tom. ii. ‡ Dei Mirac. Lib. i.
§ Gaspar Jongelinus Notitiæ Abbot. Ord. Cisterciens. per Univ. Orb. Lib. v. 30.

miraculous signs have been divinely given, but all things are not shown to all; many also are not written down, or if written, are not credited, in consequence of some wicked and detestable men imitating miracles. I have heard of some miracles in our own time, and in our city of Florence, which are to be believed. Do not be surprised, my Lorenzo, that Marsilius Ficinus, studious of philosophy, should introduce miracles; for the things of which we write are true, and it is the duty of a philosopher to confirm every thing by its own proper kind of argument."* While history attests the fact, philosophy and faith explain why miracles should not excite a more general and permanent impression. "What is astonishing amongst men, with respect to miracles," says Cardan, is the fact, "that when they are present, or a little after they have occurred, the whole man is attracted by them, but when grown cold, they are so attenuated, that unless you firmly fix and restore them as if with a nail, you will, as it were, doubt whether you have seen or heard them. Quod reor maxime tum ob alias causas multo profundiores, accidere quam naturæ nostræ distantia à causis quæ illud efficiunt."† To silence respecting miracles, innumerable causes contributed. It would, perhaps, be difficult to describe the intellectual effects, resulting from them, in terms more exact than those of Plato, where he gives this caution. "Beware lest such things should be produced before undisciplined men; for, as it seems to me, than these no things sound more ridiculous to the common mass of mankind, or more admirable and full of divinity to those who are well constituted, *σχεδὸν γὰρ, ὡς ἐμοὶ δοκεῖ, οὐκ ἔστι τούτων πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς καταγελαστότερα ἀκούσματα, οὐδ' αὖ πρὸς τοὺς εὐφυεῖς θαυμαστότερά τε καὶ ἐνθουσιαστικώτερα.*‡

The clean of heart in ages of faith, were impressed with the conviction expressed by Pindar, "that not every truth revealing its countenance clearly is profitable, and that the knowing how to keep silence is often the wisest thing among men."§ They would, therefore, preface their account of miracles with, "Let it dwell darkly with you;" and, in fact, Guibert de Nogent will bear witness, that in the eleventh century there were in England some persons as ready to discredit miracles, and to impute them to artifice, as any that could now be found there, though it is true he represents them as men addicted to drunkenness, of no understanding in regard to the mysteries of God, and closing their course of audacious impiety by a bitter end, imitating Judas in their death.‖ Many motives, indeed, rendered the clean of heart willing, rather to rest in the assurance of almighty power than to be the heralds, or even witnesses of its demonstration. Mabillon shows that the clergy of the seventh and eighth centuries were studious to conceal the event of any miracle which had been wrought in their churches; he cites a remarkable instance from the acts of St. Hildulf, of the bishop of Treves, and abbot of the Medianensian monastery, respecting their conduct, in consequence of

* Mars. Ficin. de Christiana Religione, cap. x. † Hieron. Cardan de Vita Propria, cap. 43.
‡ Epist. ii. § Nem. od. v. ‖ Guibert Novigent. de Vita Propria, Lib. iii. c. xi.

the crowd of persons who were attracted thither by the frequent miracles of St. Spinulus, lest they should be withdrawn from the loyal road of regular discipline. Similar examples occurred at Rheims and at Clairvaux. The Sarlatensian monks being disturbed by the multitude of people, who came to the shrine of the holy abbot Pardulf, to witness the miracles, they actually translated the abbot's body into the church of St. John, without the monastery, that the crowd might be directed elsewhere. The abbot Rodulfus, in the first book of his Chronicle, after relating that in the last years of the life of the abbot Guntram, frequent miracles were wrought at the tomb of Lord Trudo, says that the abbot studiously endeavored to conceal them, and alleged this reason, that signs were given to infidels, and not to the faithful, "which not long after," says the Chronicler, "some of ourselves experienced, who, in presence of these very miracles, did not fear to offend God."*

Peter the Venerable says, "that many miracles and extraordinary events were occurring in the holy order of the Carthusians, but that the humility of those saintly men made it very difficult to obtain information respecting them."† The Recollects of Horta brought a complaint before the provincial of their order against Salvator, the lay brother, in consequence of the miraculous cures which he performed; the peace of their convent was disturbed by the multitudes, who flocked to see him. The provincial commanded that his name should be changed, and that he should be sent at midnight to another monastery: popular commotions followed; he was removed successively to Barcelona, Saragossa, and the island of Sardinia, the people every where still discovering him, as if by instinct, while he continued healing all their diseases till his death, which occurred in the year 1567.‡ It was nothing new in England in the twelfth century, as a recent historian of the middle ages supposes, to evince a disposition rather to conceal than to publish miracles. This writer admits, that such a spirit existed long before on the continent. "The more aged monks of several monasteries," he says, "had received with coldness the intelligence of miraculous manifestations, even when they as a community, must of necessity profit by them. They contended that tranquillity, seclusion, and prayer were the first obligations of a monk; but how could these obligations be fulfilled if crowds of people were to flock daily to visit the shrine of a sainted inmate?"§

Moreover, faith, as we shall see at the close of this volume, imparted a vision to the clean of heart, which obscured the lustre of miracles, and rendered them even unwilling to behold them. Voltaire said he would go to the world's end to see a miracle; but when he had beheld one, there is no great probability that it would have effected any prodigious change in his psychological condition. It is by no means certain, that he would have obtained a mind like that of St. Louis, who

* Præfat. in III. Sæcul. Benedict. § vii.

† De Miraculis, Lib. ii. c. 29.

‡ Goerres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 212.

§ Lardner's Cyclop. vol. iv. 76.

did not wish to see a miracle. Joinville ascribes to the count of Montford the answer which others attribute to that holy king, who, on being invited to remove to a distance of a few miles to see a miraculous host, replied, that he had no need of miracles to believe in the real presence. Such was the spirit of men in ages of faith. St. John of the Cross, in like manner, declined going to see a nun at Lisbon, who was said to be miraculously inspired, saying, "I want no fresh motives of credibility; they would diminish the merit of my faith, little as it is; it is enough for me to know what Jesus Christ teaches, and what our holy mother, the Roman Church, which cannot deceive, proposes to us." "It is related of a certain holy father," says St. Bonaventura, "that when the devil appeared to him in the form of Christ, he shut his eyes and said that he did not wish to see Christ in this life."* St. John of the Cross would not suffer spiritual persons to indulge in the desire of witnessing miraculous operations, and he used to cite St. Thomas, whose maxim was, that the desire of visions and other signs is a want of faith,† an observation verified, perhaps, more remarkably at present, in these grand expounders of the apocalypse, who are always pretending to discover the times and the seasons, as if they fancied themselves prophets. The scholastic and mystic guides of the middle ages used to warn men to refrain from inquiries respecting the end of the world, and the coming of Antichrist, lest they should evince the presumption which was reproved by our Saviour.‡

The belief of men in the reality of miracles, however, was not the less steadfast, in consequence of their rejecting the spirit of curiosity in matters of faith; and it only remains to show that the very Catholicity of their views obliged them to possess it, since they could not entertain doubts respecting their possibility, without taking a partial view of human and divine things. Their histories, we are told, are full of attestations of strange, amazing instances of the immediate interference of God in the affairs of men; they abound with wonders. The reply of these authors to such objectors would, I think, have been very short. They would have deemed it sufficient to repeat Pindar's words, Ἤ θαυματὰ πολλά.§ We deny it not. The life of man is full of wonders. Theirs was strictly in this respect the Platonic style. "What you say seems most incredible; but, nevertheless, it is necessary to admit it."‖ I said in the beginning that the clean of heart saw God, in the apparent deviations from the laws of nature; for, in fact, what ground have we for considering miracles as different from the other manifestations of the Supreme Ruler? It is in appearance, not in reality, that they differ from his ordinary laws of action. Plato speaks of it as a kind of blasphemy, to talk like ignorant people, of wandering stars, alluding to celestial bodies, as if they did not follow a certain law, whereas each has its appointed course; and his remark is applicable to miracles: "for, if," saith he, "in the

* III. Sent. d. 5. † III. P. Q. 43. art. 1. ad. 3.
‡ St Bonavent. de Sept. Grad. vit. Spiritual cap. 79. § Olymp. i. ‖ De Legibus Lib. i.

Olympic games, those who follow the longest course should be called the slowest, because they are not in with those who take a shorter way, would it not be an injustice and an error ? and when we err in the same manner speaking of divine things, are we not ridiculous and blind ?"*

We may not be able to trace the connection, but it is in the order of Providence that such effects should be produced, from time to time, without the co-operation of secondary causes. With respect to that general incredibility of all miracles which some imagine, the objection hardly deserves a reply. " Neither are they to be heard," says St. Augustin, " who deny that the invisible God can work visible miracles since he made the world."† What insane arrogance, or rather, indeed, what a want of thought when man refuses to believe that miracles can occur ! It was but as yesterday that the oldest came into the world, from which he will, as it were, in a moment, be taken to the invisible world ; and during the short space which intervenes, though he can trace the operation of general laws, he cannot be sure that he has discovered a thousandth part of their number, or that the most apparently trivial and isolated fact does not arise from the action of a general law, of which he knows nothing : even during this moment of observation, while drawing breath between two eternities, the commonest thing is quite as strange as the uncommonest, only habit blunts his sense. Therefore, after showing how few common things can be perfectly explained, St. Hilary exclaims, " O man ! why so much resignation in thy ignorance, when it is respecting the things which thou touchest ? Why so much insolence when the question is concerning what relates to the nature of God ?"‡ " If we should wish," says a German philosopher, " to do away with all miracles, at which the people wonder, whether it be extraordinary things, or things of which we cannot understand the connection, yet nature herself is full of miracles, and the real existence of things is to us a miracle." " The first man," says Novalis, " is the first seer of spirits ; to him every thing appears as spirits. What are children but first men ?" The fresh glance of the child is more abundant than the perception of the most penetrating seer."§

In the order of grace, things equally wondrous are happening around us every day, only they strike us not, because we regard them with fleshly eyes, obscured by habit, and not with those of faith. All that appears so admirable in the lives of the saints, might be found in actual operation at present, if men had not learned the art of plucking the soul out of all human things ; the same events take place, but are designated by different expressions. Neither can it be denied that the clean of heart beholding God, saw more, believed more than other men ; and that they wished others to see and believe with them. One of the rules of Picus of Mirandula is, De Deo credere omnia summa, idemque cupere ut omnes credant. They did not write like the moderns, because they doubted and disbelieved,

* Leges, Lib. vii. † De Civ. Dei, Lib. x. 12. ‡ De Trin. Lib ii. § Schriften, ii. 291.

but they might have said, with holy David, "Credidi, propter quod locutus sum." Physical science even warned philosophers from distrusting what such men saw, on the ground that it was not revealed to fleshly eyes. "All true things in the world are invisible," says Marsilius Ficinus, "all visible things in the world are only shadows of things."* "The unknown holy world," as Novalis remarks, "the higher world, is nearer to us than we commonly suppose. Already here we live in it, and we see it interwoven with the earthly nature."† Ubi cor, ibi oculus—where the heart was in heaven, the eyes saw God. "Proud and animal men," says Louis of Blois, "not perceiving or understanding the things which are of the spirit of God, condemn these holy books, and say that these revelations are only the dreams of women: for they know not with what familiarity God joins himself to the humble soul, as appears in the books of the blessed virgins, and widows, Gertrude, Mechtild, Hildegard, Elizabeth, and Brigit."

The clean of heart, in ages of faith, felt that the city of God on earth was as manifestly filled with the divine presence, as in the days of its first establishment. St. Augustin had addressed this admonition to the Church: "Ne putes te desertam quia non vides Paulum, quia non vides Petrum, quia non vides illos per quos nata es. De prole tua crevit tibi paternitas; pro patribus tuis nati sunt tibi filii, constitues eos principes super omnem terram." In effect the subsistence of the Catholic Church around them was a standing miracle, no less wondrous than those which first were wrought to make manifest the Son of God. The reply which Dante made to a blest spirit, who asked how he knew that the miracles were such as they are said to have been, might have been extended to express this: "that all the world," said he, "should have been turned to Christian, and no miracle been wrought,"

> Would, in itself, be such a miracle,
> The rest were not an hundredth part so great.‡

That all nations should have been preserved in one religion, that a unity of spirit, a unity of doctrines should have been maintained so long, and men innumerable with angel minds have believed that miracles were wrought around them, and no miracle been wrought, would have been not, indeed, a miracle in Christian sense, but the marvellous of Calvin, that is to say, an absolute impossibility.

"He is wise," exclaims Pindar, "who knows many things by nature, but they who learn by means of labor and application are vehement in their garrulity, and like crows caw out vain things against the divine bird of Jove."§ The Pythagorean poet seems to have had a deeper meaning than Aristides of Miletus supposes, who comments upon the passage. There is a fountain of analogies for the universe, and those whom grace divine, under any form, had guided in the contemplation of nature, have discovered it, without forfeiting the character which Pliny so

* Epist. Lib. vi. ad Lacteri Neronio. † Schriften, ii. 180. ‡ Par. xxiv. § Olymp. ii.

admired in a student, " quanta in sermone cunctatio !" while self-sufficient curious observers, who seem to think with Anaxagoras of old, that the wisdom and understanding of men result from their having hands,* who say miracles are past, and with the same breath, perhaps, as philosophical persons make modern and familiar things supernatural and causeless, require continually to hear the count's admonition to Bertram, " be check'd for silence, but never tax'd for speech." " In the writings of the former," as Novalis remarks of many old books, " there beats a mysterious pulse, which shows the point of contact with the invisible world." Evidently as the clean of heart advanced on the way of this mortal life, they grew more full of incredibility as respected men, and more full of confidence in God. Many things passed around them—many things they heard, they saw, which, as St. Augustin says of the time when God creates human souls, " they would much rather learn than presume to teach." " If their reason could not, at all times instantly refute,—their faith," as St. Augustin says, " enabled them to despise the objections of the impious,† while guarding with a pious mind the precepts of the blest."

Εἰ'σεξεῖ γνώμᾳ φυλάσσοτες Μακάρων τελετάς.‡

Ancient authors desire us to mark the two questions addressed to the angel, and their different reception: Zacharius said, " Whereby shall I know this?" for there are circumstances to make me believe this cannot be. Here, say they, is the pride of knowledge, and a dependence on philosophy; but Mary said fearfully, and in doubt, what manner of salutation this could be—How shall this be? She seeks not knowledge, but to have her alarm dispelled and her modesty preserved. Boyle has entitled one of his essays thus remarkably—" of man's great ignorance of the uses of natural things; or that there is no one thing in nature whereof the uses to human life are yet thoroughly understood," yet the garrulous men whom Pindar compares to crows, reject miracles, because, they say, they cannot see their use—they cannot believe that the Divinity would interpose for purpose unimportant; but their ridicule of Catholics only proves their own inconsistency, and alarms not its objects, for they can say with St. Augustin, " In ipsum Christum non crederemus, si fides nostra similes cachinnos metueret."§ Did not Almighty God exert his omnipotence, for what appears a trifle, when he filled the widow's cruse with oil ?‖ The gentle Champier supplied them with an answer, when, in his doctrinal of a father training his son to all perfection, he says of those who pry into divine secrets,

" Las ! nous pouvres créatures
Folles, corruptibles ordures,
N'appartient en nulle manière
Que de rien que Créateur fasse
Nul ayt si hardye face
Que la cause en rien enquierre."

* Plutarch de Amicit. 2. † De Civ. Dei, xii. 17. ‡ Olymp. iii. § Epist. 102. ‖ Reg. ii. 4.

"The will of God ought to suffice to us for reason," says St. Anselm, "when he does any thing, although we may not be able to discern why he so wills."* We cannot see what object could be answered by the miracles recorded in the history of the ages of faith; but can we see the object answered by every part of the visible nature around us? Doubtless, we should find that important ends are produced by the meanest particle of creation, if we could only see the totality, but, as Montaigne says, "man knows the whole of nothing." The most strange manifestation of Almighty power attested in records, can never be rejected as incredible, on philosophical grounds, on the score of its apparent inutility, for the true philosopher would only ask with Dante, "Is this

> A preparation, in the wondrous depth
> Of thy sage counsel, made for some good end,
> Entirely from our reach of thought cut off?"†

If, like Hiero, the chatterer had asked the man of faith how such things were done? He, in turn, I think, would have asked the delay of Simonides before answering; or rather he would have said, it is sufficient that they were done. "Who are we," asks St. Augustin, "to dispute about the works of God, and to say wherefore this and that? this is ill—this is wrong. If you enter into an iron forge you do not dare to criticise the anvil, or the bellows; but, if without skill in that trade, the mere consideration of man induces you to say, "not without some cause are these things thus arranged, the artist knows, wherefore, though I know not. In a forge you would not dare to condemn the workman, and in the world you dare to reprehend God?"‡

The character of the true philosopher, we are told by a man of illustrious name in science in modern times, is to hope all things not impossible, and to believe all things not unreasonable. He who has seen obscurities, which appeared impenetrable in physical and mathematical science, suddenly dispelled, and the most barren and unpromising fields of inquiry converted, as if by inspiration, into rich and inexhaustible springs of knowledge and power on a simple change of our point of view, or by merely bringing to bear on them some principle which it never occurred before to try, will, surely, we may affirm, from the principles of this philosopher, be the very last to acquiesce in any of the modern objections to the belief of the clean of heart in ages of faith, on the ground of its admitting the reality of miraculous operations. The Pythagoreans esteemed as fools the men who were incredulous, and who supposed that God could do some things but not others. They used frequently to repeat the beginning of an heroic poem ascribed to Linus:—

> *Ελπεσθαι χρὴ πάντ' ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲν ἄελπτον·*
> *Ῥᾴδια πάντα θεῷ τελέσαι, καὶ ἀνήνυτον οὐδέν.*§

* Cur Deus Homo, 8. † Purg. ‡ Tract. in Ps. 148. § Jam. de Pyth. Vita, cap. 28.

To disbelieve nothing wonderful that may be related of the Gods, or concerning the divine doctrines,* was one of their symbolic maxims, which Pindar proclaims with a tone of personal conviction, saying, "To me nothing that is wonderful, done by the divine power, seems incredible."† Such was the spirit of the wisest men in the ancient world. We may truly apply Cicero's words to these views, and say, "Vetera jam ista, et religione omnium consecrata;" and certainly it is not from the Christian revelation that men of these latter times have learned to hold a different language, and to adopt instead that questioning spirit evinced by the Jews of Capernaum, when Christ first announced to mortal ears the great mystery of his love. Formerly, Aristarchus said, there were hardly seven wise men in the world; but at present, as in his time, the difficulty would be to find seven who are content to pass for common mortals. The boasted diffusion of intelligence seems to consist in every one preferring his own incredulity to the faith of many generations of the human race, and feeling that it would be a disparagement of his understanding to suppose that he could credit any history attesting a miraculous event. Yet it was not from having never weighed such objections, but from having duly estimated them, that the great men of former ages refused to subscribe to the modern opinions. St. Augustin knew the men well, "quibus tota regula credendi est consuetudo cernendi;" and to go back farther still, the sages of Greece rejected them as crimes. "It is the custom of the wicked," said Empedocles, "to wish to vanquish truth by incredulity."

Indeed, when heathens, who knew not God, could yet discern the intimate relation in which all things in this visible frame of nature stood to him, there is but little ground for boasting of an intellectual progress, in the fact that, after the light of Christ has risen, philosophers persuade themselves that He, who makes it his delight to be with the children of men, and whose mercy is from generation to generation on those who fear him, must have confined all his favors to the saints of the ancient law. Assuredly, as Touron remarks, it is not consistent with the principles of a Christian to deny, without examination of evidence, the truth of such records as those which attest the graces vouchsafed to the Angel of the School.

"I cannot believe," you say, "that he heard a divine sound conveying ideas to his intelligence; or that any mortal could behold the spirits of another world and hear that indescribable voice which came, it is said, to Jerome Gratian, the Carmelite, while reciting matins.‡ I cannot believe that prayer should work miracles. I cannot believe that the touch of relics, vestments, or medals, should cure a diseased limb." "What meanest thou?" would men of faith have said in answer; "What can thy words avail? They cast on all things surest, brightest, best, doubt, insecurity, astonishment." Truly, of these men, who thus exalt incredulity into a principle, one might affirm in the language of the poet,

* Jamblich. Adhort. ad Philos. cap. 21.

† Pyth. od. X.

‡ Bona de Discretione Spirituum, viii.

οὐ δή τις αἶα τοῦτ' ἐπεύχεται γένος
*τρέφουσ' ἀνατεὶ μὴ μεταστένειν πόνων.**

No land ever boasted of having nourished such a race without finding, in the end, cause for bitter groans.

But what then? Are all the recorded miracles of the middle ages to be credited; and is every miracle to be believed because it is not impossible? The clean of heart, in ages of faith, were placed in no such dilemma. Their maxim was thus expressed by Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remi, "Vitium est omnibus credere et nulli."† This will appear from only reading the judicious remarks of Touron, on the golden legend of James de Voragine. The illustrious Berenger de Landere, general of the Dominicans, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and archbishop of Compostello, commissioned Bernard Guido to separate the fables from the truth in this collection, which was a mere compilation from ancient legends Melchior Canus attacked it severely; and his critical remarks on legends in general are well deserving of perusal :‡ at the same time it is improbable that the favor obtained by this work was owing to its relations being credited: its merit was understood to consist chiefly in its allegorical nature; so that when reduced to history, in a corrected edition, it was no longer sought after.

We must, however, observe, that, in the middle ages, men complained loudly that some legends were superstitiously written. Guibert de Nogent, in the eleventh century, speaks of false narratives, and of true legends, which are written in such a patched and hobbling style, that they are believed to be false. "What edification," he exclaims, "can the rotation of these fables, worse than any screeching wheels, bring to pious ears, which even can suggest incentives of blasphemy to the impious?"§ Mabillon complains, in like manner, of innumerable little narrations inserted by modern writers, into the lives of saints, the extravagance of which is to his mind a subject of excessive grief.‖ No doubt, as a recent historian remarks, many absurd accounts, which disfigure the histories of eminent saints, and which are not found in contemporary writers, were the invention of men in subsequent times. This arose from error rather than from a wish to adorn. "With respect to these legends," says this historian, "charity is the best philosophy. Many were not known during the lives of the persons whose deeds they recount; after their deaths they were multiplied and disfigured." In the ancient lives of St. Romain, bishop of Rouen, there is no mention of his vanquishing a serpent: not even writers of the twelfth century allude to it; but as his victory over idolatry was represented under that symbol, later authors mistook the emblem for a reality. Similarly, the Parisians, in later ages, supposed that St. Marcel had slain a dragon, being misled by the ancient symbolical representations of his triumphs over Satan. In the old lives of St. Remi there is no notice of the saint Ampoule, which

* Æsch. Eumen. 58. † Epist. Lib. vii. 9. ‡ De Locis Theolog. Lib. ii. c. 10.
§ Guibert Non. de Pignoribus Sanct. Lib. i. c 1. ‖ De Studiis Monast. p. 11. c. 8.

was not mentioned till after four hundred years. So also, in the ancient lives of St. Denis there is no account of his carrying his head, which was first mentioned by Hilduinus about seven hundred years after his time.* Another modern historian, after showing that no intimation of many strange things in the life of St. Dunstan occurs in the more ancient writings, which minutely records his acts and miracles, concludes with this remark, "The truth is, that nobody would ever have thought of disregarding the canons of criticism, of passing over writers nearly contemporary to follow those much posterior, had not the latter offered some foundations, however frail, for an attack on this calumniated archbishop." No one produced the original records.

The Saxon annalist says," In this year all the chief nobility of England fell at Calne from an upper floor, except the holy archbishop Dunstan, who was standing on a beam ; and some were much maimed, and some did not escape with life." Such is the foundation for the charge echoed by modern writers, who accuse him of murder, and of pretending a miraculous interposition in his own favor. It can be hardly necessary to add, that the credibility of any particular miracle was estimated according to the weight of evidence in its support. None were received as genuine by the ecclesiastical authority, excepting after the most impartial and rigid scrutiny.

The Irish synod of the eighth century went so far as to say," The testimony of a woman is not to be received, as the apostles did not receive the testimony of women, respecting the resurrection of Christ."† "Some see visions in their imagination," says St. Bernardine of Sienna,"and some pretend that they see visions ; in some they are the preludes of insanity, and in others they arise from a confusion of the senses, which makes them believe truly that they see something when they see nothing : and when visions are true, they prove no man holy ; for otherwise Balaam would have been holy, and his ass too, which saw the angel."‡ "Charity," says Richard of St. Victor,"humility, patience, and the other virtues, make man perfect—not miracles."§

The prudence with which mystical authors guarded the mind from all delusion connected with a groundless belief in particular revelations, may be wittnessed in the spiritual works of the blessed John of the Cross, the first barefooted Carmelite, and the director of St. Theresa. Gerson,‖ Picus of Mirandula,¶ Cardinal Laurentius Brancatus,** Cardinal Bona,†† Castaldo de Alassio,‡‡ Joannes Rusbroch,§§ Henricus of Urimaria,‖‖ Dominicus Gravina,¶¶ Thyræus,*** and Goërres,††† have all written to explain on what ground the belief in divine visions may be secure.

* Floquet, Hist. du Privilége de St. Romain.
† Lib. xvi. cap. 3. apud. Dacher. Spicileg. tom. ix. ‡ Serm. x. § In. Can. Cantic
‖ De Distinctione Visionum. ¶ De Fide. ** De Oratione. †† De Discretione Spirituum.
‡‡ De Potestate Angelica. §§ De Ornat. Spirit. Nupt. ii. ‖‖ De Spiritibus.
¶¶ Lapis Lydius. *** De Apparit. ††† Die Christ. Mystik, ii.380

Guibert de Nogent, in the eleventh century, while attesting that he had seen with his own eyes many prodigies performed by Louis VI., curing scrofulous bodies on the neck and other parts with his touch, added to the sign of the cross, humbly made, and observing that the power had been lost by his father Philip through his sins, takes care to show at length how little argument can ever be drawn from miracles.* Every one was free to exercise his own judgment respecting each occurrence, and it is highly improbable that any were generally admitted as miraculous upon insufficient grounds. A late French writer remarks, that King Charles III. of Spain, whom no one could suspect of credulity, was firmly convinced of the miraculous liquefaction of St. Januarius' blood at Naples, from his having expressly made it the object of his study while reigning in that city.† The same result is continually obtained; but if what the Psalmist saith, in passing, of every man, were proved to-morrow, by a deliberate verdict, true of all whom Naples hath seen for centuries past encircling her altars, we should still have to recur to Pindar's conclusion; for after all our criticism and mockery we can never reverse it :—Ἡ θαυματὰ πολλά. Yes, let science recognize its bounds. There are problems to solve which humility and love alone can supply the artifice, when we are called to see what of his grace high God hath willed.

CHAPTER XIII.

HAVING shown that the blessed clean of heart beheld God in the extraordinary manifestations which all history attests, we enter upon a path which is far from presenting an agreeable vista; for we are to inquire respecting men, who, though evidently impure and ignorant, no less sought and professed to behold Him in operations of a supernatural order: and for this purpose we must engage in a brief investigation of the superstitions of the middle age—a complicated and even dangerous subject, yet, strange to confess, inviting, like those waters of the Mincio, which from a distance are so tempting to the eyes of youth upon a sultry day, but into which, upon approaching, we almost fear to plunge, so dark and interwoven are the tall entangled reeds which line the Mantuan shore.

In the Sixth Book we refuted the charge of superstition advanced against the morality of the ages of faith; and our present task is to explain in what manner the superstitions relative to the belief of men, which unquestionably then existed,

* De Pignoribus Sanct. i. c. 1.

† Tableau de l'Espague, ii. 314.

can be reconciled with the action of that philosophy which no less incontestably prevailed at the time.

The question here is confined within narrow limits, and might be dismissed after a few words; since the only point for us to prove is the repugnance of the Catholic philosophy to all superstition, which assuredly could be done without engaging in a long discourse. But as the objects that most necessarily come into view are in themselves curious, and capable of imparting much instruction relative to the general history of the human mind, it will be well, perhaps, to remain for a short space upon this ground, and to explore a little through its darksome wilds, though it will lead us far from the beatitude of the holy.

There have been, from the earliest ages of the world, two races of men, and, if one may so express it, two kinds of faith and mysticism corresponding to them: the workers of evil, believing in the power of evil, and worshipping it; the workers of good, believing in the supreme good, and adoring it. To both was common the desire of beholding a power superior to their own, and supreme. The pure and the impure sought to behold their God; the former to behold Him from whom they derived all sanctity, truth, and justice; the latter his antagonist, or him who was the source of that wide and terrible dominion which is founded upon evil.

Man, in his freedom, placed between the two kingdoms, finds in the good, congenial with his original nature, bonds which connect him with the realm of light, and in sin, which has been introduced into his nature, others which associate him with the powers of darkness. The choice he makes between moral light and darkness determines whether it be to the demoniac, or to the divine mysticism that he devotes his life: if he choose the good, then the mysticism of light flows to him from a divine source; if it be the bad on which his election falls, then he sinks down by a precipitous descent, ever lower and lower to the abyss. In the event of the former choice, how he endeavored to attain to this vision, we have already partly seen; in that of the latter, how he proceeded in the hope of realizing his wishes, can only be learned from penetrating into the sombre depths of those hideous histories which record the demoniac traditions of the impious, and the misery of those generations which felt their power; for, as from the good choice resulted religion and true philosophy, so from the evil arose idolatry, sorcery, and all the horrid rites and detestable errors which are eminently found in the history of pagan times, and which can be met with likewise in all ages, and under all circumstances, wherever the true worship of God and the true philosophy have been abolished or interrupted. Faith and superstition are, therefore, not, as is often supposed by superficial writers, analogous and friendly, but, on the contrary, antagonist and hostile principles, eternally separate, and opposed to each other as essentially as good and evil. The history of Christian ages is, therefore, a history of the contest of these two rivals, who each endeavor to win the affections of the human race; and during the period to which our investigations are chiefly directed, we shall find

it steadily pursued, and presenting all the results which would necessarily arise from such a struggle, where those on both sides possessed a perfect self-consciousness and a clear knowledge of their relative positions.

During the middle ages, the men who waged war against the Church, either with violent arms or with the subtilty of a false wisdom, were all addicted to superstition in some form or other. Fitz Eustace need not have wondered as he did at the conduct of his Lord Marmion, on he night when they lodged in the hostel :—

"Wonder it seem'd in the squire's eyes,
That one, so wary held, and wise—
Of whom 'twas said he scarce receiv'd
For gospel what the chruch believ'd —
Should, stirr'd by idle tale,
Ride forth in silence of the night,
As hoping half to meet a sprite,
Array'd in plate and mail."

Julian believed, with Herod, in the transmigration of souls, and that he had been Alexander the emperor. Frederick II., who disdained the wisdom of the Church, had always some Arabian astrologers at his side, without whose advice he undertook nothing. Wallenstein, who disdained the exercises of piety, had recourse to the stars to learn what would be the success of his projects. Eccelino, who was a heretic as well as a persecutor of monks, and as such condemned by the Church, had astrologers always with him, calculating and divining, by whose advice he used to give battle ; he had Master Salio, a canon of Padua, Ripraudino of Verona, Guido of Bonato, and Paul the Sarassin, with a long beard, who came from Baldach and the remote regions of the east.* When enveloped at the bridge of Cassiano, over the Adda, by a superior force, he shuddered ; for his astrologers had told him that this place would be fatal to him. The last ruler who laid violent hands on the vicar of Christ believed in the occult powers of fate, and was known to have consulted Moreau the Chiromancian. In short, wherever the light of faith was withdrawn, an abundant growth of such errors followed. Melancthon seems to have reserved all his fixedness of belief for pagan superstition ; so that an extraordinary overflow of the Tiber, and a mule being delivered of a foal with an ill-shapen foot, appeared to him as signs that something serious was at hand ; while the birth of a calf with two heads was an omen, he thought of the approaching destruction of Rome by schism. The superstition of Luther was of the grossest kind : he says himself that he saw at Dessau, a child who was born of the devil, and that he told the princes of Anhault, with whom he was, that if he had command there he would have the child thrown into the Moldau, at the risk of being its murderer ; but that the princes were not of his opinion. While marrying, at Torgau, the Duke Philip of Pomerania with the Elector's sister, in the midst of

* Monach. Paduani Chronic. Lib. ii.

the ceremony the nuptial ring fell to the ground; and he says that he had a sensation of terror, but that he said, "Hear, devil, this does not concern you!"*

Striking, indeed, was the contrast between the English tribunals after the new opinions had been established by law, when women were weighed against church Bibles, to ascertain whether they should be burnt as witches, and the conduct of Catholic pontiffs, like Innocent III., who, when Philip of France alleged magical influence to excuse his remaining separate from his wife, replied to him in these terms:—"O dear son, if you would have us believe that magicians are in fault, you must first have recourse to prayer, alms, and the holy sacrifice, taking to you your spouse in faith and the fear of God; and then we shall see whether magicians can prevail."†

While Italy beheld her philosophers coming to the aid of priests in denouncing superstition, England heard her immortal Bacon affirming that truth might be found in a well regulated astrology. Indeed, wherever the new religious opinions had superseded divine faith, every horrible thing which the Catholic church had been for ages engaged in combating seemed to gain fresh vigor. De Foe's account of the superstitions of the citizens of London during the plague in 1665, will furnish evidence enough: he confesses that he was himself inclined to regard the comet as the warning of God's judgments. "The people were more addicted to prophecies and astrological conjurations, dreams, and old wives' tales, than ever they were, before or since. Books frightened them terribly, such as Lilly's Almanack, Gadbury's Astrological Predictions, and the like. Next to these were the dreams of old women, or the interpretation of old women upon other people's dreams; and these put abundance of people even out of their wits." These unhappy men, who would not recognize God in the mystery of love present upon the altar, saw apparitions in the air—saw flaming swords coming out of a cloud—saw hearses and coffins in the sky, and heaps of dead bodies—saw ghosts upon the grave-stones. "Now was the city filled with fortune-tellers, cunning men, and astrologers, and a wicked generation of pretenders to magic; and this trade grew so open, that it was common to have signs and inscriptions over doors—'Here lives a fortune-teller,' or astrologer'—'Here you may have your nativity calculated;' and the usual signs were Bacon's Brazen Head, or Mother Shipton, or Merlin's Head. Many were thrown into the dead cart with hellish charms hanging about their necks, such as the word *Abracadabra* formed in triangle or inverted pyramid."

The late author of Letters on Demonology thinks that Chaucer could not be serious in averring, that the fairy superstitions were obsolete in his day, since they were found current three centuries afterwards. Had he reflected upon the councils, the bulls of sovereign pontiffs, the exertions of the monks and friars, to whom Chaucer expressly ascribes the expulsion, at an early period, from the land of all such spirits, he would never have used such an argument. The superstí-

* Michelet, Mém. de Luther, iii. 178.

† Hurter, Geschichte Inn. III. 120.

tions and pagan rites which still linger on the banks of the Tamar and the Tavy, as well as in other parts of England, are rather a second harvest than the original crop untouched. A tribe of fortune-tellers is generally found among the ruins of Netley Abbey: are we to conclude, with this author, that the monks could not have suppressed that evil, because we find it there at the present day? The fact is, that superstition is a weed of quick growth, which is no sooner neglected than it sends up vigorous shoots. "Life is so tender and mysterious, so pliant and volatile, that there is no seed it will not readily receive; evil sprouts up and runs wild in it, and brings up the intoxicating grape from the nether world, and the wine of horror;" so that when the light of faith has failed, and the organization of the church become powerless, after three centuries it is not surprising that there should be an abundant harvest of all that the fiend most loves. Not only do the germs of every hideous thing still exist, but the same forms even return; for any one might suppose that Jamblichus was describing the maxims of our peasants, instead of those of the Pythagoreans, when he speaks of their rule always to put on the right shoe first, and to wash the left foot first; and describes their reverence for certain birds, and their attempt to cure diseases by incantations.*

Strange it is that man, who was designed to be the master and ruler of all the creatures of the earth, should have so lost his high privilege, and sunk down to nature, becoming, instead of its master, its slave; but as Frederick Schlegel observes, "This is the beginning of the history of the human race."†

Many works have been written on the downfall and extinction of paganism, but there remains still a vast field for future philosophers to explore, before one can feel fully satisfied. The different form which evil may assume has often deceived observers. Under its ancient colors it maintained the contest much longer than is generally supposed; and, hence, we are presented with a series of passages very important to an historian of the middle ages, which attest the efforts of the Catholic church to root out the pagan superstitions, of which many traces still remained. The superstitious regard to days and practices inculcated by Hesiod‡ was denounced as inconsistent with the Christian profession. "Who would believe," exclaims St. Augustin, "that it was a great sin to pay attention to months, and years, and seasons, as those do who wish or fear to begin certain things on certain months, because through a vain superstition they believe that there are happy and unhappy days, unless we were to estimate its enormity by the fear which the apostle expressed, which made him say, "Dies observatis, et menses et tempora et annos. Timeo vos, ne forte sine causa laboraverim in vobis."§ Hugo of St. Victor makes a similar remark, and cites the words of St. Augustin.‖ And John of Salisbury argues, from the same text, the peril of superstition.¶ In the canonical letters of St. Basil it is ordained, that he who should apply to fortune-

* De Pyth. vit. 29. † Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 38. ‡ Op. et Dies.
§ Enchirid. cap. xxi ‖ Sermo liii. ¶ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. i. c. 12.

tellers or others, to learn their art, should perform a penance equal to that imposed for homicide.

In the seventh century, St. Ouen complained that pagan traces could be still met with among the people of Rouen, on his arrival to take possession of that see. "I warn you," said the venerable man, "and I conjure you not to observe the customs of pagans; not to believe in magicians, or fortune-tellers, or sorcerers, or enchanters; not to consult them for your diseases, or for any cause. Do not observe omens, or sneezing, or the cry of birds. Let no Christian pay regard to the day that he leaves his house, or to the day that he returns to it, for God has made them all. Let no one pay any attention to days or to moons in beginning any work. Let no one follow the impious and superstitious practices of the first of January; let no one invoke the name of demons, Neptune, Pluto, Diana, Minerva, or Geniuses; let no one go to any temple, or stone, or fountain, or tree, or open place, to burn tapers or accomplish a vow; let no one fasten ligatures to the neck of any man or beast; let no one make any lustration, or practice any enchantments on herbs, or pass any animal through a hollow tree or through an excavation in the earth; let no woman suspend amber to her neck; let there be no cries at the eclipses of the moon; and, above all, let no one ever utter an impure or luxurious word. Prohibit these diabolical games, these songs of the Gentiles; destroy these fountains, cut down these trees, burn these figures."* A capitulary of Charlemagne required the curates to oppose the worship at fountains and consecrated stones, which was still lingering from the time of the Druids. In the penitential canons of Raban Maur there are minute inquiries whether any one had offered sacrifices to the deities of old, or had made oblations to them near consecrated trees, fountains, and rocks.†

The tradition of the open war against paganism is still fresh in some places. The hymn sung in the church of Rouen on the festival of St. Mellon makes mention of the idol Roth, which had been destroyed by that saint in the neighboring village, which is still called Mont Roth.‡ The councils had been obliged from time to time to raise their voice, and exert their authority, in this cause. That of Auxerre, in the year 578, prohibited many superstitions, as did another in 590; and that of Liftines in 742, under St. Boniface and the protection of Caroloman, by which last it was decreed that a person who should be guilty of practicing any pagan observance was to be condemned in the fine of fifteen solidi.

"We have desired, according to the canons," say these fathers, "that every bishop in his parish should be solicitous, with the aid of him who is the defender of his church, that the people of God should refrain from every thing pagan, and should cast away all the abominations of the Gentiles."§

By the canons of the council of Orange, in 452, a bishop who should neglect to abolish the custom of adorning fountains, trees, and stones, is declared guilty of

* Vita S. Eligii, Lib. i. c. 15. † Ap. Hartzheim Concil. Ger. ii.
‡ Taillepied, Récueil des Antiquitez et Singularitez de Rouen, 16. § Can. V.

sacrilege. Pope Gregory, addressing all the people of the old Saxons, declaring himself a debtor to the wise and to the unwise, charges them to fly from all heathen observances, and from putting any trust in metals or in idols.* St. Martin would not even spare the great pine tree which the pagans had dedicated, and he caused it to be destroyed along with their temple.

With what care the Benedictine monks extirpated the idolatrous superstitions which prevailed in the Black Forest when they first colonized that region, may be seen in all histories of their order.† The crusaders, on taking Constantinople in 1204, found vestiges there of pagan superstitions and magical contrivance of old prepared. Here was a famed statue, formed with secret magic art by Apollonius of Tyana, as a safeguard of the city ; for Constantine had transferred to it, among other pagan monuments, the palladium of old Rome, by which it would seem he had hoped to have imparted to it the fortune of the ancient city. These curious relics of pagan art were then destroyed, with many others.‡

At the same time the zeal of men, in ages of faith, against paganism, was not a blind fanaticism ; for it was compatible with their preserving whatever, in the ancient civilization, was capable of being purified or reconciled with Christian manners. Ambrose Leo, on occasion of mentioning a certain game celebrated at Nola, which he traces from their heathen ancestors, says, " Their Christian posterity, which always seems to have desired, by correcting, to preserve ancient things, and to transfer all things, as far as possible, to a good and holy use, was not disturbed by such spectacles, but rather left it for the service of religion, and as an innocent recreation for the people."§ That such customs as the gathering of mistletoe boughs at Christmas, in England and France, had descended from the Druids, was not deemed a sufficient reason for denouncing them as impure.

By the theological faculty of the university of Paris, in 1398, a thing was declared superstitious when the effects expected from it could not be reasonably ascribed either to God or to nature, which is his work.‖ A few passages from the writers of the middle age will show, as Marchangy observes, with what indefatigable solicitude, and yet with what a gentle hand and admirable prudence, religion sought to extirpate error, to banish ignorance, and to spread the light of truth. Let us hear John of Salisbury :—" Tiberius Cæsar," saith he, " having a dread of thunder, used always to surround his head with laurel when a storm came on, for that leaf was thought to repel lightning. But what makes a man more secure is, if he preserve the faith of the cross in his breast, and bears the justice of faith upon his head, and makes with an innocent hand the sign of the cross upon his forehead, having Him always before his mind who secures His worshippers from all fear of the world, saying to them, ' A signis cœli ne timueritis quæ timent

* S. Bonifac. Epist. cxxi. † Gerberti Historia Nigræ Silvæ, tom. i. passim.
‡ Hurter, Geschichte Inn. III. i. 635.
§ Amb. Leo de Nola, Lib. iii. 12. ap. Antiq. Ital. Thesaur. tom. ix.
‖ Art. 3. de la Censure.

gentes, quia ego vobiscum Dominus Deus vester.' "* So, when a comet appeared and terrified the court of Louis le Debonnaire, as it was generally said to portend the change of kingdoms and the deaths of kings, his astronomer, who lived always in his palace, cited these words of the prophet to him ; upon which the emperor replied, " True, we ought to fear no other star but Him, who is the Creator of this star as of ourselves."†

" Some affirm," says John of Salisbury, " that it is unlucky to meet a priest or other religious man ; I also believe it to be pernicious to go against not only priests, but any wise man."‡ " Whoever follows the vanity of dreams is little vigilant in the law of the Lord, and sleeps a pernicious sleep. Whoever exercises his credulity upon the prestiges of dreams, departs as much from the sincerity of faith as from the line of reason."§

Pope Innocent III. mentions, as one of the heavy charges against the King of Portugal, his customs of regarding it as a dire omen if he should meet a monk or a priest coming towards him, and his keeping a pythoness or witch, to the peril of his soul, consulting her daily, and refusing to dismiss her at the call of the bishop.§ We may remark, that Cervantes makes the squire condemn the observance of omens on the authority of the village curate.

In the middle ages it was clearly recognized, that attention to omens was identical with the spirit of paganism. " The departure of King Don Sebastian with his fleet for Africa," says an old writer, " was as sad as if the issue had been foreseen by every one: for in such a crowd of men, of various conditions, embarking, no one was seen to smile as in common at the beginning of expeditions, but as if the sad end were visible to all, every one complained that he was led unwillingly. The king, after going on board, remained eight days in the port without leaving the vessel : during all that time, such was the mournful silence throughout the whole fleet, that there was not once heard the sound of a pipe or flute. At the first moment of starting also, accidents occurred ; so that, if one had had faith like the ancients in auguries, there was enough to discourage the boldest."¶

Nor was the zeal of the ecclesiastics confined to the abolition of superstition, which wore the ancient form of the pagans. They pursued it with the same steadiness, under whatever color it might assume, according to the progress of society and the social condition of mankind. By the canons of the council of Arles, in 475, the clerks were forbidden, on pain of excommunication, to use any kind of divination, by drawing the lots of the saints and the holy Scripture. All divination was forbidden as a grievous crime, compounded of idolatry, heresy, incredulity, and ambition.** In the fourth book of the ordinances of Louis le Debonnaire, were prohibited the Virgilian lots ;—" ut nullus in Psalterio vel Evan-

* De Nugis Curialium, Lib. i. c. 13. † Vita et Actus Lud. Pii ap. Duchesne. tom. ii.
‡ I. 13. § Id. Lib. ii. c. 17. ‖ Epist. Lib. xiv. 8.
¶ Hieron. Conestaggii de Portug. et Castel. conjunct. Lib. ii.
** Joan. Devoti. Instit. Canon. Lib. iv. tit. 13.

golio vel aliis rebus sortiri præsumat nec divinationes aliquas observare." Under the head of divination, in the Speculum Morale ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, is condemned all invocation of demons, all predictions by stones, or iron, or water, or fire, or air, or the stars; all regard to birds, the lines of men's hands, dreams, the letters or page first seen in a book, dice, the figures formed by melted lead in water: "the folly of which," says the author, "is manifest; since no body, earthly or celestial, can make any impression upon the understanding or the will, and in these things one can only look for the causes of natural events." All castings of lots, and ecclesiastical election by lot, are forbidden; for if we read that St. Matthias was chosen by lot before Pentecost, as Bede remarks, it was because the plenitude of the Holy Ghost had not then been shed upon the Church, for the seven deacons afterwards were not drawn by lot, but elected. Though, if there be necessity, it is lawful with due reverence to implore the divine judgment by lot.*

Astrology was comprised in the anathema which the church pronounced against all erroneous conjectura, and vain sciences: its observations combined with magic were in great vogue, as may be witnessed in the books of Agrippa.† James of Toledo sent circular letters through the world, predicting, from astrological calculations, that in the year 1186 a mighty wind would arise from the west which would overthrow all things, so that men would have to take shelter in caverns; and, it is mentioned, that he alarmed many. One may remark, that these superstitions were clearly distinguished and resisted, even where there was a total ignorance of physical science. Isidore, who says that the sun, on dipping into the sea, goes by unknown ways under the earth till it reaches the east, evinces a sound and penetrating judgment in exposing the superstition of astrology; "the observations of which," he says, "are contrary to our faith, and ought to be so unknown to Christians that they should seem to have never been written down."‡ Hildebert of Mans wrote a poem of fifteen cantos against astrology, and the Angel of the School combats the same error in a tract, "De Judiciis Astrorum," in which he shows that it is a grievous sin to follow the judgment of the stars in things which depend upon the will of man.§ John of Salisbury remarks, that the mathematicians or astrologers err more dangerously even that the interpreters of dreams, since they seem to found their error on the solidity of nature and the strength of reason: so they begin from truth, that they may precipitate their followers and themselves into the abyss of falsehood. "Astronomy," he continues, "is a noble and glorious science, if it restrain the student within the bounds of moderation; but if he pass beyond, through vanity, he becomes a disciple not so much of philosophy as of impiety." He then commences an elaborate demonstration of the error and danger of the astrologers, refuting them from the doctrine of providence, and of the freedom of the human will.‖

* Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. p. 111. dist. 27. † Lib. ii. c. 52.
‡ Isid. Etymolog. Lib. iii. § Opusc. xxvi. ‖ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. ii. c. 18-26.

The ars notoria is pronounced unlawful in the Speculum Morale, ascribed to Vincent, on the ground that, to acquire knowledge it makes use of things which have not of themselves the virtue of causing knowledge, such as the inspection of certain figures, or the uttering of unknown words: and, therefore, this is an art of signs, but not of signs divinely instituted, as are the Sacramental signs; therefore, these are empty signs, and, consequently, pertaining to certain compacts with demons; and, therefore, the art is to be wholly condemned and fled from by a Christian.*

Judicial astrologers were condemned, not only by the ecclesiastical, but also by the civil laws. St. Augustin mentions the expulsion of an astrologer from the church,† as does also St. Epiphanius. Magicians and malignant contrivers of diabolic art were excommunicated, and were to be punished with death, according to the laws of Constantine, without hope of pardon at Easter.‡

The terror which these inspired in the ancient world, and the enormous crimes associated with such professions, will explain this severity; yet it is certain that during the middle ages the infliction of capital punishment for such offences was rare. We find the ecclesiastical arm frequently stretched out to save suspected persons from the ferocity of the populace, and even from the cruelty of the civil tribunals. St. Agobart, bishop of Lyons in 833, besides writing a treatise against the popular opinion that storms were raised by certain enchanters, styled in the Capitularies of Charlemagne, "Tempestarii sive immissores tempestatum," exerted himself to deliver three men and a woman from the mob, who were dragging them to put them to death for it; and not without great difficulty did he succeed. In the "Speculum Morale," ascribed to Vincent de Beauvais, there is an anecdote related of a priest, who, being told by a certain old woman, who pretended to be a witch, that she and her companions had often entered his house at midnight in spite of all locks and bolts, led her into a chamber, and having locked the door, inflicted a severe chastisement, desiring her, at the same time, to exercise her sortilegious power, if she really possessed it, and escape.§

The punishment of such persons was very different after the establishment of the new religious opinions. It was not till 1562, under Elizabeth, that a formal statute against sorcery, as penal in itself, was passed in England. "The Church of Rome," says the author of Letters on Demonology, "was unwilling, in her period of undisputed power, to call in the secular arm to punish persons for witchcraft; a crime which could, according to her belief, be subdued by the spiritual arm alone: but wherever the Calvinist interest became predominant, a general persecution of sorcerers seemed a necessary consequence." He then relates the atrocious cruelties practised in Sweden, in the year 1669, and 1670; and in England, with sanction of the parliament, by Calamy, Baxter, and Hop-

* Spec. Mor. iii. Lib. iii. 27. † Tract, in. Ps. 61. ‡ Joan. Devot. Lib, iv. tit. 14.
§ Spec. Mor. Lib. iii. p. 111. 27.

kins—such men as Sir Matthew Hale and Sir Thomas Brown acquiescing; and he adds, "even the Indians were struck with wonder at the proceedings of the English against the witches in New England, and drew disadvantageous comparisons between them and the French, among whom, they said, 'the Great Spirit sends no witches.'" Through the whole of the sixteenth, and the greater part of the seventeenth century, little abatement of such persecution can be traced in the kingdom.

But let us return to ages of faith. In the Speculum Morale, ascribed to Vincent, under the head of superstitious observances, we find condemned all attempts to discover truth by unknown letters or figures, or the notary art, the use of ligatures and medicaments depending upon charmed words or prayers without regard to their natural properties, the attempt to make use of diabolical agency, or to impart the power of it to others, all the thousand observances of natural events as predicting the future without regard to their natural effects, the suspending of sacred words to the neck, with the idea of there being a force in the words themselves to help them; for if the evangelic words profit them not when heard in their ears, how can they save them when hung from their neck. So that all is superstition in observances, which does not belong to the divine reverence: as if in hanging a reliquary, faith should be placed, not in God and in his saints, but in the form of the stone, as for example in its being triangular.*

Amulets and written charms, the use of which prevails at the present day to such an extent in the east,† had been condemned, under pain of excommunication, by the council of Laodicea in the fourth century, and the censure of charms to ward off diseases was repeated by the council of Rome under Gregory II. in 712, by that of Milan, in 1565, and by that of Tours, in 1583.

St. Charles, during the plague, according to the practice of the church in all previous times of calamity, prohibited with especial energy all inventions of superstition. Thus Pope Innocent the First would not suffer Honorius to employ the Tuscan astrologers and mathematicians in defending Rome against Alaric by their enchantments, but prevailed upon him to publish a severe law against them. The capitulary of Herard, bishop of Tours, in 858, imposed public penance on all persons who practised divination and sorcery. The ancient Roman Penitential prescribed a penance of seven years to all who applied to such arts. The Penitential of Theodore reduced the term to one year, or to a fast of three Lents. Bede, in his Collection of Canons,‡ and Pope Gregory III., prescribe a penance of from six months to three years to all who have had recourse to divinations, according to the extent of their fault. By the laws of the Visigoths in Spain, those who had recourse to sortileges or magic could not be received as witnesses.§ Among the statutes of St. Boniface we read, the priest who practised any magical arts, or who

* Dist. 28. Lib. iii. p. 111. † Lane's Mod. Egyptians, 1. ‡ C. xi.
§ Lib. ii. tit. iv. 1.

interpreted dreams, is to be punished with the utmost severity of the canons ;* and in the ecclesiastical laws, collected by the Abbot Rhegino in the ninth century, we find that the bishop was to inquire whether any one dealt in magic, and whether there were any women, who, by drugs or incantations, pretended to raise love or hatred.† In the Collection of Canons published by D'Aichery, which date probably from the ninth century, we read, that he who practised magical arts, was to be deposed and confined during life in a monastery.‡

The horror which such practices inspired is well expressed in a poem taken from a life of St. Basil, ascribed to his contemporary St. Amphilochius, bishop of Iconium, of which a Latin version is given by Rosweyde in his lives of the fathers, describing the terror of the youth who is about to consult a wizard. The poet concludes with this terrible intimation :—

> "And he could then almost have given
> His fatal purpose o'er ;
> But his good Angel had left him
> When he entered the sorcerer's door."

Burchard, bishop of Worms, at the beginning of the eleventh century, published many decrees prohibiting all kinds of superstition ; and at the end of the twelfth century, many councils imposed severe penances on those who had recourse to superstitious practices, though under the form of medicinal.§ This included the superstitious wearing of precious stones to ward off diseases, which may be traced to Aristotle in his book on stones, and to which a no less illustrious philosopher than Sir Isaac Newton seems to have attached credit. Burton gravely treats upon the virtue of certain stones worn on the person, to produce moral effects, and after speaking of amulets and plants gathered on Friday, concluded with Renodius, "I say they are not altogether to be rejected."‖ If, however, we find that, following Pliny, it was supposed by Albert the Great, and Guevara, the confessor of Charles V., that certain stones really possessed medicinal properties, we must not conclude that against such an opinion the censures of the church were applicable : "It is proved," says the Moral Mirror, "that bodies have certain occult properties, as the loadstone, and, therefore, it is not superstition to try them in various combinations, provided no characters be added, which cannot give force to nature."¶

Totally unconnected with scientific speculations, was the error against which such dreadful penalties were appointed by many councils, in reference to those who wore amulets and phylacteries.

In the books of occult philosophy by Cornelius Agrippa, we can see how many forms of writing holy words, in Latin or Hebrew, were used superstitiously as charms. The Rabbinical writers had innumerable secrets of this kind ; and

* Dacher. Spicil. ix. † Ap. Hartzheim Concilia Germ. ii.
‡ Cap. 59. ex Concilio Toletano, iv. 29.
§ Le Brun. Hist. des Pratiques Superstitieuses, tom. i. 383. ‖ II. 5.
¶ Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Morale, III. Lib. iii. 28

Agrippa shows how there are to be written on parchment, in gold letters, words out of the Bible.* A distinction, however, was to be made even here, for as the continuator of Vincent of Beauvais' work observes, "If relics or sacred readings are carried around the neck through reverence for God and the saints, they are lawful; but if any thing vain be added, as for instance, that it must be in a triangular vessel or such like, which in no way pertains to the reverence of God, they become superstitious."† In like manner, John of Salisbury, while exposing the folly and turpitude of superstition, takes care to show that pious practices of devotion, analogous to the touching of our Lord's garments, such as repeating the Lord's prayer in administering medicine to the sick, or making the sign of the cross over the drink, or reading a chapter of the Gospels, or any thing done from true faith, and referred to the glory of the omnipotent God, may be retained, not only without sin, but, as is proved, he says, by experience, with utility; while all practices not included under this head, are not so much to be despised as to be fled from.‡ One need only look into the collection of Ives de Chartres to see what was the zeal of the Church, in the middle ages, against superstitions of every kind.§

Descending to later times, we find the council of Narbonne, in 1555, proclaiming that bishops ought to oppose superstition with as much force as they resist heresy, and that it is one of their principal duties to prevent sortileges, divinations, and enchantments, from being disseminated in their dioceses. The first council of Milan, in 1565, enters with great detail upon the subject, and imposes severe penance upon such as wore or sold charmed rings, or professed to foretell actions, depending on the free will of men, or who, in beginning a journey, or setting about any enterprise, should observe days, or the cry or flight of birds. Finally, we may remark, that against all arts of this kind the Roman pontiffs have enacted laws, as in the decretals of Gregory IX., Leo. X., Sixtus V., Gregory XV., Urban VIII., and Benedict XIV. Modern writers, I am aware, have been pleased to condemn and ridicule these sentences, though the bull of the latter pontiff against sorcery, even stript of its authoritative character, as emanating from a head so little credulous, ought to be sufficient to make the prudent pause. The fact, however, that men opposed to the Catholic church on professedly religious and philosophical grounds should be found taking part against her in this contest, and evincing a sympathy with her antagonists, even of this order, is assuredly remarkable. Her zeal against paganism they stigmatize as a barbarous fanaticism—her endeavor by spiritual and intellectual means to check superstition under other forms, as being itself unnecessary and eminently superstitious, implying a belief in things which do not exist. Gibbon, and the writers who follow in his steps, seem full of indignation, and full of compassion, whenever re-

* Lib. iii.

† Vinc. Bellov. Spec. Mor. 111. Lib. iii. c. 28.

‡ De Nugis Curialium, Lib. ii. c. 1. 17.

§ Ivon. Carnot. Decret. Pars xi.

minded of the contest of the church with paganism. In allusion to this, Heeren laments, if not loudly, yet deeply, what he terms the fanaticism of the Christians, in the time of Constantine, and he seems to have no terms strong enough to express his feeling on the conduct of the bishops and monks of Gall in the fifth century. Poor St. Martin, for what he thought a holy work, incurs from this learned man the charge of having displayed the fanatical rage of a monk, united with the destructive spirit of a soldier. Every idol which falls draws forth fresh exclamations from him against the herd of monks, who spread such ruin over the land.*

An historian of the ages of faith can hardly be expected to enter formally upon the justification of the Catholic society, on the ground of its hostility to the idolatrous superstition of pagan times. Happily, too, the influence of writers, of the class to which I allude, seems in general on the decline. To know somewhat of the history relative to these decrees of the Church, must be at all times useful; it is well to cast a look back at the gloomy depths from which the human race has been drawn, at the dense clouds of horrid darkness, which have passed from this region of the earth. "We are so accustomed," says Frederick Schlegel, "to view the fabulous world and the gods of Greece, only on the poetic side, as a mere beautiful poem, that we are quite surprised and mortified when we stumble unexpectedly upon some fact of history, which reveals the peculiar spirit, and the real foundation of the whole of heathenism; such, for example, as that Themistocles himself, the deliverer of Greece, had offered a human sacrifice of three young men."† The opinion of these writers respecting the inutility, and even superstition of the ecclesiastical censures against those who practised magical arts, has, at first, greater appearance of plausibility, and will require a more formal refutation. And now I might say with Cardan, "Our bark has just escaped the vast sea, tempest tossed, of human wisdom, enters upon the deep gulf of darkness, where are nothing but thefts, fires, witchcraft, murders, false images, execrable sacrifices, delusions, shadows, and vanities; and, as in dreams, with a disturbed mind, we seem to behold black clouds and terrific spectres, suns shining at midnight, and bleeding moons, and horrific monsters, so doth this everlasting cave of all evils, this vortex of wickedness, now offer itself to perplex and to dismay."‡

Who so little conversant with the history of ages past as not to have heard of the belief of the human race in the possibility of the rational creature having a supernatural intercourse with the invisible powers of evil, which exist in the universe! When we open the ancient books, we meet with many imitations of this conviction—with many reputed facts related, in support of it, and what is also certain, there is corresponding to such notes a secret chord within our breasts, which cannot without considerable difficulty be silenced or unstrung! Alas! how dif-

* Heeren, Geschichte der Classischen Litteratur im Mittelalter, i. t. 49.

† Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 223. ‡ Cardani de Sapientia, Lib. iv.

ferent is the procession that might now be seen, by only stepping aside a little space from that which we have lately witnessed, while contemplating the blessed clean of heart, who beheld God! Nor can we avoid wholly omitting to observe this other procession, by denying, *in limine*, the truth of the human traditions; for it is an historical fact, that while there has been a successive series of pure and just men, beatified even on earth by the vision of their Creator, so has there also been a successive series of persons deep in guilt and shame, cultivating sympathy with night and darkness, devoted to a demoniac mysticism, who sought to behold his enemy, who believed that they had attained in nocturnal visions that horrible point of evil, and who were deemed by their contemporaries to have had their wills in that respect gratified.* What kind of personages then are these? No one can be at a loss to answer this question, who is at the pains to open history, or to consult the popular traditions of any country. It is immaterial what choice we make of instances; let us take the first which accident recalls. Here then is one of whom our old Norman writers write darkly; it is the mother of Ranulfe Flambart, an unworthy bishop of Durham in the reign of William Rufus, of a plebeian race, who was, they all declare, a sorceress, and had converse with the demon, in whose intimacy she had lost an eye, and on her son's fall she passed the seas into Normandy with her treasure, exposed to the derisions of her fellow travellers, on account of her criminal enchantments; so speaks Orderic Vitalis.† She who follows is the sister of Balak, a distinguished warrior against the Christians in Palestine, who was a very skilful sorceress, and who predicted the future, and observed the stars.‡

"All day the wizard lady sat aloof, spelling out scrolls of dread antiquity." This applies also to the next in view—Madame Tiphaine Raguenel, daughter of the Viscount de la Belliere, and wife of Bertrand du Guesclin; she retired to the abbey of Mount St. Michael, when her husband went to the war in Spain, and he caused a handsome lodge to be built for her at the top of the rock. One of the motives of this truly extraordinary woman, in choosing this residence, was her love for the sciences, and, especially, for judicial astrology. Dom Huynes says of her, "This lady, well educated in philosophy and judicial astronomy, exercised herself continually on this rock, in contemplation of the stars, and in calculations and making experiments. It seems she even remained on Mount St. Michael till a very advanced age, and that she rarely left it. In 1374 she was still there, at the end of which year she died in one of her castles in Brittany. Some of her manuscripts still exist, and Raoul, in his history of Mount St. Michael, says, "that he remembers when he was a child, hearing mention of a little book on vellum, of one hundred pages, with cabalistic figures and colored vignettes, which was carefully preserved by the curate of Pludihen."§ But there are darker figures of this class, for Spenser does but copy from historic records,

* Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 20 † Lib. x. ‡ Id. Lib. xi.
§ Hist. de Mt. S. Mic. 226.

There in a gloomy hollow glen, she found
A little cottage, built of sticks and reedes,
In homely wise, and wal'd with sods around;
In which a witch did dwell in loathly weedes,
And wilfull want, all careless of her needes;
So choosing solitaire to abide
Far from all neighbors, that her divelish deedes
And hellish arts from people she might hide,
And hurt far off unknowne whomever she envide.*

Characters of this kind are not confined to our annals, as every classic scholar knows. Socrates himself did not disdain to consult one of them: such was that divining stranger who gave to him, he says, "the best account of the origin of love;" so that when called upon at Agatho's banquet, to give his opinion respecting it, he only cited what he had heard once from this witch, or, as he calls her, this divining woman, who was wise, and knew many other things, for she foretold the plague of Athens ten years before it occurred; he contented himself with repeating her conversation with him. "What discourse she held with me," he says to the company, "I will endeavor to relate to you."†

We have seen but women; no less formidable are the representations of the wizard. There were feudal barons, there were men even of sainted habit, who might have heard addressed to themselves such words as those of the abbot of St. Maurice to Manfred,

"I know that with mankind,
Thy fellows in creation, thou dost rarely
Exchange thy thoughts, and that thy solitude
Is as an anchorite's, were it but holy."

These were the men dwelling in embattled towers perched on precipitous crags, or within the cloistered enclosures of the pure and innocent, who might have said with a poet of congenial mind,

"————And then I dived
In my lone wanderings, to caves of death,
Searching its cause in its effect, and drew
From withered bones, and skulls, and heap'd up dust,
Conclusions most forbidden. Then I pass'd
The nights of years in sciences untaught,
Save in the old time:
Such as, before me, did the Magi, and
He, who from out their fountain dwellings raised
Eros and Anteros, at Gadara."

If we will hear the ancient chronicles, many were the men, who thus with earnest thought heaped knowledge from forbidden mines of lore, who frequented no other schools besides the caves of Toledo and Salamanca, no other

* Book iii. 7.

† Plato, Conviv. 22.

books besides the Clavicules and the Grimoires, no other masters but the demons.

> In vain, to soothe his wayward fate,
> The cloister oped her pitying gate ;
> In vain, the learning of the age
> Unclasp'd the sable-letter'd page ;
> Even in its treasures he could find
> Food for the fever of his mind.
> Eager he read whatever tells
> Of magic, cabala, and spells,
> And every dark pursuit allied
> To curious and presumptuous pride.

Such men, though not openly denounced, were regarded with as much terror as if it had been proved by demonstration ocular, that they were bound in the belt of Peter the First, king of Castile, after it had been charmed by the Jew magician, whom Maria de Pedilla employed.* In effect what passed in their secret studies at the back of the houses, could hardly remain perpetually unknown, and it was certainly enough to awaken fears ; for there, in hours of darkness and tempest, these men were employed with strange instruments of undiscoverable art around them. Clothed in long robes on which cabalistic characters were traced, having generally at their side some hideous creature, with hell's stamp upon him, dressed in magical garments, to fetch and set down things at their bidding, while the floor was covered over with circles, and the room hung round with consecrated tapers and human skeletons, they were muttering from some great book, pacing with measured steps to and fro, then lifting up a face of ghastly paleness to look out on the night, then kneeling down and touching the ground with their forehead ; then in the on rush of the storm was heard suddenly a medley of voices, as in a quarrel ; then, again, as in talk, then as whispering and laughing, while lightning and thunder chased each other ; and the house seemed to tremble to its lowest foundations.

The narratives respecting magicians that were current in the middle ages, have all a certain similarity to each other. Let us hear some of them : in the Magnum Chronicon Belgicum we read as follows :—" In the city of Utrecht, between Brabant and Cologne, arrived a certain teacher from Toledo, who was a great necromancer, and wholly given to the devil. While sitting at table with the clergy, whom he would, he permitted to eat, and whom he would, he sent to sleep ; wherefore eight vain clerks sought to be intimate with him. It is said that he drew a circle with strange characters round the edge, placed these eight clerks within it, laid three seats, which he said were for the three Magi, and on the outside prepared another for Epanamon,—that about midnight he flayed a cat, and cut two pigeons in halves, and invoked three demons to supper,—that they told the clerks they should have their evil will fulfilled—that the Magister

* Roderici Santii Episc. Hist. Hispanicæ, P. iv. c. 14.

then held impious conversation against Christ and Christians, till the rising of the sun, when he let the clerks depart, and commanded them in future to deny the incarnation."

A story told me by Godescalk of Walmunstein, a monk of happy memory, says Cesarius of Heisterbach, should not be omitted. One day he asked a clerk and magician to relate something wonderful respecting his art. The magician replied, I can tell you a fact, which occurred at Toledo, my native city. Many scholars from different countries were there, for the express purpose of studying magic; among them some youths from Bavaria and Suabia, who persuaded their master at length to give them visible proof of his power. He took them at a convenient hour into the open country, and enclosed them within a circle, admonishing them as they valued their lives not to leave it, to give nothing to the demons, and to receive nothing from them. Soon there appeared all manner of figures, endeavoring to allure them beyond it; one of them accepting a ring, was instantly dragged away, and all vanished. The students threatened their master with death unless he were restored; and he, through fear of death, succeeded by his art in restoring him to his companions; but his face was so emaciated and pale, that he resembled a corpse raised from the tomb. This student soon after retired into a monastery.

Representations of this kind are probably new to no one; but the point for us to determine is, whether these rest upon any substantial ground of truth, or are merely the result of wandering and excited imaginations, though at whatever conclusions we may arrive on this head, the charge against the Church for condemning such superstitions, and against the Catholic society of the ages of faith for regarding them with horror, is equally untenable, since whether we believe or not in the reality of the supernatural intercourse, the crimes which unquestionably resulted from the desire of maintaining it, were not the less numerous and detestable. It may be true that all which John Nider says of magicians, in the fifth and last book of his Formicarium, he had learned from a judge of the city of Berne, and from a Benedictine monk, who before his conversion had been a necromancer, a buffoon, a player and jongleur in the court of secular princes, yet Gabriel Naudé cannot on such ground convince us that the guilt of these superstitions has been exaggerated. If men were found by night near gibbets, gathering up the hair, or the nails, or the teeth, or bones of the malefactor, over whose minds and bodies while living the demon had had such power, or groping in graves, or descending into catacombs carrying tapers, altar stones, missals, chalices, and vestments for the holy mass, with some youth at their side, whose wild ravings for the loss of one that had been dearly loved, all his fellow scholars knew; or if in their houses were discovered venomous herbs, unknown ointments, toads, brass and leaden plates with barbarous words or characters engraven on them, one can very easily understand why, at least, the ecclesiastical authority should have taken alarm, since its aim was always to prevent crime, and these were no slight

indications that minds were capable of intending to commit it to an extent that knew no limits but the human or Satanic power ; for, according to the traditions of those who dealt with hell, it was not candles alone moulded beneath the midnight darkness of the new moon, nor the mere uttering magical words and incantations that could give one the mastery over the soul of another ; there was much more belonging to such works, as the initiated well knew. Rites and spells, without blood, were incomplete, and conjurations required the very pain of its outgushing screams, and the agonies of death.

In the year 1829, while the sophists of France were clamorous against the Holy See for exhorting the clergy to take measures to check sorcery, the journals were publishing accounts of wretches killing boys from having been told by witches that nothing could cure their disease but the fat of Christian innocents. Three years have not elapsed since a man murdered a shepherd, near Insterburgh, in Prussia, who, on being arrested, confessed that he had done so in order to obtain a fat, with which he was told a torch could be made that would render him invisible. That crimes of this nature were always associated with such arts, is a fact that admits of no dispute. The Arians accused St. Athanasius of having killed Arsenius, to make use of his hand for magical purposes ; and when the bishop was found to be alive, they ascribed his appearance to the diabolic power of the saint, who, at their suggestion, was banished to Treves.

The work of Gabriel Naudé, entitled "Apology for the great Personages suspected of Magic," undoubtedly reflects credit on the ingenuity of the learned collector who formed the Mazarine library ; but that he fails in attaining his object is the conclusion at which I think every one who reads it attentively must arrive. "True," as Roger Bacon observes, "many books were reputed amongst magical, which were not such, but contained the dignity of wisdom."* Believe, then, if you please, might some have justly said, that I can do strange things ; I have conversed with a magician, most profound in his art, and yet not damnable ; true, again, the popular suspicions were sometimes directed against men as magicians, who had no fault, but in whose fortunes there seemed something singular. Trithemius relates a remarkable instance ; St. Simeon, from Syracuse, in Sicily, was a recluse at Treves : like holy Abraham, he had left his country for God, and gone first to Jerusalem and thence to Mount Sinai, where he became a monk in the convent of St. Catherine. Some years after he returned to Jerusalem, where he met Boppo, archbishop of Treves, in 1015, who induced him to accompany him to Treves : the archbishop gave him a lodging in a lofty tower, at the black gate, which, says the abbot, is still called Simeon's tower, and there this wanderer endured many trials ; for the people, not knowing his sanctity, cried out that he was a magician and necromancer ; and whenever the crops failed, or storms devastated the land, or any evil befell the city, they ascribed it to him ; and often

*Lib. de Potestate Artis et Naturæ, cap. 3.

they came with fagots, and tried to set fire to the tower, and at night demons were often heard crying round the tower, that he was an impious malefactor; but the holy servant of God persevered, and there ended his course in great sanctity, and after his death the abbot Eberwen wrote his history, and near the black gate a church of canons was founded, and the people recognized their error. His Greek psalter, in ancient letters, small but legible and beautiful, we saw, says Trithemius, in the monastery of Thelejeusi.* That such cases did occur might be inferred indeed from the ecclesiastical laws collected by the abbot Rhegino, in the ninth century, which ordered the bishop to inquire on his visitation whether any one charged another with being a sorcerer; for by a capitulary of Charlemagne such a charge insured the death of the traducer.†

No doubt also the object of some authors has been mistaken, as when persons seeing in catalogues that Alexander of Aphrodisee had written on magical arts, St. Thomas on judicial astrology, and Roger Bacon on necromancy, fancied that they wrote to teach and recommend these things. Further, it is certain that charletans used to pretend that such and such books, compiled by modern hands, had been written by great men. Thus, Chicus says, that he had seen a book of magic, composed by Cham, and another by Solomon; Trithemius, for example, had to defend himself from a charge of magic, in consequence of a book which was falsely ascribed to him: but when all this is granted, we are yet far from the inference drawn by Naudé, for that Galen, as he says himself, should have been suspected of magic, from having cured a fever by bleeding in two days, that Pope Leo III., to whom was falsely ascribed the book, entitled, "Enchiridion Leonis Papæ contra omnia Mundi Pericula;" that Pope Silvester, William of Paris, Robert of Lincoln, Alfred the Great, Roger Bacon, and Thomas Bungers, should have been obnoxious to a similar charge ages after their death, and when books were attributed to them which they never wrote, as when the alchemists published works in the name of Albertus Magnus, are facts which can never be admitted as evidence of the least weight to prove the proposition that there has been no such thing in the world as a diabolic tradition and demoniac worship. Notwithstanding the assertions of Naudé, we have only to read the works of Jamblichus on Mysteries, of Porphyry on Sacrifices, of Plotinus on Demonology, and of Proclus on Magic, to be convinced that all the horrors generally implied in the term, "the black art," were taught by those men. Besides, let it be remarked, that the seven wise men of Greece were never suspected of magic—that Plato was never accused of magic—that the disciples of Pythagoras were never accused of magic, though their master was. Why spare Thales the Milesian, so learned an astronomer, or Hecateus and Aristagoras, the first inventors of geometry, astronomy, and arithmetic—none of whom were accused of magic? On the other hand, all ancient authors agree that Zoroaster practised magic—that Pythagoras was also a magician appears from what his greatest

* Chronic. Hirsang.

† Ap. Hartzheim Concil. Ger. ii.

admirers recount respecting the voice of the rivers which addressed him. The testimony of Jamblichus, Pliny, Origen, Tertullian, St. Justin, St. Cyril, St. Augustin, Ammianus Marcellinus, and Porphyry, must surely outweigh the suggestions of Monsieur Naudé? What has he advanced to make us reject the ancient concursing testimonies respecting the magical practices of Democritus, Empedocles and Apollonius? James of Autun, a Capuchin friar, in a very learned and curious work,* has examined the different assertions of Naudé, and has undermined his conclusion by showing that the illustrious men, whom he cites as having been suspected of magic, were not suspected by their contemporaries, and that for believing in the truth of the charge against others, we have even their own admissions.

Chicus, Æsculanus, Scaliger, and even Cardan, all professed to have had conversations with their demon; the latter is, at least, so far guilty, that he boasted of having an hereditary demon from his father, of whom he says, "such was his skill in necromancy, that he surpassed all men of our age." The book which Alchindus wrote, De Motu Diurno et de Theoria Magicarum Artium, proves that he knew the practice of that art; the cures by certain enchanted words made by Anselm of Parma, are too well attested to be denied. The Heptameron, of the far-famed Peter of Apono, is the most abominable of all books. This extraordinary man was born at Abano, near Padua, in 1250; he was a physician and astrologer, deeply versed in the learning of Averroes; he wrote Conciliator Differentiarum Philosophicarum et præcipue Medicorum—having for his assistant Arnold of Villeneuve, though a man very unlike himself. To learn from this Peter, and to see him, the wild youth flocked to Padua from Spain and England, and the German Empire, and from the far parts of Poland. In the eightieth year of his age he was accused of magical arts, and he died in the year 1305, before his trial was over, but his three books were burned in the public square of Padua: the first is called Heptameron, which is now printed at the end of the first volume of the works of Agrippa; the second is called, by Trithemius, Elucidarium Necromanticum; and the last is called by the same author, Liber Experimentorum Mirabilium de Annulis, secundum 28 Mansiones Lunæ: his skill in astronomy appears from the astronomical figures which he caused to be painted in the great hall of the palace of Padua, and from his translations of the works of Rabi Abraham Abenezra. Baptist the Mantuan calls him "a man of great, but of too audacious learning."† It is true the inscription on the base of his statue in the palace of Padua affirms, that he was absolved of the charge of heresy; but his own confessions attest his guilt, for he admits that he owed all his success to his having prayed always when the moon was in conjunction with Jupiter, in the head of the dragon. Henry Cornelius Agrippa was also suspected and accused publicly

* L'Incredulite Sçavante et la Credulite Ignorante au Sujet des Magiciens et des Sorciers, avec la Responseà l'Apologie de M. Naudé, Lyon, MDCLXXI. † Lib. i. de Patientia, cap. 3.

of magic; he complains that some have declaimed against him in the churches before the promiscuous people, accusing him of impiety, while others have whispered in corners to excite prelates and kings against him, in consequence of his books on occult science.* His many journeys were explained by saying, that he could not remain long in any one place, without his magical practices being discovered, and that therefore he moved from place to place. His keeping always five or six dogs in his house, two of which were always in his study, whose names are specified in many of his epistles, and for which epitaphs were written by some of his friends, gave occasion to the saying, that the devil conversed with him in the form of a black dog. Naudé acknowledges, that if the composing books of magic were sufficient proof against any one, all the eloquence of the bar of Paris could not exculpate Agrippa from being a magician. In his books on Occult Philosophy he expressly teaches the invocation of demons, with all the characters and ceremonies of magic. With respect to Raymund Lully, Arnold de Villeneuve, St. Thomas, Albert the Great, and other illustrious men of this class, named by Naudé, it is false that they were accused of magic, for the popular voice, as well as the highest authority of their respective times, always declared them worthy of honor and veneration. Trithemius shows that Albert the Great, so far from writing any books of necromancy and magic, on the contrary refuted all such superstitions in his Astronomiæ Speculem.† The eloquent complaints, therefore, of a recent author, respecting the intellectual state of society in the middle ages, are proved groundless, by the simple fact, that these men were not suspected of magic by their contemporaries, as he supposes.

Let us endeavor to trace briefly, with ancient authors, the history of this dark science, and then to explain in what it was thought to consist. According to the early Christian philosophers, the demons were authors of idolatry and magic; and in the second age of the world, the academies of magicians began. St. Clement believes that magic was the capital crime which provoked the wrath of God, and made him drown the world in the deluge. Cham, it is supposed, revived it, and taught it to his son Mesraim, from whom the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Persians learned it. Traces of its predominance can be witnessed in the march of Xerxes, when the horrid rite was celebrated at the nine ways, for each of which a boy and a maid were buried alive. The race of sorceresses who wandered out of Colchis, and sought by the dark practices of black magic to obtain ends beyond mortality, transmitted the doctrines of demoniac mysticism, while all the arts of natural magic were studied by the priests of idols.‡

Some have ascribed a peculiar interest in such arts to particular regions of the earth. St. Epiphanius says, that the Carpocratians were the inventors of philtres to fetter the will of man, and make love and hatred grow up in the heart. But,

* Pref. ii. Lib.

† Chronic. Hirsaug. An. MCCLXXX.

‡ Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 18.

without attending to such details, it is certain from the Holy Scriptures, that the practice of diabolic arts in general began very early. The sorceries of the Egyptian magicians and of the Jews, when St. Paul was at Ephesus, are known to every one. Josephus says, that the latter learned the art of casting out devils from Solomon; and it is supposed that the former borrowed from them their forms of adjuration in magic. The sorceries of Simon Magus for a long time convinced the people of Samaria, from the least to the greatest, that he was the great power of God. Being discomfited by St. Philip, he removed to Rome, where, by his witchcrafts in the time of Claudius, he gained such reputation that he had a statue set up to him as a god.* Tertullian reproached the Romans with having placed him among their deities; which testimony is sufficient to disprove the opinion of some modern scholars, who refuse to admit the fact, and substitute the inscription Semoni Deo Sanco for Semoni Deo sancto. St. Isidore says, that the vanity of magical arts taught by Zoroaster and Democritus, from the traditions of evil angels, flourished throughout all the world for many ages.†

To counteract and imitate the divine ordinance of a traditionary instruction to the human race, the ancient writers suppose that the demon provided a tradition of his own, which appeared in the degradation of the Jewish, the Mahometan, and some modern sects; and that, to entice mortals by promising a restoration of the original privileges of nature, he included in it a doctrine of devils, by which men were to be brought into communion with beings of angelic nature. The constant tradition of this diabolic sect is attested by Tertullian, St. Justin, St. Irenæus, St. Cyprian, St. Clement, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustin. It can be traced through the middle ages; and its existence at the present day, not only in the east, where it reigns as in the days of Pharaoh,‡ but also in some of the secret societies spread over Europe, is doubted by no one who has extensive communications; though certain individuals, even belonging to these societies, may not conceive it possible; for all things are not for all; and as, in the rites of Bacchus and Ceres, it was necessary that there should be an ass to assist at them to carry the mysteries,—so here, to answer the purpose of those who are initiated, there must be rich men and noble to play an analogous part.

Pliny says that magic was so much accredited in his time, that almost the whole east was under its domination; he remarks, too, that these Oriental superstitions are found so rooted in Britain, that they might be thought to have been first derived thence. "Adeo ista toto mundo consensere," he concludes, "quanquam discordi et sibi ignoto."§

Every one knows how the poets and philosophers were familiar with this diabolic tradition; Horace attesting the enchantments of Canidia, Homer those of Circe, and Ovid those of Medea; in which representations Lactantius observes that they have only worked upon a ground of truth.

* Just. Mart. Apolog ii.

† Etymolog. viii. 9.

‡ Lane's Modern Egyptians, i. 341.

§ Nat. Hist. c. i.

Numa Pompilius had reduced the diabolic lore to seven books in Latin and seven in Greek. "Not wishing," says St. Augustin, "that men should learn his nefarious science, and yet fearing to violate what was taught him by demons, he chose to have his books buried with him in his sepulchre, which, on being dug up under the consulship of Cornelius and Bevius, and shown to the senate were immediately burnt by its orders."* That Pythagoras learned divination from the Egyptians, is testified by Porphyry,† who describes his superstition in detail. He used to lie near a river at night, wrapped in the fleece of a black lamb; and he remained for thrice nine days, clothed in black wool, in a cave. Pliny says, the Democritus and Empedocles travelled in Egypt to learn magic. "But why has not Aristotle taken notice of the school of magic in Egypt," asks the bishop Miraniulanus. "if it really were such as Picus of Mirandula, Crinitus, and others affirm?" Naudé concludes that it was only a school of natural magic, or mathematics.‡

But the observation of recent travellers proves the rashness of this learned man in contradicting the concordant voice of antiquity, from a desire to maintain a theory of his own; for Lane, in his account of the modern Egyptians, relates that the more intelligent of the Mooslims distinguish the two kinds of magic—the spiritual, which is believed to effect its wonders by the agency of angels and genii, and by the mysterious virtues of certain names of God; the latter natural and deceptive magic, which affects the visions and imagination by physical operations. "The former," he says, "is universally considered among the Egyptians as true magic, and is divided into two kinds—the divine and the Satanic."

Nor were the ancient governments unaware of this evil. Augustus Cæsar condemned to the flames two thousand volumes of divination. Such were the books that the converts brought to St. Paul, as St. Chrysostom and Venerable Bede remark. The books of magic burnt by the apostle were estimated at a sum equivalent to five thousand gold crowns. The court of Nero was filled with magicians, and he himself one of them. But the respite was of short duration: the laws of Constantine were severe against magical arts. The emperors Honorius and Theodosius passed a decree of banishment against all who did not bring their magical books and burn them in presence of the bishops. Eusebius says, however, that though such books are used, the sorcerers received personal instruction from the demon. No one is ignorant with what evil arts bad spirits were invoked by the gnostic magicians who practised what was done in the infamous rites of the idol Panor with the pagans.§

St. Chrysostom relates that one day, walking with a friend near a river, and observing something white floating, they thought it linen, but as it approached they perceived that it was a book. They contrived to pick it out, and on opening

* De Civ. Dei, vii. 34. † De Vita Pythag.

‡ G. Naudé, Apologie pour les Grands Person. soupçonnés de Magic, 2.

§ Agrip. de Occult. Phil. i. 39.

it found that it was a book of magic. A soldier perceived them, and passed on to denounce them. "By the mercy of God," he says, "we threw it into a secret place, and so escaped the danger; for if it had been found in our possession, we should have been condemned as magicians."* Soldiers used to be then placed at the gate of the city to examine whether any one carried such books; and on mere suspicion of magic, persons were left in prison: so severe were the emperors against this crime. The Jew Zedechia, who in the time of Charlemagne had himself called Magister videns, and many others against whom his code fulminates this sentence, "Magi in quacunque sint parte terrarum, humani generis inimici credendi sunt," are instances to show the succession of the same guilty race to the eighth and ninth centuries. A capitulary of Charlemagne is directed against the nocturnal promenades to desert valleys, after the use of magic unctions, called sabbats of sorcerers, or fairy dances. Leo II., bishop of Catana in the eighth century, having been a Benedictine monk at Ravenna, was said to have resisted a magician named Theodore, whom the hymnographer styles "aspectu formidabilem natione Judæum, et post Simonem Magum nulli in arte magica secundum."†

The diabolic series proceeds unbroken, and comes forward prominently associated with Manichæism in France in the eleventh century, when its presence at Orleans was discovered by Arefast, a Norman seigneur, whose clerk Herbert became infected with it while pursuing his studies in that city. On his return to Normandy, this clerk attempted to gain over his master; but the nobleman was filled with horror at the discovery, and gave information to Duke Richard II., by whom it was revealed to King Robert, who sent Arefast to Orleans with a secret charge to discover and punish its followers. This nobleman, passing through Chartres, consulted Evrard, keeper of the archives, the bishop Fulbert being absent, as to the manner he ought to adopt for this purpose, who advised him to go every morning to church, and to receive the communion daily, and then, armed with the sign of the cross, to offer himself boldly as a disciple to the two clerks whom Herbert had specified as his teachers, and to hear what their lessons really were. Arefast obeyed these directions, and, after some probationary delays, was admitted into the secret assemblies of the sect, and told that the Christian religion was a fable, and permitted to witness nocturnal rites of horror associated with the invocation of demons for protection. The king, being apprised, repaired to Orleans; and after vain attempts to make them renounce their errors, several underwent capital punishment. The infection, however, which was widely spread, broke out in many places at the time when the Albigenses disturbed France. The description of their different sects by Peter, monk of Vaulx Cornay, who was present among them, leaves no doubt of their descent from Manes,‡ whose doctrine was then propagated in a lower and more popular

* Homil. 39. in Act. Apost. Sicilia Sacra, tom. i. 518.

‡ Duchesne, Rér Francorum Script. tom. v. 55.

form by the sorcerers and magicians, the appearance of whom in greatest numbers was coeval with that fearful irruption of Huns, those half-sorcerers, hideous and ferocious warriors, represented by Jornandus as sprung from evil spirits in the desolate plains of the north. Olaus Magnus says that magical arts with the northern people were chiefly cultivated by women. Far-famed for such arts were Hagberta, daughter of the giant Vagnost, Craca, a Norwegian woman consulted about the future fortune of Rollo, and many others, of whom, as he informs us, a cauldron was the common instrument, in which they cooked juices, herbs, worms, and entrails.*

The practice of these arts continued throughout the world, and came to light, from time to time, in a manner to alarm the civil government. The fact of execrable rites being ascribed to the Templars, as only showing that mankind was aware of what still existed, is remarkable.

John Trithemius relates how the Fratricelli was first discovered and condemned under Boniface VIII. They pretended always to be holy persons; they did not reveal their worst practices to all at first, but only in proportion to the capacity of their novices; they abolished all Sacraments but baptism, said they were full of the Holy Ghost, and could not sin, that no Roman Pontiff had any authority after they had been condemned by Boniface, that, excepting themselves, all men would perish for not believing and living as the apostles. Their rule was omnia munda mundis; therefore, adultery or incest were no sins with them. They used to hold their meetings amidst mountains and woods, and in caves—men and women attending, and after invoking the Holy Ghost, would extinguish all lights, and practise every kind of horror. The last-born infant of the company was then passed from hand to hand till it expired, when all the company fell on their faces to adore the person in whose hands it died. The second-born was baked over a brazier and pulverized, and the dust was mixed with wine with horrid imprecations, and then given to their novices to drink as a sacrament; after which they were deemed impeccable within their sect. Boniface VIII. made inquiries all over Italy, where it chiefly prevailed; and by his orders Herman, author of the sect, who had been twenty years in his grave at Ferrara, was dug up and burnt. In Milan there was a rich woman of this sect, named Wilhelma, having a husband Andrea: she affected sanctity, retired to Clairvaux, and died there, and was buried as a holy person. This impious woman, with her husband, had a cave at the end of their house, in which the sacrilegious rites of the sect were celebrated, to which many men and women came by night. The women were tonsured like clerks, with imprecations against the clerical tonsure. Wilhelma acted as priestess for a long time, and used to pronounce the prayers. After her death, which was supposed holy, as I said, her husband Andrea persevered six years in the same course, and seduced many, till a merchant

* Olai Mag. Septent. Hist. Lib. iii. c. 13.

of Milan, by name Conrad, discovered all. This merchant's wife was of the sect, whom he discovered rising at midnight and going out of his court secretly. He followed her, traced her to the cave, and succeeded in passing in with others unchallenged, and thus made the discovery. Contriving, as soon as the lights were put out, to take from his wife's finger her sapphire ring, he escaped secretly, and returned home. The next day he said nothing, but some time after asked for the ring, when she replied that it was lost. Still dissembling, he gave a grand feast, and invited all whose wives had been seen in the cave, with their wives. After dinner, "Friends and guests," said he, "let each of you do to his wife what you shall see me do to mine." At which words he pulled off her head dress, and lo! the tonsured crown appeared. The astonishment of the other men, when they found their wives similarly tonsured, may be conceived. Conrad then related to them what he had seen. The whole was referred to the tribunals. Andrea was burnt with the bones of his wife, and the women were dismissed by their husbands.

This heresy passed into Germany, where as many as four thousand are said to have caught it. These used to go forth at night, like wild animals, to mountains and woods, to hold their sabbath.*

It was in 1440 that the extent to which magical horrors were practised in France came to light, in the prosecution of the Marechal de Rais, of the illustrious family of Laval, who, on being convicted of all kinds of infamy, was brought to trial by the Duke of Brittany, and burnt at Nantes, having confessed the many murders and execrable impieties of which he had been guilty. The pope's bull, shortly after addressed to the authorities of Languedoc, represented in detail all the operations of magical art, invocation of demons, profanations of holy things, pacts with hell, and the employment of the most criminal human means to injure their enemies; on which latter account, as Berthier remarks, the tribunals of justice were bound to take cognizance of such matters, let their opinion respecting the superstition have been what it might.†

In the reign of Charles IX., Troies-Echelles, who was a famous sorcerer, said that thirty thousand persons in Paris were occupied in sorcery. Catharine de Medicis was said to have worn a talisman composed of a child's skin.

It was, however, during the religious revolution, in the sixteenth century, that the practice of magic prevailed to the greatest extent in every part of Europe, as is admitted by the author of Letters on Demonology. Hall's testimony is curious: —"Satan's prevalency," saith he, "in this age is most clear, in the marvellous number of witches abounding in all places. Now hundreds are discovered in one shire; and, if fame deceive us not, in a village of fourteen houses in the north are found so many of this damned brood. Heretofore only barbarous deserts had them, but now the civilest and religious parts are frequently pestered with them." Contemporary writers remark that every sort of horror

* Chronic. Hirsaugiens. an MCCXCVIII. † Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. xvi. 358.

marked the epoch of the reformers—earthquakes such as were hardly recorded in history, pestilence, famine, sterility of all things, inundations, tempests—troops of wolves, emboldened by eating those slain in the religious war, and having contracted a relish for human blood, prowling over the country, leaving embowelled or half-eaten the bodies of women and children, so that, as Paradin says, God seemed to arm every creature to fight against man in vengeance of his sins—signs in the air, and on the earth, and in the waters, filling all hearts with terror—dire meteors and fearful fires seen in the sky—births abominable in human eyes, seeming to denote the fire of heresy and the monsters of diabolic origin which were desolating the church and drawing down upon sinners the deluge of the wrath of God.*

Above all, the predominance of superstition in countries that had abjured the Catholic faith was truly fearful. The terror which it inspired may be estimated from the brief records of the court books relative to executed witches, comprised in the words "Convicta et combusta." Nevertheless the evil existed elsewhere, and it caused far less alarm with consequences much more dreadful; for the ancient diabolic traditions seemed to have more vigor wherever the antagonist faith was rescuing men from their influence.

In 1751 a law was passed in France which condemned shepherds to nine years of the galleys for a simple threat of throwing a sortilege. This was in consequence of the terror inspired by the shepherds of Brie, the account of which forms by far the most interesting portion of Le Brun's History.† To such rustic traditions Shakespeare makes allusion:—"This boy is forest-born, and hath been tutored in the rudiments of many desperate studies." The horrible sacrilegious rites which came to light in the dungeons of the Bastile, at the epoch of the poisoning society, are further evidence of the same continued tradition.‡ The confessions of the old priest, Stephen Guabourg, chaplain of the Count of Montgomery, and of Gilles Davot, revealed the nature of the sacrilegious masses of indescribable horror, which were celebrated in a house of the street of St. Denis, for each of which two hundred francs used to be paid; in which the demon was invoked to aid the designs of the poisoners and other wretches. Of these, Mirabeau said, "you cannot believe what nevertheless will be proved to you."

The existence of secret societies in England, bearing horrible names, at whose assemblies the most sacred rites were blasphemiously mimicked, gave also further evidence of the same kind. Without remaining, however, any longer to multiply testimonies which all lead to the same conclusion respecting the singular perpetuity and uniformity of diabolic superstition, let us proceed to examine more minutely into the real character of these arts, the history of which we have briefly and imperfectly traced.

Many learned and ingenious writers in modern times have undertaken to ex-

* Hist. de Lyons, Lib. iii. c. 42. † Tom. i. ‡ Mem. Hist. sur la Bastille. Londres, 1789.

plain this dark page of history without any assistance from a belief in supernatural causes; but to the schoolmen their notions would have appeared unphilosophical, and the mere substitution of unknown words for unknown things. A late author has had the malice to accuse the clergy of having favored the progress of such a belief, as contributing to extend their own authority; but, not to remark the many absurdities into which such a theory betrays him, the assertions of writers, who always suppose that self-interest, grossly understood, is the motive of every one, merit in truth no attention. The holy Scriptures attest the corporeal appearance and visible operations of evil spirits, as well as the practice of magic and divination. The divine law expressly denounces its penalties against all that use divination, or witches, or charmers, or consulters with familiar spirits, or wizards, or necromancers: and the philosophers of the middle ages could never suppose that these laws were ordained to repress imaginary crimes, nor could they have foreseen that they would incur a charge of craft or ignorance for holding a contrary opinion. The actual exercise of these diabolic arts is ascribed to Menasseh, and to many of the Jews in the time of our Saviour. Among the Gentiles, the most attentive observers of nature did not reject the possibility of reading the future. Hippocrates believed in divination by dreams, of which Aristotle doubted, saying, "it is not easy either to despise or credit them;"* but, as Melchior Canus observes, "by so doing, the Stagyrite erred against the truth of the Scriptures."

However unwilling we may be to incur a charge of credulity, we must, I think, conclude that it is not by the inventions of a philosophy which contradicts revelation, that any rational explanation can be given of the phenomena which the schoolmen ascribed to the action of those damnable powers spoken of by the great Apostle of the nations, when he tells us that we have to contend against principalities and powers, against the rulers of the world of this darkness, against spiritual wickedness in high places. That these invisible agents had a school on earth, no one doubted in former ages. "There is a wisdom of the past," says Cardan, "a wisdom of the present, a wisdom of the future—there is a divine, a human, and a demoniacal wisdom."†

All the eminent English metaphysicians of the seventeenth century believed with Cudworth in the existence of magical arts, and many, like Fairfax, wrote expressly to expose their danger. They felt that they could not understand the whole of their own nature, much less that they could comprehend the rest of the world and all its unexplored mysteries.

What was the opinion of the ancient Christian philosophers on this head? St. Clement of Alexandria says, "that the school of magic is an academy of hell, where magicians have demons for masters, who teach men that there are certain arts which can compel them to obey mortals." Tertullian says, "that magic

* De Anima.

† De Sapientia, Lib. i.

and sorcery are the cause of all errors—that they ruin the soul, and constitute a second idolatry."* The attractions used by the demon to engage men in magic were supposed to be sensual pleasure, the hope of escaping from misery, and the desire of riches; as when he said to Christ, "All these things will I give you, if you will adore me." The fascination which they exercised over the human mind seemed almost irresistible: "He who had once swallowed a particle of witchcraft," says an adept in the openness of his heart, "can never keep his fingers from it afterwards as long as he lives. The thing is like the love of drink, once get the taste of it, and tongue, and throat, and lungs, and liver, will never let it go." This explains the saying of Tacitus, that "it is a class of men which will always be prohibited, and will always exist." The schoolmen seem to have entertained no doubt as to the reality of traditional arts of this kind.

"Magic is not received in philosophy," says Hugo of St. Victor, "but it is extrinsic—a mistress of malice and all iniquity, alien from truth, and truly wounding the mind, seducing it from divine religion to the worship of demons, causing corruption of manners, and impelling the mind to all wickedness."† They evinced, however, no want of judgment or caution in distinguishing the effect of natural science from the result of such arts. The rule was thus laid down by Suarez, "When one expects an effect from a cause which has not naturally the power to produce it, then the secret is certainly diabolic; for since the effect is above the power of natural causes, and since these practices have no tendency to promote piety, the author cannot be any other than the demon."‡ St. Agobard, in the ninth century, attributes the illusions of the demon to a want of faith in those who invoked him; for "the demon," he says, quoting St. Leo, "knows whom he can cast down by sadness, seduce by fear or joy, and deceive by admiration. Though he transform himself into an angel of light one must neither fear nor admire his power."§ According to Pliny, who says that magical art has been in repute in all times, there are three principles of magic—medicine, astrology, and religion—the first as a remedy, the second a mean, the third a cloak to deceive. Tertullian says, "that the devil apes all the mysteries of God, that he is full of emulation to rival even things in the mysteries of the divine Sacraments, so that he baptizes, he gives his believers secret marks, such as under the eyelid or elsewhere the paw of a cat, or of a hare, a toad, or spider, and that he celebrates also the oblation of bread."‖

t was in allusion to these things that the Jews were forbidden by the divine law to make marks or stigmas upon their bodies. King Joachim, after his death, was found to have on his body characters as the seal of Satan, to whom he had devoted himself: for as the Jews, by circumcision, were devoted to God, so the

* De Anima, cap. 57.
† Erudit. Didasc. Lib. vi. 15.
‡ Lib. ii. De Superstit. cap. 15. n. 9.
§ Oper. Agob. t. i. 202. ‖ De Prœscript. 140.

sorcerers pledged themselves to his enemy by an outward rite. Epimenides, who used charms to deliver the Athenians from the plague, was found to have similar marks upon his body.

In the earliest writers we find mention of men making pacts with Satan. The fame of these, in the middle ages, was widely spread: the devil was supposed then to assign a demon to his worshipper in imitation of the guardian angel of the Christians. The sculptured figures upon Gothic temples, representing Satan pressing within his grasp the hand of a man who bends his knee before him, are an allusion to these execrable compacts, of which the church has heard instances in every age. The arch of the north door of the Cathedral of Nôtre Dame, at Paris, contains, in many compartments, representations of a diabolic pact and of a deliverance effected by the blessed Virgin, which is related in a metrical legend composed by Rutebœuf in the time of St. Louis. In this entablature, a magician, Salatin, wears a pyramidical bonnet, borrowed, as well as his name, from the Eastern countries, whence occult and cabalistic arts had chiefly been derived. The idea, as we have observed, was no invention of the middle ages. St. Cyprian, who, before his conversion, professed magic, had given himself to the demon in writing: St. Thomas applies to such persons the words of Isaia, "Pepigimus fœdus cum morte, et cum inferno fecimus pactum." St. Augustin says, "that the art of magic arose from the superstitions of a society, bound together, of demons and men, established as if by a certain compact of infidel and treacherous friendship."* One object of this confederacy was to endeavor to efface baptism by some ceremonies, as when Julian washed himself in the blood of the victims offered to demons. Innocent III., in his bull, laments the fact that multitudes of men and women had given themselves to the demon at Mains, Cologne, Treves, Salsbourg, and Bremen, and that they, in consequence, had killed children, denied the faith, and committed every execrable superstition and crime. In Guyenne alone there were said to be, at one time, three thousand persons having the sign of the demon.† Trois-Echelles, in the time of Charles IX., affirmed that all his accomplices bore the marks of a hare's foot. The free consent of those who sought to profit by these hellishs arts was deemed essential, and it is a curious fact that even the race of wretched impostors, who pretend to practise them, have taught each other invariably to ask the credulous fools who trust them, whether they come from choice and give from their heart what is demanded.

Some of the wild tales that circulated among the people, respecting the end of persons leagued with Satan, are related by Vincent of Beauvais: they are as terrible as any heart can desire—the following is a specimen: "A certain woman at Berhelia, in England, was a witch. One day, as she sat at dinner, suddenly the knife fell from her hand; she turned pale, and groaning, said aloud, 'this day it is all over with me,' and presently a messenger came, and told that her son was

* Lib. 2. De Doct. Christ.

† Ancoran. Lib. 3. de Inconst. Dæmon.

dead. She then repaired to certain monks, and sobbing, said, 'by a miserable fate I have always served the demon and despaired of myself. Now then I implore you try to alleviate my torments, for you cannot recall my soul from the doom of damnation: sew up my body in a stag's hide and shut it up in a stone coffin, and bind it with lead and iron, and gird the stone itself round with three great chains. If during three nights I lie secure, then on the fourth bury me in the earth: let mass and psalms be sung for fifty nights.' Lo! it was done as she required, but all in vain; for during the first two nights, as the choir sung round the body, demons came and beat at the door of the church, and burst two of the chains, but the middle one resisted: the third night, about cock crow, there was a sound as if the whole monastery were about to be moved from its foundations; one demon, more terrible than the others, burst the bars of the door, and strode up to the coffin, and called her by her name, bidding her rise; to whom she answered, 'the chain hinders me.' 'O! then you shall soon be freed from it,' replied the figure, and immediately bursting the chain like a straw, seized her hand and dragged her to the church door, where was a black horse proudly neighing, with hoofs all of iron, upon which the wretched woman was placed, and then she and all the troop disappeared; only her groans were heard for four miles resounding over the woods."* In such tales, amusement, of course, was the end.

On the cathedral of Strasbourg, carved in a cornice, is represented the sabbat of sorcerers; the demons and infernal spirits form the concert, and others in fearful guise are dragging the sorcerers to hell. This alludes to the midnight assemblies of persons for purposes of superstition, which were any thing but the invention of credulous heads. Many sorcerers in different ages have agreed in confessing that, at the nocturnal sabbat, they used to adore the demon under the form of a goat. This, it will be said, was the caprice of their imagination: yet these men had never read Herodotus, who tells us that the God Pan, more ancient than the Gods of Greece, was represented under that form. St. Gregory mentions that the Lombards consulted a goat's head to discover futurity.† Tertullian attests that the same animal entered into the rites of magicians.‡ It is a fact that, on these occasions, cruel bloody sacrifices were offered, as in the old days of idolatry amongst all nations. The Druids, the Tartars, were all addicted to the same horrors, associated with magic. In the canton of Berne, thirteen children were killed and devoured at these assemblies: this cruelty was of itself enough to denote the diabolic tradition descending from heathen times, when the priests of idols, like these sorcerers, required the slaughter of innocents for the due celebration of their rite.§ It is certain, likewise, that at these assemblies there was always an execrable mockery of marriage. Every thing of divine institution was impiously mimicked: above all, profanation of the Eucharist became

* Vin. Bellov. in specul. Hist. Lib. xxv, cap. 26. † Lib. vii. Epist. 7 & 8. Dial. c. 26.
‡ Apolog. c. 23. § Savonarol. Triump. Crucis. Lib. iv. 4.

an essential element in arts of this kind ; as was witnessed among the Coterelli in France, mentioned by St. Antoninus,* who turned into ridicule priests and all sacred things ; and who were finally destroyed by Philippe Augustus. During the massacres of the Jesuits and friars at Madrid, in 1834, the murderers invariably disfigured the tonsure after fracturing the skulls of the victims, probably from having been initiated in the same traditional school.

Impurity and disobedience were also essential attendants upon the worship of demons ; and we may remark, that it was the clear and universal recognition of this fact which rendered inexcusable the infamous politicians who condemned the maid of Orleans as a sorceress ; for her devotion, submission, and angelic purity being unimpeached, the mission which she executed could not be ascribed to hellish powers, without contradicting all that had been laid down by the church to guide men in the discernment of spirits.—Hence the Dominican vicar of the Inquisitor refused to take part in the persecution,—hence the most learned magistrates believed her to be inspired by heaven, to which opinion Gerson and St. Antoninus subscribe,—hence the judges delegated by the Holy See twenty-five years afterwards, cancelled and annulled the sentence against her,—and hence the most cautious and sound historians, in spite of the suggestions of Rapin, have always rendered justice to her memory.†

But to return to the sabbat ; according to the popular notion the day of holding it was not the same every where ; in Lorraine it was thought to be the night before Thursday or Sunday—in Italy on the Monday ; which notions were derived from the depositions of sorcerers. In the penitential canons of Raban Maur there are inquiries whether any women boasted of intercourse with demons, and of attending their nocturnal assemblies on the backs of beasts, or even of broomsticks ;‡ and in a capitulary of Charles the Bald, the bishops and priests are exhorted to assure the people in their sermons, that all which such women say of their nocturnal voyages and assemblies is only fable, and passes only in their imagination during sleep.§ Such was the opinion supported by authority in the ninth century.‖ With respect, however, to the credibility of demoniac arts in general, it must be admitted, that the minds of men in the middle ages were at rest; for that all was imagination was what no one then ever pretended. "I know well," says James of Autun, "that to hear the voice of spirits, is not a thing unprecedented." He supposes that troops of demons produced the sounds and noises of confused voices heard on the plain of Marathon after the battle of the Persians, and before that of the Cimbri, as also the similar tumult in the air, which so terrified the whole army before the war of Sylla, and at the first battle of Pharsalia. Nothing could overcome the general sense in former times, that there is a number of incomprehensible and marvellous things in the world.

* Tom. ii. tit. xvii. § 17. † Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gall. tom. xvi. ‡ Concil. Gen. ii.
§ Baluz, cap. i. q. 365. ‖ P. Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. vi.

The declarations of holy penitents respecting the demoniac operations with which they had been familiar, would have been thought to present an insurmountable difficulty in the way of those who deny the reality of the traditions which perpetuate them. Giles, son of Vailladaros, commandant in Coimbra, was made a canon and prior when a child; but though his profession was spiritual, he lived in profligacy, and being tempted to study medicine, he proceeded to apply himself to magic, denied the faith, and during seven years received instruction in forbidden science in a cave near Toledo: he then went to Paris, where he obtained great celebrity. It happened that, as he was once secretly employed in his house, there appeared to him a knight with a lance in his hand, and a terrific countenance, who rushed upon him as if about to kill him, crying out, Amend thy life, godless wretch! Giles was filled with terror, but after some days, he recovered his composure, and lived as before: a short time elapsed, and again the same knight appeared to him, more terrible even than before, crying, Amend thy life or thou shalt die! Giles fell to the ground and uttered but these words, "Yea, Lord, I will amend, I will amend." The knight touched his side next the heart with his lance, and vanished. Giles, thinking himself mortally wounded, called to his servants; his flesh was found to be whole, but it was true that his heart had been touched, for it was wholly changed. He ordered a fire to be lighted in his hall, threw all his magic books into it and departed for his father's land. On arriving at Valencia, he applied for admission among the Dominicans, who received him into a new convent there, but during seven years he had to sustain the most horrific visions of the spirits of darkness, who sought to draw him back again, so that he used to declare that he would a thousand times prefer having his head cut off to beholding them but for once: he finally became a man of eminent sanctity, and in 1233 was made provincial of his order.*

St. Augustin, speaking of the power of good and evil angels, says, "that neither the good have any power, unless as far as God commands; nor can the evil act unjustly, unless as far as he justly permits. For the malice of the wicked hath an unjust will, but it hath its power only justly, whether for its own penalty or for the punishment of others that are wicked, or for the praise of the good."†

The magicians themselves say, "Magna est potentia Sathanæ propter hominum magna peccata."‡ The learned Leo Allatius relates a curious circumstance, which fell under his own observation. It is now thirty years ago since I embarked at Scyo to go to Messana; on that voyage after some time a tempest rose, which threatened us with destruction. Observing the pilot contemplating the waves, making signs and muttering words, I went up to him in a rage and said, What are you doing there? Is this a time to abandon the helm? The old man replied, See you not that I am breaking the force of the waves with this sign of the cross, and certain words? Observe now and see that it is every ninth wave which

* Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 320. † De Trin. Lib. iii. c. 8. ‡ Arbatel de Magia.

puts us in danger. Strange fact, it was even so. My curiosity overcame my fear, and for more than one hundred times it was always the ninth wave which seemed most terrible. This word and signing proves the superstition of the pilot, and probably that he had made a pact with the demon, who redoubled the excitation of the ninth, to nourish the credulity of the pilot.*

Whatever may be thought of this narrative, it is curious to find the same superstition mentioned by Ovid, who speaks in his Tristia of the tenth wave. That impure men who sought not to see God, endeavored to profit by an intercourse with demons, is a fact which does not admit of question, and the appearance of malicious artifice in the mode by which such persons were generally deceived, is not a little strange. History is full of instances. Forte Braccio, a great captain of Sienna, was betrayed by his familiar demon, whom he had asked whether he should go to battle, and had his answer in writing, Ibis, redibis, non morieris; but a comma transposed made it, Ibis, redibis non, morieris. A relative of the famous magician condemned by the parliament of Provence, had attempted to seize the duchy of Castro from the church. He asked his demon, if by taking arms he could seize the town of Castro, defeat the papal troops, and even push his conquests to Bologna? His answer was, Ingredieris castrum, conculcabis Ecclesiam, Bononia tibi serviet. Confiding in this promise, he marched, was defeated, and taken prisoner.

He then began to suspect the treachery of his demon Ingredieris castrum—Lo, he is in a castle. He asked the servant what prison was under him. The servant replied, that it was the chapel—Conculcabis Ecclesiam. Finally, he asked the servant his name, I am called Bologna. "Ah, wretched man," he exclaimed, "the prediction of my master is accomplished." To such the prophet of old alludes: "I am the Lord who render useless all the predictions of the diviners: I reverse their understanding, and I change their wisdom into folly."† On the other hand there are many strange relations difficult to be set aside, respecting predictions of diviners, confirmed by the event.

Michael Scot is cited as a great theologian by the most learned of the Carmelites, and the prince of the Averroistes, John Bacco.‡ He was, nevertheless, a great astrologer, and, as such, is mentioned by Agrippa: he enumerates twelve kinds of auguries, from Fernova to Harrenan, corresponding to the twelve signs of the zodiac.§ Certain it is that he foretold to his master the Emperor Frederick Second, that he would die in a castle of Apulia, named Fiorenzola, and also in a church—all which came true, for being bareheaded in the act of appearing to adore Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, the cord of the bell that they were sounding caused a stone to fall on his head, which caused his death on the spot. The astrologers consulted by Louis XI. are more noticed by historians on account of the rich reward bestowed upon them, than for the certainty of their predictions,‖

* Tractat. de quorumdam Opinat. Grar. c. † Isa. xliv. ‡ Part 3. Sentent. dist. 33.
§ Mic. Scoti Liber Phisionom. lvii. ‖ Berthier, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. xvii. 129.

though it is said that Angelo Catto announced to him on giving the peace at mass in the church of St. Martin at Tours, that at that moment the Duke of Burgundy was slain at Nanci. Celebrated in latter times was that prediction of the old astrologer, who was brought into the supper room of the Duke of Nemours, where he was entertaining Albert Mirandula and the French knights, who accompanied him on his expedition, who then foretold the event of the approaching battle, and added in full detail the end of the duke, whose hand, however, he never examined as also that of Bayard, of the Seigneurs de la Palisse and d'Imbercour, and of the adventurer Jacquain Caumont. It is remarkable that some of the strangest superstitions should be traced from the most remote antiquity, and found among all nations. Such is that opinion of there being to names assigned a charm profound expressive of future destiny—mysterious potency of sound, which even the wise Æschylus seems to credit in his Agamemnon, when it is observed that Helen's fatal name and destruction are the same; and to which Shakespeare has made us all familiar, by that scene of death in which the fourth Henry demands, Doth any name particular belong unto the lodging where I first did swoon? and who, on being told that it was called Jerusalem, exclaims, "Laud be to God! even there my life must end; it hath been prophesied to me many years I should not die but in Jerusalem, which vainly I supposed the holy land; but bear me to that chamber, there I'll lie, in that Jerusalem shall Harry die."

Such, again, is the notion of the guilty sleep of sorcerers, as due to their previous crimes in waking hours. Let us hear a wild narrative in illustration: "A hunter, near Poligny, in Burgundy, wounded a wolf that was running by him, which continued on his way, though the ball had evidently gone through him. Greatly amazed, the hunter followed him by the track of blood till he came to a little cabin, where, on entering in, he found a man wounded near a woman, who was putting a plaster on the hole. The hunter denounced this man as a sorcerer, and certain it is that the wretch confessed to the judge his custom of changing himself into a wolf, by means of an ointment made by the demon. This history was written on parchment and hung up near the door of the Dominicans at Poligny." The notion on which this narrative is founded was most ancient, and so widely spread, that the most illustrious men have condescended to mention it. "That the human body," says St. Augustin, "can in any manner by the arts of the demon, be converted into bestial members, I could never believe."* "On the other hand," he observes, "that miracles by magical arts can be performed similar to those effected by the servants of God;" and St. Thomas says, "in the proper sense of the word, miracles cannot be performed by demons, or any other creatures, for a miracle, strictly speaking, is that which is contrary to the order of all created nature, but if it be widely understood, as an effect exceeding human faculties, the demons can work miracles, as was seen with the magicians of Pha-

* De Civ. Dei, xviii.

raoh; and though material bodies are not subject to their powers, they can be transmuted by them as to form, by virtue of certain seeds, or natural qualities, which are in the elements of the world; these mutations, indeed, are not real, as if human bodies could be changed to bestial bodies, or raised from dead to life; but if such operations should sometimes appear to be effected by demons, it is not done in reality, but merely in appearance, which can be effected by the demon working on the imagination of men, or even exteriorly on the senses, so as to make things seem otherwise than according to truth."*

The perpetuity of the same kind of pretensions is at all events a curious fact in this history. Cardan, as well as Sir Kenelm Digby, speaks of a manner of anointing a sword, so as to wound and cure at a distance. The influence of demons upon the air, was a most ancient opinion. The magic art of Eric of the windy hair was celebrated in the north. "This Eric, king of Sweden, was second to none in such arts," says Olaus Magnus, "and being familiar with demons, in whichever direction he turned his hair immediately the wind blew; whence his surname Ventosus Pileus."† Cornelius Agrippa says, "that by burning a cameleon on the roof of a house, with cabalistic rites, he can raise a storm. The great tempest which passed through all Bohemia and Germany, at the time when John Huss began to preach heresy, was thought to have been caused by sorcerers; and from a similar notion the whirlwind over Newark, during the night of St. Luke's day, when king John expired there, filled the inhabitants of the place with terror."‡

Particular places possessed an odious fame for the acquisition or practice of these arts. Such were the sorcerers' caverns near Toledo, Seville, and Salamanca, the entrances to which were walled up by order of Isabella, the wife of Ferdinand. Of the former many extraordinary things were recounted. The great historian of that city relates that Roderic, the last king of the Goths, caused to be opened, contrary to the will of all men, an ancient palace at Toledo, which had been always shut up and secured with locks and bars by former kings. He had expected to find treasures within it, but he found only one chest, which contained a cloth, exhibiting Latin letters, and pictures of men, with the countenance and arms of Arabs, sitting upon horses, having their heads bound with vines, and wearing vests of many colors, and holding swords and javelins and banners; and the letters stated, that when the locks were broken, and the chest and palace opened, the nation represented by these figures would come and invade Spain. The king and grandees were alarmed, and made the chest and palace fast as before.§

Cornelius Agrippa speaks of Saturnian places, such as dark, subterraneous, deserted, and solitary caverns, marshes, cemeteries, graves, and waste tracts, ‖ to which corresponded birds of Saturn, such as have long necks and hoarse voices,

* P. I. g. cxiv. art. 4. † Sept. Hist. Lib. iii. 13. ‡ Rad. Coggesh.
§ Roderici Toletani de Reb. Hisp. Lib. iii. c. 18. ‖ De Occult. Phil. Lib. i. c. 48.

cranes, owls, bats, and ravens, emitting sounds, that in rough winter oft inflict a fear on fireside listeners, doubting what they hear. In particular he mentions a Norwegian mountain, Hecheberg, whence lamentations and groans, and horrible shouts and shrieks are heard, while huge vultures and ravens hover over it; and he speaks of similar mountains in Thuringia and Scotland, where wicked intercourse was thought to reign.* Ilsingbourg, a wild looking village, situated at the entrance of a narrow gorge, through which dashes a mountain torrent, is described by a recent traveller, "as one of these Saturnian places. I never saw an inhabited spot more fitted to be the scene of some dark deed done in the eclipse than this. A barren waste leads to it—a hundred hills covered with tangled forests, fence it round—and high above their heads, rises the Great Brocken, amidst whose deep covers superstition has been cradled for ages."

Another branch of superstition often combined with the profession of magic art, was alchemy, the mere terms of which bespeak an alliance with the spirit of idolatry, for all the old accursed fancies were employed in it. "I know that gold is made by alchemists," says Cornelius Agrippa, "and I have seen it made.† Geber of Seville, in the eighth or ninth century, was one of the first in this track. Trithemius mentions many who were deceived by it. He was himself accused by Boville. "This Boville," he says, writing to Ganoy, "affirms that I, Trithemius, abbot of Spanheim, was a magician, necromancer, and alchemist. I cite you to answer for this calumny, at the tribunal of God: I declare that I never so much as entered a theatre of alchemy." Wernher, of the Counts of Falckenstein, archbishop of Treves, left such a treasure, that he was accused of alchemy. Trithemius says, "that he has seen books on it written by him, and that in his castle on the Rhine, called Capella, opposite Lanstein, he had professors of that vanity at work secretly. John, of the marquesses of Baden, who was his successor in that see, was similarly accused on account of his keeping during twelve years, in his castle of Cunengen, George, from Croatia, who was said to have run away from the Turks. Bernard, abbot of Northeim, in Saxony, left 10, 000 florins at his death to his monastery, which it was thought he had gained by alchemy. Andreas, another abbot, near Bamberg, was also addicted to it, as was likewise John, the last count of Spanheim, who made the pilgrimage to Jerusalem, in company with Louis the Bearded, count Palatine of the Rhine, for he had always alchemists, necromancers, and magicians at his court, whom he could not be induced to banish, and he thought that he could understand the language of dogs and birds."‡

But we must not remain any longer on this demoniac ground. In justice, however, to the men of former times we cannot leave it without making a few observations in conclusion. If interrogated as to their opinions respecting the possible existence of such a tradition as that to which magical arts have been ascribed, the

* Id. Lib. iii. † Id. Lib. i. 14 ‡ Chronic. Hirsaug. An. MCCCXCIX.

most favorable reply that could be expected from philosophers of the present day would probably be that of Orlando, "I sometimes do believe and sometimes do not." Yet some men of great intelligence and discernment, who have travelled in the east, are ready at the present day to attest their conviction that the effects of imposture or credulity cannot explain all things that were presented to them as marvellous in those countries. The facts related by Lane, and observed by many other travellers in Egypt, relating to the power of magicians, are not less astounding than any thing found in records of the tenth century. They assure us that there are men professing Satanic magic, who can communicate by their mirror of ink, placed in the hand of certain persons, the exact image of others at a distance, whom they are desired to produce. Some, it is true, suppose, contrivance, and rest that opinion on the testimony of Jannisaries to themselves, but other and no less unimpeachable witnesses profess their inability to explain the mystery by any natural cause. One instance mentioned is that of a young English lady, who, on looking into the magic mirror in her hand, after a little while, said that she saw a broom sweeping the ground without any one holding it, and was so much frightened that she would look no longer.* But whatever may be our conclusions respecting such pretensions it must not be forgotten that, whether they be credited or not, the books of magicians are themselves monuments existing and constituting insurmountable evidence to prove the atrocity of magic study. Not that it is easy to discover who were really devoted to it; for, as Tertullian says, "Nihil magis curant, quam occultare quod prædicant, si tamen prædicant quæ occultant."† The maxim of the book on magic entitled Arbatel is this :—"Qui vult secreta scire, secreta secrete sciat custodire et revelanda revelet: sigilanda sigillet, et sacrum non det canibus." Nothing can have a greater show of piety and judgment than their first address. Jerome Cardan says that his father, who was so much occupied with the occult sciences, usedto have always on his tongue that sentence, "Omnis spiritus laudet Dominum quia ipse est fons omnium virtutem."‡

"Magician!" replies the youth Alfonso to the monk who bids him beware of Petro of Apono, "so you, too, would take part in the folly of the rabble, that is unable to appreciate the knowledge of lofty spirits, and would rather credit any absurdity than strengthen their own souls by gazing upon the grandeur of a fellow creature. Did not you yourself see and hear how piously, how Christianly, with what a heart-stirring majesty, the glorious man spake?"§

Cornelius Agrippa dedicates his books on occult philosophy to no less a person than the reverend abbot of Hirschau, John Trithemius, and says to him, "When, of late, I conversed with you, reverend Father, in your monastery at Herbipolis, we talked together on many things concerning magic and cabalistic matters, and other hidden sciences and arts, which are secrets as yet." So artfully written are his three books, that he obtained this approbation from the abbot :—"Of your

* Lane's Egypt, i. † In Valent. c. 1. ‡ Hieron Card. de Vita Propria, i. 3. § Tiek.

work, which the most learned of the learned is not able to praise sufficiently, we approve." In fact, it is full of erudition, and there are many passages which one might suppose to have been written by a Thomas of Kempis or a Louis of Blois. The author seems to abhor impiety; and he reckons among those who have vindicated occult philosophy from that crime, and have transmitted it purely, Roger Bacon, Robert the Englishman, Peter Apponus, Albert Teutonicus, Arnold de Villeneuve, Anselm of Parma, Picatricius of Spain, Cicchus Asculus of Florence, and many others. We know already what to think of his sincerity in counting some of these among men who wrote in favor of occult philosophy, and in placing them by the side of Peter Apono and Anselm; the latter of whom was admitted to be a magician by Delvio and Bartholomew Cocles. Moreover, that every thing holy may be imitated, in the beginning of his work he declares that he wishes no man to assent to whatever he may say, or to imagine that he himself assents to it, unless so far as it is not reprobated by the Catholic Church and the body of the faithful. He styles magic the most perfect and the highest science, the most holy philosophy, and the absolute consummation of wisdom."* Yet he reckons among its pillars Zamolxis and Zoroaster, Ahbaris, Charmondas, Damigeron, Hermippus, Trismegistus, Porphyrius, Jamblichus, Proclus, Plotinus, Germa Babylonicus, Apollonius Thyaneus, Osthanes, and others. So here we begin to see light, when the pillars of his most holy science are heathens and notorious magicians. But one must wade through many obscure pages before coming to this frank avowal of the diabolic tradition. The prayers of these men for wisdom, for memory, for power over others to lead them from evil, are really sublime and astonishing.†

"Let the word of God never depart from your lips," says Arbatel on magic; "accustom thyself to constancy and gravity in thy words and actions; fly worldly things; seek celestial; learn not many things, but much; invoke me in the day of tribulation, and I will hear thee—but all ignorance is tribulation of mind; invoke the Lord, therefore, in thy ignorance, and he will hear thee. Let the Sacred Scriptures be in thy hands by day, and yet by night: a magician ought to be a pious man, good and constant in words and actions, firm of faith towards God, avaricious of nothing except wisdom."‡

Such is the style of all these writers. The Chiromancians alleged Scripture for their science, and cited the words, "Qui in manu omnium hominum signat, ut noverint siguli opera sua."§ Cornelius Agrippa says, that a true magician must be pure, and holy, and devout. Yet, while his general language might be mistaken for that of a cloistered ascetic, while he lifts up his soul, and seems to guide it heavenward with words and images of inspiration, bearing his scholar as with the wings of the Spirit into regions above the earth, every now and then, amidst

* Lib. i. c. 2.

† Ars Notoria, quam Creator Salomoni revelavit.

‡ Arbatel de Magia.

§ Job.

these beautiful sentences and solemn prayers, some expression occurs to startle one —some dark letter—something of pure paganism, as it were a cloven foot peeping from under the religious habit.* Thus, after saying that the mind must be purified and expiated by cleanness, abstinence, penance, and alms—suddenly, as if forgetting his part, he cites the authority of the Indian Brahmans, and prescribes the use of cabalistic words. He even recommends the practice of confession, to procure that purity of conscience which is requisite for such studies; and then he lets escape that the object in view has been obtained by the ancient philosophers, who, by solitude and keeping aloof from all human affairs, were enabled to converse with sacred and celestial beings. Strangely at variance with the sanctity of his rules is his mention of the forms familiar to the spirit of Saturn—a bearded king riding on a dragon, an old bearded man, an old woman leaning on a staff, a pig, an owl, a black vest, a juniper. The atrocious cruelty of some of his prescriptions is also enough to awaken suspicion. Thus he says, when you collect the tongue of a frog, you must not kill the creature, but send it back alive into the water; and similarly in extracting the eye or tooth of a wolf, you must not kill the animal.† Then, as if warmed by the subject, he seems in some parts to throw off the disguise, and shows how men are to compose the book of spirits, or order for invocation, written on virgin parchment: it is to be carefully preserved, and never opened excepting under the proper circumstances; it is to be consecrated, by invoking to a circle all the spirits inscribed within it: the book is to be placed without the circle, in a triangle, and they are then charged to ratify and confirm it. For this operation the book of spirits is placed between two tablets, on the inside of which are written the sacred pentacula of the Divine Majesty, from the first chapter of the Apocalypse. Then on a serene night, before twelve o'clock, the book is carried to a circle at the juncture of three ways, and there the spirits inscribed are conjured thrice, by the bonds of the book, to come to that place at the end of three days. Then the book is wrapped in clean linen, and buried in the midst of the circle, which is afterwards effaced. One departs before sunrise. On the third day, before midnight, one returns, makes the circle, prays on bended knees, opens the foss with a quoit, takes up the book, and without opening it, departs.‡ About to invoke bad spirits, he says, "You must prepare a table in the place covered with clean linen, on which are four loaves and water, or milk, in new earthen vessels, with new knives; and you must sit at the head of the table, leaving seats round it for the spirits; but if you fear them, describe a circle round your own seat and part of the table, while the rest is without it."

But somewhat too much of this. John Trithemius, in his apologetic preface to his books De Steganographia, addressed to Philip, Duke of Bavaria, describes various kinds of magicians, and recommends the prince to extirpate them. "The

* De Occult. Phil. Lib. iii. c. 53. † 1. 21. ‡ De Occult. Phil. Lib. iv.

demons," he says, "in order to keep voluntarily in their service the men who have made a pact with them, pretend that they are subject to them, and feign to obey them by constraint. What evils this pernicious race causes in your empire no one can express. The necromancers profess arts worthy of all execration, by which they can call demons to a circle, and bind them with a pact. They use shameful sacrifices, and write books full of turpitude and lies falsely citing the manners of ancient philosophers and wise men, to deceive the curious."

To all the occult sciences the philosophy of the clean of heart was essentially opposed, on the very ground of their being occult. St. Augustin applies the command, "take no purse with you," to the duty of having no secret wisdom. "What is a purse?—money shut up, that is, occult wisdom. A fountain ought to be in you, not a purse—whence you may diffuse, not where you may confine."* St. Hilary, commenting on our Lord's words, "Quod dico vobis in tenebris," says, "We do not read that our Lord was accustomed to discourse by night, and to deliver his doctrine in darkness; but he used this expression because all his sentences are darkness to the carnal mind, and his word is night to infidels."† It was opposed to these sciences, too, on the ground of their vanity; and this is shown by Dante, when Grifolino of Arezzo relates how he had told Albero of Sienna that he had learned to wing his flight in air; for he adds,—

> "And he, admiring much, as he was void
> Of wisdom, will'd me to declare to him
> The secret of mine art."‡

It was opposed to them, also, on the ground of the misery which they entailed on men: for the church had yearly to lament some intellectual wreck, and cry,

> "———this is to be a mortal,
> And seek the things beyond mortality."

It was opposed to them, above all, from a deep sense of their guilt; which Dante also indicates in that passage where he shows diviners and prophets among the spirits whelmed in woe:—

> "A tribe that came along the hollow vale,
> In silence weeping—
> Each wondrously seem'd to be revers'd
> At the neck-bone, so that the countenance
> Was from the reins averted.
> ———Lo! how he makes
> The breast his shoulder, and who once too far
> Before him wish'd to see, now backward looks,
> And treads reverse his path.
> See next the wretches who the needle left,
> The shuttle, and the spindle, and became

* Serm. 42. De Sanct. † Comm. in Matt. x. ‡ Hell. xxix.

Diviners!—baneful witcheries they wrought,
With images and herbs."*

Finally, it was opposed to them, as feeling that to the clean of heart who beheld God their light was as darkness. Men without the church have, in all ages, been addicted more or less to errors and vanities, which on their conversion to it they learned to despise. St. Augustin confesses ingenuously that he used to take pleasure, before his conversion, in the study of judicial astrology, but that he abandoned all faith in it when he returned to religion.

Cardan says, that a great chest could not contain all the letters he had received from the English demanding predictions, from the Germans demanding calculations, from the Italians asking for medicines, and from the French requiring moral discourses. But towards the end of his life he discerned their vanity; so that he says, "I destroyed many of my books, which had cost me great labor; for whatever did not conduce to the salvation of the human race, if it could also injure, I resolved not to leave existing; and though it might have been better not to have written, yet it is with writers as with animals, which cannot live without leaving traces."† How many converts, in modern times, have similarly been corrected and induced to give up a thousand prejudices and singularities which had once charmed them.

The neighborhood of the Moors in Spain contributed to develop the taste for the study of occult sciences, but men were not wanting to oppose it with learning and ability. The work of John Francis Picus of Mirandula, entitled De Rerum Prænotione, furnished a curious and able refutation of superstition; and the work of his great uncle against astrologers was still more remarkable. The holy fathers and the schoolmen had acquired a deep insight into the different superstitions of the world, with a view to war against them.

"I have given my heart to know prudence and doctrine, and errors and folly: it is of true devotion, therefore," adds Richard of St. Victor, "to contemplate both good and evil, to investigate, discuss, and subsequently to judge all things. True devotion, consequently, from investigation and inquiry, has something in common with the wise men of Babylon; so that, deservedly, it may be said to be of their college. Nevertheless, they differ by the intention; for true devotion investigates vain and perverse doctrines, not for the sake of adhering to them, or of placing any confidence in them, but that, by judging, it may disprove and condemn them."‡

"We read some books," says St. Ambrose, "in order that they may not be read; we read lest we should not know what they were; we read not to approve, but to condemn, and that we may learn on what ground these proud men exalt their hearts."§ This was conformable to the text which saith, "The disciple of

* XX. † De Libris Propriis.
‡ De Eruditione Hom. Inter. p. i. Lib. ii. c. 7. § Expos. Evang. Luc. i. 2.

wisdom knows ancient things, and conjectures the future; he knows the turning of words and the solution of enigmas; signs and prodigies he foresees, and the events of seasons and times."*

St. Dunstan, amidst his multifarious learning, is said to have been conversant with the magic songs and incantations of his pagan forefathers. The abbot Trithemius, himself a man exceedingly well read and profited in strange concealments, shows that, in order to refute them, it was lawful to read hastily the books of the astrologers. Among his own writings he enumerates five books to John Marquis of Brandenburg, contra maleficos et omnes artes vanos superstitiosas et Christianæ religioni contrarias, twenty books, naturalium quæstionum; and two books against Boville. "Without learning, without having studied thier own science, how could my uncle Picus of Mirandula," says John Francis, "have written that admirable work against the astrologers? St. Jerome says, if any one were to write against the mathematicians without having studied mathematics, he would be only laughed at for his pains. To read my uncle's work, you would suppose that he had read nothing but the books of the astrologers: therefore, did he undermine them. Who of the ancients ever slew astrology, that monster, like a hydra, which, as often as one head was cut off, used to push forth another, until Picus, not a feigned but a true Hercules, destroyed her with the learning of tongues and the fire of divine love."†

Of this work Savonarola, who also wrote against the tradition of the astrologers says, "He who reads and understands it, and does not laugh at the science which it confutes and annihilates, certainly deserves himself to be laughed at by all men."‡

So far we have been replying to those adversaries who charge the church with unreasonable severity and superstition in combating superstition. It remains to consider upon what ground others accuse her of having been herself obnoxious to the charge of exciting and perpetuating superstition in the society of the middle ages. We have already seen enough to enable us to appreciate the value of such witnesses as the late author of Letters on Demonology, who says, that the clergy were resolved to nourish the belief in witches, as a source both of power and revenue, knowing that a faith in all the absurdities of the vulgar creed was necessary to maintain their influence. "Did there remain," he asks, "a mineral fountain respected for the cures which it had wrought, a huge oak tree, or venerated mount recommended to traditional respect,—the fathers of the Roman church were in policy reluctant to abandon such impressive spots, or to represent them as exclusively the rendezvous of witches or evil spirits. They assigned the virtue to the guardianship of some saint, and thus acquired a frontier fortress for their own doctrine."

Though such are the views with which the most popular English author writes

* Sap. vii. 17. † Joan. F. P. Mirand. de Studio Divinæ et Hum. Philos. Lib. i. c. 7.
‡ H. Savonarolæ Triump. Crucis, Lib. iv. c. 4.

history, I cannot delay to make any reply to such passages. When a heedless contradiction of all historic testimonies is substituted for argument, the folly is in him who stays to answer. The strongest ground in appearance, on which the opinion which I combat can be defended, must be sought for in the facts respecting ordeals, and the abuse to which religious practices were liable; yet neither of these positions can be maintained when a knowledge of history is brought to bear upon them. "Could a person during some Christian ages," asks Lenglet Du Fresnoy, "have questioned the proof of hot iron without being regarded as impious?" * This is a strange question from a learned man. The canons and the sovereign pontiffs every where condemned the vulgar purgations or judgments of God by cold or hot water and iron, or by battle,—all which the barbarians brought with them into Christendom,† though their traces can be found in the Greek poets. St. Avitus, in presence of King Gundobad, condemning judicial combats, and the king arguing that they were necessary, for the same reason as wars were necessary between nations, to determine the judgment of God,—the saint replied, "If kings and nations seek the divine judgment, let them first fear what is written by the Psalmist, 'Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt;' and let them remember that sentence, 'Mihi vindictam: ego retribuam, dicit Dominus.' Cannot the Supreme Equity judge causes without swords and weapons? And do we not often find that the just side is worsted in battle, and that the unjust triumphs?"‡

Agobard, archbishop of Lyons, composed a treatise entitled, "Contra damnabilem Opinionem putantium Divini Judicii Veritatem Igne vel Aquis, vel Conflictu Armorum patefieri." He condemned them as wanting divine authority, as rash, profane, and injurious to God. The ordeals were imposed by the civil legislation, and resisted by the councils. Pope Lucius III. declares that these sorts of proofs are prohibited by the canons. The council of Tribur merely permitted the trial of hot iron in acquiescence with the laws of the state, where there was no other way possible. In the time of Hincmar these ordeals were all styled "adinventiones humani arbitrii."§ By the council of Valence, in 855, under King Lothaire, judicial combats were condemned: the victor was pronounced excommunicated, and the body of the slain was forbidden Christian purial. When this King Lothaire afterwards wished to submit his cause to the judgment of the sword, Pope Nicholas I. remonstrated, and showed him that such a proceeding was against the divine ordinance.

In the eleventh century, Hildebert, a bishop, writes to Ives de Chartres, to ask whether he ought to undergo the trial by ordeal, in compliance with the requisition of the King of England; who replies to him, "that the church knows of no such custom in ecclesiastical cases. Do not, then, transgress," he adds, "the an-

* L'Hist. Justifiée, 186. † Joan. Devoti Instit. Canon. Lib. iii. tit. ix. § 1.
‡ Agobardus Lib. advers Legem. Guadobadi. § Le Brun, Hist. De Sup. tom. ii. 236.

cient limits placed by our fathers—aliter namque innocentiam defendere est innocentiam perdere."* In fact, Ives de Chartres wrote many letters against the ordeals, in which he showed their absurdity, and cited the words of Pope Stephen V. forbidding them as superstitious inventions, when Lambert, bishop of Mayence, inquired whether he could permit the old usage. Ives reproves the clergy of Orleans for having sanctioned a judicial combat; "but," says Stephen Pasquier, "the real fact was that it was difficult to reverse the ancient usage which prevailed so much under the third race of French kings. The first of the French Kings who prohibited it was St. Louis, whose prohibition was afterwards renewed by Philip-Le-Bel."† The personal remonstrances of holy men were, however, often efficacious against it. Thus John Seigneur de Baugency, in 1186, was so touched at a censure which he received from the abbot of St. Maximin, for having assigned day and place for a single combat to verify a right which he claimed, that he chose rather to renounce his claim than go that extremity.‡

The Popes Sylvester II., Celestin III., Alexander III., and Innocent III., reiterated the prohibitions of the trials of God.§ Innocent declares that the judgments in the secular courts, of cold water, hot iron, and the duel, are invalid by the sacred canons, which deem null and void all extorted confessions.‖ Innocent, after solemn deliberation with his brethren, declares that a certain bishop, because he had lent his authority to a judgment of hot iron, and had exhibited his corporal presence at it, is unworthy of the ministry at the altar, and consequently deprives him of his episcopal office.¶ The same pontiff declares that the ecclesiastical authority rejects all ordeals on the ground of the sacred text, "Non tentabis Dominum Deum tuum."** This was according to the decision of the scholastics. The continuator of Vincent of Beauvais' work says, "that the judgment of hot iron or water is superstitious and unlawful, because its object is to discover hidden things, which are reserved for the divine judgment, and also because for such a method there is no sanction of divine authority."††

The council of Lateran, in 1215, absolutely prohibited all ecclesiastics from authorizing, by any benediction, the ordeals of water or iron, and in fact the practice was every where completely abolished in the thirteenth century. Even Sir Matthew Hale says, "The trial by ordeal seems to have ended with King John. Perchance the barbarousness of the trial and persuasions of the clergy prevailed at length to antiquate it; for many canons had been made against it." "The canon law," says his commentator, "very early declared against it, upon this authority. Though the canons themselves," he adds, with amusing simplicity, "were of no validity in England, it was thought proper to abolish this mode of trial by an act of parliament, in the third year of Henry III., or rather by an order of the king in council."

* Ivon. Carnot. Epist. lxxiv.
† Récherches de la France, iv. 1.
‡ Bernier, Hist. de Blois, 259.
§ Decret. tit. 35. De Purgatione Vulgari.
‖ Inn. III. Epist. Lib. v. 107.
¶ Id. Lib. xiii. 134.
** Id. Lib. xiv. 138.
†† Spec. Mor. p. iii. Lib. ii. 27.

With respect to the charge founded on the abuse to which religious practices were liable, we shall find a satisfactory answer by pursuing the same obvious method of calmly interrogating history. Evidence will then be found to prove that such abuse existed not where there was much but where there was little piety —not where the clergy exerted themselves with zeal, but where they slept—not where the voice of the Holy See prevailed, but where that of the opinions opposed to it were predominant. It is even a singular fact, that the men who most prided themselves on their jealousy of the Holy See were in general the most superstitious, as may be witnessed in Stephen Pasquier, the doughty champion of the Gallican liberties, who is continually alluding to omens and prognostics.

The superstitious use or application of what is instrinsically good and holy belongs to the corruption of our fallen nature. The object of the Catholic philosophy, however, was not to destroy what was good and holy, but to prevent men from abusing it. The ceremonies and practices of religion might easily have been abused, say modern writers. True: but what may not easily be abused? Who has ever walked on a serene evening, and seen the moon rise suddenly in the east, without feeling how easy it was for men to fall upon their faces and adore it. Are we to condemn the Creator, then, for the beauty and glory of his works, because the unclean of heart could not behold and magnify Him in them? The ecclesiastical spirit, in this respect, may be witnessed in the character ascribed to Pope St. Gregory VII. by old writers. "This most holy man," say they, "was a determined reprehender of all such superstitious customs in the church as crept in among the multitude, through rustic simplicity, without the authority of Scripture."* And similarly we read of Benedict XIII., that when archbishop of Siponti he was particularly attentive lest ignorance, superstition, curiosity, or frivolity in some, fraud or cupidity in others, might give occasion to abuses at Mount Gargano—that church so celebrated since the fifth century. He went there often for his own edification, but he also went to instruct the simple pilgrims who flocked there from all parts; and he examined the conduct of the clergy, and made many wise regulations to preserve the purity of divine worship, and to guard off every thing that could corrupt it.† Incidental notices of similar zeal might easily be multiplied, as where Paradin mentions the discovery of a superstition practised on the eve of St. Stephen, made by the precentor of the old church of St. Stephen at Lyons.‡

We find the church sometimes obliged to guard the people from entertaining extravagant notions of obligations resulting from a reception of solemn rites, as in the instance formerly alluded to, of a popular error in the thirteenth century respecting extreme unction. Richard, bishop of Salisbury in 1218, the fathers of the synod of Worcester in 1240, those assembled at Exeter in 1288, and at Winchester in

* Guil. Neubrig. iii. 20.

† Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. iv. Lib. 4.

‡ Hist. de Lyons, Lib. I. 41

1308, denounced and prohibited such superstition.* That children born on the ember days were more capable of having familiarity with spirits, was another superstitious fancy, which some attempted to associate with religion.† But here, surely, the clergy were not in fault. The usage of supernatural remedies was not inconsistent with the employment of measures recommended by sober reason and exact science. Pope Stephen V., in the year 885, when locusts desolated the country about Rome, had recourse, first, to the latter offering money to whoever destroyed a certain number; and this failing, he used supernatural means, and appointed prayers and aspersions.

The zeal of the clergy in the eleventh century, against superstitious devotion, may be strikingly witnessed in the fourth book of Guibert de Nogent, De Pignoribus Sanctorum, which is entitled "De Interiori Mundo." "Pious Jesus!" he exclaims, "how many saints whose end is doubtful, and yet before I pray to one I ought to be assured of his sanctity. There are many of whom we know neither the birth, nor the life, nor the death; and although the faithful honor them for the name of sanctity, yet the priests do not judge rightly who do not censure and amend the vulgar; for the zeal which the people have towards God ought to be according to knowledge, lest they should sin through ignorance. He who ascribes to God what he never thought, as far as in him lies makes God to lie. If any one were to accuse me, a miserable mortal, of falsehood, or of doing what I did not, it would fill me with horror; and what more fatal, more desperate, more damnable, than to ascribe falsely any thing to God, the fountain of all purity?"

If this writer goes on to expose the deceitful practises of some monks, with respect to false relics, and encouraging the people to believe persons saints without just reason, it should be remembered that he himself who speaks thus is a monk, revered by his fellow monks, and an abbot venerable among abbots. Besides, it must not be forgotten that such an abuse has been carefully provided against, as by the fathers of the council of Frankfort in 794, who decreed that no new saints should be honored excepting when the authenticity of the acts of their martyrdom, or the sanctity of their lives, warranted their being judged worthy of reverence in the Church.‡ In the year 806, Charlemagne, by a capitulary, prohibited his subjects from rendering homage to any new saints without the approbation of the bishop. "Some," continues Guibert, "ascribing the greatest antiquity to their saints, desire their lives to be written in modern times. This is often sought from me; but what truth can I affirm of those whom no one ever saw? If I should say what I have heard said, and I am asked to speak in praise of these ignoble persons, both I and those who desired me to say such things would deserve to be publicly held as no longer trustworthy. The head of the Baptist is said to be at Constantinople; and again, the people of Angers sav it is with them. What can be more ridic-

* Mabillon. Præfat. in 1. Sæc. Bened. §. 9.

† Thyræus de Apparit. Spirit.

‡ Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. vi. 31.

ulous?—as if he were double-headed! If they mutually dispute about its possession, and accuse each other, they are doing not divine but diabolic works. If it be the head of another saint, still a falsehood is not a moderate evil." Finally, however, he restrains a zeal which was almost leading him too far, and says, "Some think that when relics of one saint are mistaken for those of another, the error is pernicious to the people, which is not my opinion; for when the Lord says of them, 'that they may be one as we are one'—when the whole universe of saints, under Christ their head, is as it were one body,—there is no error if the bones of one be venerated for those of another; since all are united fellow members in the body of their author. Nor do I imagine that God will refuse to hear the simple, when they invoke Him even by those that are not saints; for if they faithfully believe those to be saints who are said to be such, their prayer cannot but please God, to whom all prayer is made, even though they should have been deceived; for they who in the name of a prophet received the prophet, are to receive a prophet's reward. The illiterate, no doubt, often lie in their prayers; but God regards intentions, not words. God is not curious of grammar; no voice moves him; He looks at the heart.*

With respect to the recognized practices of devotion in the church, there seems to be no reason to doubt but that the piety of the people during ages of faith was as enlightened and as far removed from any thing like superstition, as the most cautious philosopher could desire. "Of false honor," said St. Bernard, "there is no need to the Blessed Virgin, on whom are accumulated its true titles." All exaggeration was foreign to genuine piety. Those who have studied with attention the spirit and manners of the Catholic society in any age will feel perfectly satisfied on this head: non enim philosophi solum verum etiam majores nostri superstitionem à religione separaverant. Cowley, relating a vision which he had, says, "that he fortified himself privately with the sign of the cross;" adding, "not out of any superstition to the sign, but as a recognition of his baptism in Christ."† The distinction only shows that he had been conversant not with Catholics, but with those who misrepresented and ridiculed their faith.

Of other popular opinions in the middle ages, generally classed under the head of superstition, a thoughtful observer will probably be disposed to take a different view, and to conclude that they admit of being transferred to different ground, and otherwise defended. "We have seen many future things truly predicted by just men on their death beds," says Guibert de Nogent, in the very work in which he combats superstition.‡ William of Paris, in his book De Virtutibus, says, "you should know that the gift of intelligence is of such brightness and intensity in some men, that it very much resembles the spirit of prophecy, such as some persons believed to have been in the abbot Joachim, though he himself is said to have said of

* De Pignoribus Sanct. Lib. i. c. 4.

† A Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell.

‡ De Pig. Sanct. Lib. i. c. 2

himself, that there was not given to him the spirit of prophecy, but the spirit of intelligence." "Consider, if you can," says Richard of St. Victor, "how much the thought of future things avails with God, which is so often divinely rewarded by a revelation of the future. Hear a man solicitous for the future, and occupied with its interests: Nunquid in æternum projiciet Deus et non apponet ut complacitior sit adhuc? Aut in finem misericordiam suam abscindet à generatione in generationem? Hear the same man taught of the same, and profoundly illuminated in the things about which he inquired: Miserator et misericors Dominus, longanimis et multum misericors, non in perpetuum irascetur neque in æternum comminabitur."* Truly there is satisfactory evidence to prove that the prophetic spirit was not wanting in ages of faith.†

The Blessed Hugo de Dina predicted the destruction of the Templars long before that event took place, after they had been 184 years gloriously militant. Being at Marseilles in 1278, these knights showed him their long and beautiful refectory, which he curiously sought to measure twice or thrice, and upon their asking him what he thought of it, he replied, that it would be an excellent stable. They took umbrage at his reply; but the event verified his words, when under Clement V. their institute was destroyed, and Robert, king of Sicily, coming to Marseilles, converted it into a stable. This is he who is buried honorably with the Minors in that city, or who after death shone with miracles.‡ St. Liudger foretold, that after his death the Normans would come down and destroy the churches, and lay waste the country, but that the time of mercy would afterwards arrive.§ That the curiosity of vain men should have been strongly excited by the report of such things, was a natural consequence; and hence many wild legends became current, such as this, which, Orderic Vitalis tells us, the Norman princes used to relate. In the time of Rollo, they used to say, a certain mysterious stranger was received to hospitality by a knight into his hotel at Rouen. While seated in the chimney with his host, the latter began to question him about many things, and principally about Rollo, asking him, whether his race would endure long. He replied, that it would, and that his duchy would exist in vigor till the seventh generation. Upon the host then asking him, what would happen after the seventh generation, he wished to make no reply, but only began to trace furrows in the ashes of the hearth with a little piece of wood that he held in his hand. The host persisting in his attempt to draw an answer from him, as to what would happen after the seventh generation, he, with the little piece of wood which he kept ever in his hand, began to efface the furrows which he had made in the ashes: from which one thought that, after the seventh generation, he implied that the duchy would be destroyed, or suffer great tribulation, which we have seen accomplished, says the writer of the supplement to the History of Wil-

* De Erudit. Hom. Inter. Lib. i. P. 1. 19. † Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 202. ii. 209.
‡ Wadding, An. Min. vol. v. 1278. § Vita ejus Mabil. Acta, S. Ord. Ben. Sæc. iv. P. 1.

liam of Jumièges; for Henry, the late king, was the seventh of this line, and the first who possessed till his death Normandy and England. We may remark, however, that the race of prophets, which was so multiplied in countries that embraced the new opinions, ever predicting, as in London in times of calamity, the vengeance of God and the end of the world, was not allowed to abuse the people in the middle ages. An instance occurred in Germany, in the year 847, when the pretended prophetess was condemned, by the ecclesiastical authority at Mayence, to be publicly scourged.*

It is true, some of the old errors still lingered, and faith, which puts an end to them, satisfying the natural desire of the human mind, could not enter where hearts were yet unclean.

> Dark time had there its evil legend wrought
> In characters of cloud, which wither not:
> The change was like a dream to them; but soon
> They knew the glory of their altered lot,
> In the bright wisdom of youth's breathless noon,
> Sweet talk, and smiles, and sighs, all bosoms did attune.

We have before alluded to the joy diffused around the feudal hearth, when pilgrims would begin, "I will tell you now what never yet was heard in tale or song, from old or modern bard, in hall or bower." We then heard some mention of the legends respecting dead men returning to the living, of the curious anecdotes related by holy and observant men, who were in point of truth heroical. But the fact undoubtedly is, that the clean of heart beholding God, had many thoughts in common with the illiterate, which pass with men who read in books alone for fabulous: religion sanctioned, philosophy confirmed many of these wanderers' tales, founded upon a wide observation of nature, and attested by faithful witnesses; so that, as the poet says,

> ——Ever as they sailed, their minds were full
> Of love and wisdom, which would overflow
> In converse wild and sweet and wonderful.

So many and so grave are the testimonies, both heathen and Christian, to the reality of apparitions, that even the cautious Cardinal Bona says, "It is wonderful how any man of sane mind can be found to deny them, or ascribe them to a deluded imagination." The modern writers themselves observe, that "their abstract possibility must be admitted by every one who believes in a Deity and his superintending omnipotence." Let us hear a narrative fitted for rehearsal when next we pace up and down some long Gothic chamber at the twilight hour. Peter the Venerable relates a vision which he had at Rome, in the monastery of Santa Maria Nuova. William, the late Prior of Cluni, who had shortly before died, appeared to him, and spoke, in reply to the questions put to him by the ab-

* Ann. Metens. ad an. 847.

† De Discretione Spirituum, cap. xix.

bot, respecting his own happy state, the vision of God, the certainty of the Christian faith, and the cause of his own death, which he affirmed, weeping, to have been by poison: "So it was afterwards proved," he adds, "on my return to France, by the public confession of the prisoner. During all the time that this vision lasted I felt conscious that I was not sleeping, and I proposed my questions in the shortest manner possible, from supposing that he could not remain long conversing with the living. I awoke weeping."* The denunciations of the church against superstitious interpreters of dreams, were not inconsistent with the words of Dante,—

"Sleep, that bringeth oft tidings of future hap."†

The Emperor Henry III., indeed, involved himself in censures when, having had a dream respecting Hildebrand, then a young novice, which was interpreted to forebode that he would be the cause of depriving Henry's son of the crown, he cast him into prison. "He commanded," says the old chronicle, "that the clerk should be thrown into a dungeon in the castle of Hammerstein; but when the Empress often objected to the Emperor, that forgetful of his own honor, he had imprisoned a scholar on account of a vain dream, after the expiration of one year he gave orders for his deliverance, soon after which the novice became a monk."‡

What the church combatted was the superstitious curiosity. Her axiom was—

"Seek not to know what must not be reveal'd
Joys only flow where future is concealed:
Too busy man would find his sorrows more,
If, what was coming, he should know before."

She did not however teach men to reject historic testimony, in order to deny the possibility of such forewarnings. "It is not lawful for any one to doubt," says Cardinal Bona, "but that some dreams are true, and sent from God."§ Calixtus II. had a divine intimation of what awaited him, in a dream, the night before his arrival in the monastery of Cluni, where, without his suspecting the circumstance, the Pope Gelasius II. had died, and where he was himself elected to succeed him the moment after his arrival. Baptist the Mantuan, the Carmelite poet, writes to John Francis Picus of Mirandula, and says that he believes he saw John Picus his uncle, after his departure from life, in a dream which he had about break of day, and that he discoursed with him about points of philosophy: "I awoke," saith he, "and felt persuaded that I had seen something. I write this not that I yield any faith to dreams, for that is alien both from my profession and my nature, but because I cannot sufficiently admire how a sleeping man could dispute, and teach, and learn, and do what, if he had been awake, would have been impossible, or very difficult for him to have done. Truly our souls are divine, and if we

* Pet. Ven. De Miraculis, Lib. ii. cap. 25.
† Purg. xxvii.
‡ In Menken Script. Rer. Germ. tom. iii. 88.
§ De Discretione Spirituum, c. xvi.

live holily and piously, and keep ourselves free from the trammels of secular affairs, these separated spirits have great commerce with us. The death of George Merula, my condisciple, and afterwards my preceptor, affected me with sadness, but he was aged and useless for any office: the lamentable fate of those two illustrious men, Hermolaus and Politian, caused to me and to all men of letters a pang of heart, but this wound is deeper still; and in Picus, learning has had even a greater loss."*

Marsilius Ficinus, in a letter to Matthew Corseno, his fellow philosopher, gives many instances of the death of parents and friends being revealed to persons at a distance at the moment of their departure.† Celebrated was the account of the Marquis de Rambouillet, appearing, with his wound in the groin, to the Marquis de Préci, his friend, at six o'clock in the morning at Paris, the same moment that he received his death in Flanders, the next post bringing the intelligence.‡

Beyond a doubt there was much error and absurdity connected with the belief in such things, and men might have often reaped great benefit from consulting the book of Eginius Augustus Libertus, entitled "Palaphatus de non credendis Fabulis:" we should not then perhaps have heard so much of Hugue-the-Corps, so called from his cadaverous figure, who strangled Milon de Montlhéry, his cousin, for the sake of his riches, and afterwards became a monk; who it was thought used, after his death, to be seen by night in the forest of St. Germain. This is silly, sooth; and who could enumerate all the romantic marvels which were associated in young heads during days of chivalry, with the forest of Broceliande alone? Such wild tales as Pliny mentions, and Olaus the Great relates of northern seas may be ascribed rather to the want of sufficient observation, than to a positive superstition. Others must be traced to the barbarous legends of the Scandinavian tribes; as when we read of the castle of King Hrothgar being nightly visited after supper by the horrible Grendel, silent, joyless fiend, who comes from the morasses of the mountains, and enters the hall, seizes the sleeping warriors and devours their feet and hands, whom Beowulf overcomes; when the mother of Grendel comes there, eager to revenge her son's defeat, stalks at midnight into the court to glut herself with victims, but is put to flight by the knights: when afterwards the two demons used to be seen roaming over the moors, howling like wolves, their abode being deep in the dark waters stagnant there. Others again may be ascribed to some optical deception or atmospheric effect. Baptist Fulgosus, Duke of Genoa, relates in the first book of his acts of great persons, that in the court of Matthieu Visconti, of Milan, there was seen, one evening after sunset, a knight armed cap-a-pie, whom many persons watched in great astonishment during the space of an hour till it vanished; when soon after died the Emperor Henry VII., who was the great friend of that family.

At the same time, that men were not "all-believing," as some now report them,

* Epist. Lib. ii. † Mars. Ficin. Epist. Lib. i. ‡ Le Brun, tom. iv. 367.

may be witnessed in the judicious remarks of the monk Taillepied, in his treatise on the apparition of spirits.* If the author of the essay on the manners and spirit of nations evinced ignorance in affirming, as a critical observer, that the history of the middle ages contained nothing but barbarism, he did not err less when, wishing to admire it as a poet, he composed those verses, so often cited, which describe the pleasure of believing in fairies, of hearing chaplains relate tales of ghosts, and of enjoying what he terms the advantages of error. The spirit of scrutiny was quite as much alive then, as now, with regard to such things; and at the chimney corner, on a winter's night, the page, as well as the castellan, while listening to the palmer's tale, would turn a deaf ear to the dreams of decrepitude, and that too on the principle expressed by Æschylus, *δείσασα γὰρ γραῦς οὐδέν.*†

Torquemada relates many curious examples of terrific tales arising out of trivial circumstances: "Only a short time ago," he says, "at this very place where we are, a certain woman, desiring to rise very early about some affairs, and not finding any fire under the ashes, though she had carefully covered it the evening before, sent her servant out with a candle desiring her to light it; but the servant, going from house to house, no where found any fire, it being still three hours before day; but at length she perceived a lamp burning in a church; she called to the sacristan, who was sleeping within, and he awoke and lighted her candle. The mistress, tired of waiting, had taken another candle, and had found a fire in another house, and she came out with her light just as her servant was returning with her light, and they were both in white: now a neighbor having risen, and looking out with eyes hardly open, and seeing them thus coming out, he thought they were phantoms; so that the next day there went a rumor that there had been a procession of spirits that night round the church. However, upon close inquiry, I found that the truth was what I have now stated."‡

He relates another instance arising out of the solemn burial of a noble knight in a certain monastery of Spain; when a poor idiot, having strayed into the church, and remained after the doors were closed, took shelter from the cold under the great velvet pall which covered the coffin. The monks coming into the choir to sing matins, the idiot awoke and made a noise, which troubled the religious men, who, however, continued to sing their matins, and then retired. The rumor of what had been heard spread far and wide, every one adding something, till at length the poor idiot disclosed what she had done, to the great amusement of all the world." However, some of his tales are left in all the obscurity that any one who loves the wonderful could desire. "A remarkable instance occurred," he says, "about thirty years ago at a place two leagues from here, Fontaines de Rossel, where was a gentleman of great authority named Anthony Costillo; and I can bear witness that he was one of the most stout and courageous men in all this country, for I have seen him in great dangers, from which he delivered him-

* Rouen, 1600. † Eumenid. 38. ‡ Hexameron. iii

self valiantly : but as he was a man who would not suffer any one to do him an injury, he had some that wished him no good, so that he was generally on his guard. Now it happened one day, that he went out of his house well mounted and carrying a lance in his hand, and so he rode to another village called Villanuova, where he transacted certain affairs till it was nightfall, and it became very dark, and then he prepared to return to his house; but on going out of the village there was a little hermitage, and a chapel with a lattice of wood before and a lamp burning within, and it seemed to Anthony Costillo that he ought not to pass on without saying a prayer, so he pulled his rein and began to perform his devotions, remaining on horseback ; but as he looked into the chapel there seemed to him to be a certain phantom ready to advance towards him, so that, being afraid, he turned his bridle and began to ride away, but the phantom seemed to have got before him : he commended himself to God and turned back, but it was still before him ; he pushed forward with his lance extended against it, but he only struck the air ; if he hastened it hastened, if he stopped it stopped. In this manner he had it for a companion till he reached his house, before which there was a great court, and when he alighted and opened the first gate, he saw it still before him in the court ; and when he came to the door and called out, and was let in, it vanished. But he remained greatly troubled, so that his wife supposed his enemies had done him some injury ; and as he would not inform her what had happened, she sent for a great friend that he had, a man of authority and a learned man, who came immediately, and found him greatly changed and like dead, to whom Costillo related what had happened, and the other comforted him and persuaded him to banish the recollection of it ; but on his departure, and on being left alone, the same terror again seized him, and so he continued until the seventh day, when he died." Now, says one of the hearers, " if there had been some physician near him, he would have shown that it all proceeded from a melancholy humor which made him fancy that he really saw what in fact had no existence." " A° for me," replies another, " I should rather ascribe it to the operation of the devil, and to the hidden judgments of God."*

In the Roman de Rou, a different spirit is ascribed to Richard the good Duke of Normandy, and the two tales placed thus, side by side, are remarkable as illustrating the difference between the clean of heart and the impure, on occasions of such visions. " By night wandered Richard," says the legend, " as well as by day ; and from his strolling so much by night, people said that he could see as well in the dark as other men in the light. This custom he had in his wanderings, when he came to any church or monastery, he would, if he might, enter to pray ; and if he might not, he would pray outside. One night, as he was riding thoughtfully along, he passed by a church, and wishing to pray to God in it, he tied his horse outside ; within he found a corpse on a bier, yet close to the bier he passed,

* Torquemada, Hexameron, trad. d'Espag.

threw his gloves on a desk, and knelt before the altar; which gloves he forgot on coming away. The earth he kissed while he prayed. He thought the corpse moved; he turned round to look on it; 'Lie still,' said he, 'and move not. Be thou a good thing or a bad, rest thee in peace, I say.' Then signing himself, he said, 'Per hoc signum sanctæ crucis libera me de malignis Domine Deus salutis.' Then rising to go out, he repeated, 'Lord, into thy hands I commend my spirit.' But lo! a demon seemed to oppose himself: Richard, however, lifted his sword and smote the figure, and came out to his horse, when he discovered that he had forgotten to take up his gloves: then returned he to the church and took them. Few the men I think would have entered the church a second time! After this, he gave orders, that no corpse should be left alone till it was buried."

Religion thus dispelled all vain terrors; so that Dante borrowed from the common speech of men, in making that reply—

> "I will instruct thee briefly why no dread
> Hinders my entrance here. Those things alone
> Are to be feared whence evil may proceed;
> None else, for none are terrible beside."*

But the middle ages were conversant with stranger themes than any such wild legends as these. "I know it to be true," says St. Vincentia, "that a soul may return, for I had been defamed by a certain detractor, and he came, after death, and sought my pardon."† The sister of St. Thomas of Aquin, abbess of St. Mary at Capua, appeared to him after her death and told him of her state in heaven, and of the condition of his two brothers, Andulph being still in purgatory and Raynald already in paradise. Again, one night as the Angelic Doctor prayed in the church of St. Dominic at Naples, Father Romain, to whom he had ceded the chair of theology at Pairs, appeared to him before the other had heard of his death, and told him that he was amongst the blessed, and answered many questions of St. Thomas; and to his query respecting heaven, replied, "Sicut audivimus sic vidimus."

Trithemius, in his chronicle of Hirschau, relates the following occurrence which took place in 1321. "Godfrid was a dyer in the town of Bruchsall, in the diocese of Spires, a frequenter of drinking houses, and a singer of light songs, scurrilous, addicted to cups and tables, gesticulations and rhythmes, and one who never thought about saving his soul. Falling sick, he had great remorse and profound sorrow; so he sent for a priest, to whom he made a devout confession, received the communion, promising aloud to do penance if God should spare him. Relapsing into silence about an hour after, he seemed to expire—this was about seven o'clock in the evening, on the twenty-fifth of May. As the night was advancing, they would not bury him till the next day; so during that night the neighbors assembled and sat round his body, which was placed on a bier, and talked variously

* Hell. ii.

† Drexel. de Vitiis Linguæ, cap. xvi.

about the fate of his soul. At two o'clock in the morning he sat up, and said, 'O God, how just and hidden are thy judgments! Blessed be thy name, who hath been merciful to me penitent.'"

"All in an instant fled; some through the window, as the door was too small, others over the people's heads, in short, as they could. Godfrid rose, went into the garden, and knelt down, where he was found still kneeling at sunrise. The crowds gathered round, and the priest, who had heard his confession, came and said, 'Godfrid, how is it with you?' but he, making the cross on his mouth, said, 'O wehe! O wehe!' and thus groaning, walked to the church and entered, followed by the priest and all the people. There he fell prone on the pavement before the altar, with arms extended in a cross, and remained two hours. Then rising up, he said to the priest, 'Lord, what doth this people want?' 'They wish to know,' replied the priest, 'whether you were really dead, or where you were, or how you have come back to life.' To whom he replied, 'there is a time for speaking, and a time for silence: let them go home, for they will hear nothing from me at present.' So saying, he prostrated himself again on the earth. The people, by the priest's order, left the church, all but four of the chief inhabitants with three priests: and when the crowd was gone, the priest charged Godfrid on obedience to speak. 'O good men of God!' cried he, 'if I had one hundred mouths and as many tongues, I could not relate the one-thousandth part of what I have seen and heard since with those below. Yea, I was dead, and for penitence, by God's mercy, permitted to return to the body. After my soul, with incredible pressure and grief, had gone out, I was presented at the divine judgment, though how or by whom I know not. So full of sadness was I, that the whole world could not contain or understand it. All the sins of my life, to the very least, were clear and open before me. O good God, what confusion, what immense calamity encompassed me! I cannot say, nor, without unutterable horror of heart, think of it; neither can I relate what was said to me by the judge, and the surrounding angels, and the demons, for it was ineffable. In a moment I was in the place of eternal and of temporal punishment, where I saw more souls tormented than I thought could ever have existed from the beginning, or could ever exist till the end, yet I knew and understood who every one was. I saw souls in hell of whose salvation no one in this life ever doubted; and I saw souls in purgatory, reserved for salvation, whom the judgment of men had pronounced to be unquestionably in hell. Think not that the disposition, quality, and mode of punishment bore any resemblance to what painters and preachers represent: I felt that these torments could never be expressed by signs or tongues of men, for they are quite beyond what the human intelligence can conceive; so that our description of them, compared to reality, seemed like children's play. O! I would rather weep now than speak, only that you command me on obedience to speak. O, misery of all miseries! far surpassing all thought; how horribly and unutterably are to be dreaded the torments of eternal woe! for the perpetual fire of hell lasts,

in the soul, which is always agitated with a fury inconceivable, always desolated with a terrific sadness, always associated with restless demons, without hope, without consolation, without any respite—only every thing is seen, and heard, and felt spiritually, and not as we figure it. There are various places of purifying flame, daily some are liberated, daily others arrive, all have the certain hope of deliverance, though the hour is not known. Much availeth the suffrages made in the charity of God, and the pure fasts in the love of Christ, and the immolations of the Lord's body and blood in the church. At the moment of my presentation such a crowd of souls came from the world to be judged, that it seemed as if the whole human race had died with me: and lo! all of them save twelve heard the sentence of the reprobate! of these twelve, one was a friar of the rule of St. Francis, the other a poor beggar and leper, and these two passed straight to heaven, and the other ten had to pass first through purgatory. Lo! all that I have said is still only uttered in the way of similitudes, for I saw nothing with my carnal eyes, but remote from all senses, without a voice or any similitude, in a moment I spiritually saw and heard all. And now, lord, that I have obeyed you, and spoken, spare me and yourself from henceforth, for I will speak of it no more to you or to any one. Endeavor to lead the people to repent, and preach to them what you think useful."

"From that time, Godfrid lived twelve years in such austerity of life, that no one could doubt but that he had seen greater than what he said. No one ever after saw him smile, or joyous, or sleeping or idle; no word useless or idle ever passed his lips more; no one saw him angry, or impatient, or heard him murmur against any one, or speak evil of those by whom he was injured, and they were many; winter and summer he went barefoot, in one grey vest always clad; he never shaved his beard, he daily fasted save on Sunday, neither ate fish nor flesh, nor tasted wine; injured or derided, always was he silent, and, however injured, never did he change his countenance. With the labor of his hands he supported his wife and children; he was always employed, constantly in prayer; he slept four hours at night; daily before the crucifix he knelt and gave himself stripes, seven times he repeated the Pater, and seven times kissed the earth in form of a cross; he often confessed, and daily heard mass. On feast days, he either prayed alone in his chamber with the door shut, or withdrawing into a neighboring grove he walked alone with God. He slept on the naked ground and had a stone for his pillow; and so lived till his death, when he was buried in the parish church before the altar of St. George."* For such a soul terror, perhaps, was the only medicine.

A similar vision was granted to Wettin, a monk of Reichenau, on Sunday the 29th of October, in the year 824. This was written down by Hetto on tablets from the mouth of Wettin. The following year Walafried Strabo, who was of

* Ad an. 1321.

the same monastery, verified the relation in a Latin poem, and not only Germany, but the Christian world, immediately received the vision as genuine.* "Here," says a recent historian, "there is no room for incredulity. If the vision of Wettin be rejected, so may every other fact of history."

But it is time to bring this chapter to an end, and return to observe the blessed clean of heart, in their enjoyment of the sight of God.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE observation of the visible world was not the only study subservient to the ultimate object of the pure. Indeed, this was but an elementary step in their progress to the highest illumination, and even the next left them at an immeasurable distance from the clearer vision to which they subsequently attained. Having shown that the ancient Catholic society evinced an inherent antipathy to paganism, and that it possessed a philosophy complete in itself, we may naturally be called upon to account for a fact which seems to rise in contradiction to such views, and to explain upon what ground so much importance was attached to the study of the ancient philosophy. With what diligence the holy fathers had studied the writings of the ancients, has been already shown. St. Augustin spoke in terms of such admiration of the Pythagorean wisdom, that afterwards in his retractions, he was obliged to qualify it, lest, as he says, it might be thought that he supposed Pythagoras to have erred in nothing whereas he did in many and capital points. It is true we find a distinction sometimes made between the studies becoming youth and age. Thus Lanfranc being asked to solve certain profane questions, replied to Domnoald, "to solve these questions of secular letters, is not the business of a bishop; formerly, indeed, we spent our youthful years in such studies, but assuming the pastoral care we determined to renounce them." However, as Mabillon observes, the examples of Gregory Nazianzen, Basil, and other holy bishops of the early church, will prove, that it was of immemorial usage for the holy doctors to be learned in the writings of the Gentiles.†

Such then was the fact, but the difficulty arising from it is soon removed; for to account for their fervor in studies of that kind, we have only to observe that

* Mabil. Acta. san. Ord. S. Bened. tom. v.

† Præf. in III. Sæcul. Benedic.

the stores of pagan erudition imparted to their eyes, in a certain manner, the sight of God, since that ancient philosophy enabled them to confirm religion by the testimony of human reason, and to behold divine truth in the great original traditions of the human race. In the middle ages, it is true, the study of heathen philosophy seemed less necessary than in primitive times; for, even in the fifth century, the pagan superstition was so fallen, that some Christian writers thought it useless to argue any longer against it, but others, amongst whom appeared the monk Evagrus, maintained that it was still highly important to treat on it, in the way of contrast with the holiness and simplicity of our religion.*

Touron says, "that St. Thomas studied the pagan philosophers, in order to refute those weak minds, which thought a thing might be true according to faith, and not true according to the philosophers; and that he only sought to show that even these philosophers confirmed faith, since of truth might be said, 'tuum erat ubicumque erat.'" Plato, that sweet and wondrous stranger, as a French Theologian styles him, was introduced into the Christian school, as a witness the most renowned and admirable of the ancient philosophy; Aristotle was found useful, because all that had been saved from the wreck of human science was contained in his books, and that he had treated on most subjects of thought with method and perspicuity. The Christian schools, therefore, laid hold of the Stagyrite, as after the deluge one would have taken possession of whatever monuments had escaped the waters. "It is well to collect every thing good," says Clement of Alexandria, "from the Greeks and Barbarians."† Such, too, was the maxim of the middle ages. "If it should happen sometimes," says Alanus de Insulis, "that you are transferred from the books of theology to those of the earthly philosophy, you should look at them in passing, and observe whether you cannot find something to edify manners, which is agreeable to the Catholic faith, that the Hebrews may be enriched with the spoils of Egypt, that gold from the Egyptians may be applied to the construction of the tabernacle, and wood to the building of the temple." "Sic tamen transire debemus," he adds, "in aliena castra, ut simus exploratores et peregrini, non incolæ."

Hugo of St. Victor, on the same ground, accepts the service of the heathen writers. "How many monuments of excellent genius," saith he, "have they left, where the secrets of nature and occult properties of things are investigated! We read of arts, and study, and discipline, and many precepts of reason, which they discovered with the faculties given to them, and transmitted in writings to their posterity—logic, ethics, mathematics, physics, on the form of reasoning, and of life and manners, on the disposition and order, and causes, and progress of all things; and they were able on this side to apprehend truth, because, by them, who were not the children of life, was to be administered that truth which was not

* Ap. Dacher. Spicileg. tom. x. 3. † Stromat. Lib. I. 9

‡ Alani de Ins. Sum. de Arte Prædicat. cap. 36.

to life. Therefore, was it given to them for our sakes, for whom the consummation was reserved, that they should find that truth which it was necessary the children of life should receive for the service of the highest truth."*

The inconstancy respecting the reception or rejection of the books of the Stagyrite, in the university of Paris, concerning which Launois wrote a book, entitled on the Various Fortunes of Aristotle, only shows the unwillingness of that body to admit the study of philosophy, as forming a distinct faculty from that of arts.† His fate had been settled from the first ; since, as St. Thomas observes, " faith had for ever determined the metaphysical question ; but as a logician, it was clear he might be received, and those who merely employed him for that purpose were never reprobated."‡ It was in this latter capacity that his writings exercised such an influence during the middle ages, and, besides, as Staudenmaier remarks, " he was regarded as an authority, for having shown that every science rests upon three things, on principles, definitions, and demonstrations, or syllogism."§ The same observation was made by Francis Picus of Mirandula, in his work on the Study of Divine and Human Philosophy, in which he shows the utility that may be drawn to the Church from the study of the Gentile writers. " Alluding to its love for Aristotle," he says, " nor does the theology of the university of Paris seem to me to be any thing but a certain mixture of divine doctrines, developed or confirmed by natural reasons ; a beautiful and honorable mode of combating the adversary, using thus his own weapons to conquer him. For it is an admirable thing to show to the impious, that the nature itself which they say they follow demonstrates to us that we should acknowledge and honor the Creator, casting off all superstitions, while nourishing and holding fast the true religion."‖

Already, therefore, we can perceive how the study of the ancient philosophy was made by the clean of heart subservient to the purposes of that vision, in which their eternal happiness was to consist. But another manner of pursuing those studies, still more conducive to the same end, consisted in the exercise of discovering from them the great original traditions of the human race, which perpetuated in some degree the remembrances of the first divine revelation. It is remarkable that the wisest of the ancient philosophers themselves recognized this object as the most important of all in philosophic pursuits. Pindar constantly appeals for his authority to the old traditions of men.¶ Socrates ascribes to them all that he knows : " It is clear to me," he says, " that I must have heard this from some of the ancients, for that I have not known it from myself I am convinced, being assured of my own ignorance. It must have been poured into me as if from a vessel, though I have forgotten how and by whom."** Let us advance in this discourse," says Critias, " invoking above all the Gods Memory, since to her we

* Hug. St. Vict. Comment. in Cœlest. Dion. Hierarch. Lib. i. c. 1. † Keuffel, Hist. Schol.
‡ Berthier, Discours sur les Etudes aux Siècles, XII. XIII. XIV. and XV. § John Scot, &c. 463.
‖ Joan. F. Pius Mirand. de Studio Divinæ et Hum. Philosophiæ, Lib. 13.
¶ Olymp. vii. ** Plato, Phædrus.

must trust for the greatest things, and the whole of this argument, for it is by remembering and recording the things which were delivered by the priests, and which were transmitted to us by Solon, that we shall fulfil what is now required of us."* Plato even thinks that men are preserved from the greatest crimes by the influence of such traditions, conveyed by general language and by poets. All his provision for the virtue of a state is in prescribing that the government should take energetic measures to preserve uncorrupted the ancient maxims and traditionary wisdom of men, so that neither poets nor actors in theatres, should ever dare to contradict them.†

Cicero, in arguing to prove the immortality of the soul, speaks of the necessity in the first instance of searching into the doctrines of antiquity, of those ancients whom Ennius calls Cascos, who all held that the soul was immortal; and he appeals also to the pontifical law and ceremonies, which rest upon the same conclusion. He believes souls to be immortal, on the ground that all nations agreed in believing it; "for whatever they held with one consent, is to be considered," he says, "the law of nature."‡ He pays no regard to what single voices may utter, but to what is perpetual and constant.§

"Above all things," Quinctilian says, "it is proper to know and keep ever in mind the sayings and deeds of the ancients;" and, indeed, "though," as St. Clement of Alexandria says, "the self-conceit of the Greeks proclaimed certain men to be masters," and though Aristotle says, "that the first philosophy on all points did but lisp like a child,"‖ it would have puzzled them to point out any eminent sage who did not owe his most important knowledge to a primitive universal tradition. The most ancient philosophers known, Zoroaster, Confucius, Thales, and Pythagoras, did not appear earlier than five or six hundred years before Christ, and certainly they conferred no light which had not before them been imparted by those sublime traditions concerning God and the creation of the world, which existed among the ancient Etrurians,¶ and in all other parts of the world, as was observed by the holy fathers, who collected so many of them in their writings,** deducing them from those Hebrews, who alone, according to an ancient oracle, possessed wisdom.

Many of the fathers, and especially the Greek, considered philosophy and religion as having emanated from one common source. Justin Martyr thought that the former was an internal revelation, by the λόγος,†† Clemens and others, that it had been borrowed from the Jewish Scriptures,‡‡ St. Augustin, thas it was an oral tradition.‡‡ Tertullian, however, says, "that there are many noble and beautiful passages in the writings of the Gentile philosophers which were suggested to them as if by natural light and common sense."§§

* Critias. † De Legibus, Lib. viii. ‡ Tuscul. Lib. i. § V. 10.
‖ Metaphys. Lib. i. c. 4. ¶ Seneca Quæst. Nat. ii. 45. Suidas in Voce Tyrrhena.
** Clem. Alex. Protrept. vi. Stromat. v. 14. vi. c. 6. †† Apol. ii. 50. ‡‡ Strom. i. vi. 5.
§§ De. Civit. Dei, viii. 2 ‖‖ De Anima.

"Although the Greek philosophy," says St. Clement, "does not attain the fulness of truth, still it prepares the way to the most kingly discipline, in a certain manner inspiring temperance, and typifying, as it were in bas relief, the manner of studying truth."* In another place he says, "The Greek philosophy is like a torch, which men light when the sun goes down. But when the word arose, the holy light shone forth, and the torch was useless."† "Paul, in his Epistles," he continues, "does not seem to condemn philosophy, but only him, who, having attained the true gnostic height, should afterwards recede again to the Greek philosophy, the rudiments of the world, which served but as a preliminary instruction to truth. The wisdom of this world, which he condemns, is the wisdom of loving pleasure—loving itself, which teaches nothing but the things of this world."‡ They who say that philosophy comes from the devil, should remember what the Scripture saith, "that the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light." What doing? clearly prophesying. But if he prophesy as an angel of light, then he must speak truth. If he speak angelic and luminous things, then these are useful things. But in a Catholic sense all things necessary and useful to life come to us from God, and philosophy was as a domestic testament to the Greeks, to prepare them for truth.§ "Accordingly," he observes of these philosophers, "not a few are now passed to truth."‖ St. Jerome, in his catalogue, mentions that many of the early Christian writers preserved even their garb of philosophers. "We need not, therefore, foolishly stop out ears against the Greek philosophy," concludes St. Clement, as if against syrens, "supposing that we can never return if we but hear it, for the earth is the Lord's and the fulness thereof; but waiting awhile, and taking from it what may be useful, we should then depart home to the true philosophy."¶

St. Irenæus says, "It was necessary that truth should receive the testimony of all, that it should be a judgment of salvation to those who believed, and of condemnation to the incredulous, in order that all might be judged with justice."** In the Gentile philosophy, therefore, he sees a testimony to the Father and to the Son before he was born of Mary. The ancient fathers discerned in Pythagoras and Plato the philosophy of the holy Scriptures.†† Tertullian, speaking of the philosophy of Seneca, styles him Seneca sæpe noster.‡‡

"Take the Greek books," says St. Clement of Alexandria, and read the Sibyl, and see how clearly is taught one God. Read Hystapes, and you will find the history of the Son of God predicted."§§ Lactantius inserted in his work the prophecies of the Erythræan or Cumæan Sibyl, reckoning her among those who must pertain to the city of God; and St. Augustin shows, that there were many

* Stromat. i. 16. † Id. v. 5. ‡ Id. vi. 8. § Id. v. 8. ‖ VI. 18. ¶ VI. ii

** Adv. Hær. Lib. iv. c. 14.

†† S. Clem. Alex. Admon. ad Gentes. Tertull. Apolog. S. Cyril. Alexand. Cont. Jul. 1. Theodoret. Serm. I. ad Græc. Euseb. Lib. xi. xii xiii. S. Ambros. in Ps. cxviii.

‡‡ De Anima, 20. §§ Stromat. vi. 6.

Gentiles who predicted Christ.* The latter, indeed, proves, that what is called the Christian religion existed from the beginning of the human race.† St. Prosper says, that the ancient just were already Christians, because they lived in the faith which was to be revealed ;‡ and St. Agobard says, that we believe not only all the holy patriarchs but many of the Gentiles to have been anointed with an invisible chrism, and made members of Christ.§ This opinion was taught by all the ancient doctors of the Church,‖ and commentated upon by all the scholastic theologians.¶ Hugo of St. Victor expressly says, "the Gentile philosophers do not seem to have attained to the knowledge of the unity and trinity of God without the assistance of grace."** It was in consequence of discerning so much of the eternal wisdom in the works of the ancients, that the schoolmen attached so much importance to them ; and it should be observed, that the Catholic philosophers of a later age, who followed in their footsteps, ascribed their affection for them to the same cause ; they saw God in all things. "I have studied the cabalistic books of the Hebrews with great labor," says John Picus of Mirandula, "books which the Jews will not permit any one under forty years of age to touch. I call God to witness that I have seen in them not so much the Mosaic as the Christian religion. There I have found the mystery of the Trinity, the incarnation of the Word, the divinity of the Messiah, original sin, the expiation of Christ, the heavenly Jerusalem, the fall of the demons, purgatory, and hell. As for the Pythagorean philosophy, hear only Plato, whose decrees are so like the Christian faith, that our Augustin returned immense thanks to God for having placed in his hands the books of the Platonicians."†† So then, whether we consider the study of the heathen philosophy by the holy fathers, by the schoolmen, or by the later Catholic philosophers, who sought to receive a more decided taste for that ancient literature, we find that, during ages of faith, it was always conducted in a purely Christian spirit and subserviency to the great aim of magnifying and beholding God. It has been remarked, indeed, by modern philosophers, that the main object of Charlemagne, as that of the middle ages generally, in promoting classical learning, was neither more nor less than the propagation of the Christian religion.‡‡ Accordingly we find, that there was not then that exclusive study of the ancient and modern writers in succession only and rarely, or never together, or with light recipro-

* De Civ. Dei, xviii. 23. 47.

† St. August. Retract. Lib. i. c. 13. n. 3.

‡ In Ps. civ.

§ S. Agobard, Lib. adv. Fredegisum, 20.

‖ St. Epiph. Hæres. 66. Euseb. Hist. 1. c. 4. Origen in Epist. ad Rom. Lib. ii. c. 3. S. Cyprian, Epist, 73. S. Hilar. de Trinitat. Lib. v. S. Jerome, Lib. Comen. in Epist. ad Galat, c. 2. Theodoret in Epist. ad Rom. S. Fulgence, Lib. de Incarn. c. 17. S. Gregor the Great in Ezechiel. Lib. ii. hom. 17. S. Augustin, Epist. 157. ad Optat. et Lib. ix. cont. Faust.

¶ Vide S. Thomas, SS. quæst. ii. art. 7. Hugues de St. Victor, Lib. i. de Sacr. part 10. c. 4. the Master of the Sentences in iii. distinct. 10. who cites others : and Suarez de Fide, disp. 11. § 6.

** Quæst. cric. Epist. ad Rom.

†† De. Hominum Dignitate.

‡‡ Geshichte der Class. Litterat. im Mittelalter, 127.

cally reflected; which, as a distinguished scholar complains, is all that can be found at present. Nor was the result of classical study the pedantic useless erudition of those condemned by Malebranche, who quote an infinity of authors to show what certain men believed that Aristotle believed respecting the soul's immortality; but it was a deep and holy joy to behold the consent of all nations and the anticipated testimony of human reason to the truths announced by our Redeemer. In this manner God, being thus made visible to them in works of ancient philosophy, the rest was matter of indifference; and Richard of St. Victor, the great glory of the school, boasts that it was so; citing with enthusiasm the words of Jerome, "nor doth it matter what saith Aristotle, but what saith Paul."*

With respect to the relative merit of the ancient sages, they of course had their opinion. St. Augustin,† and almost all the holy fathers, prefer Plato to the Stagyrite. St. Thomas remarks, that in many things which pertain to philosophy, Augustin uses the opinions of Plato, not affirming but reciting.‡ The schoolmen, too, esteemed Plato in consideration of his piety, of his depth, and of that general conformity of his thoughts with the noblest sentiments of nature, which made a later philosopher remark, that on many points he was a Platonician before he knew there had ever been a Plato in the world. Hence that Platonic savor which so much delighted Marsilius Ficinus, in the writings of Henry of Ghent and of Duns Scotus.§ St. Thomas, indeed, makes more use of Aristotle, but he only preferred him in his capacity of logician. For neither, however, was there, during the middle ages, that exclusive admiration and reverence with which modern historians pretend they were regarded. Melchior Canus shows on how many points Aristotle erred against the truth of the Scriptures, for he erred in his Treatise on Dreams, denying that God ever sends a dream, in his Treatise on Good Fortune, where he argues against a Providence, from the visible disorder in the moral world, in his book De Cœlo, where he would lead us to conclude that the rational soul was either obnoxious to corruption, or that it was eternal and uncreated, in the fifth and twelfth books of his Metaphysics, where he defines God to be a perpetual and the best animal, and again, at another time, where he calls him a mind, or the heaven itself, in the same book, where he ascribes an infinite virtue to intellectual substances, and again, when he seems to stigmatize, as fables to restrain the vulgar, and promote the utility of civil life, the doctrine of future rewards and punishments, and where he teaches that God disdains to occupy himself about the insignificant affairs of men.‖ True, as Staudenmaier observes, Catholicism would embrace and possess all things in one. This is what gives Christianity that universal character by which it is so distinguished, for true genius appears only in totality of genius. It was no accommodation of Plato and Aristotle still less a slavish reliance on either, when the

* Ric. S. Vict. Sermo in die Pasch. † De Civ. Dei, x. i ‡ LXXVII. art. 5.
§ Mars. Fic. Epist. Lib. ix. ‖ De Locis Theologicis, Lib. x. cap. v.

theologians of the middle age had regard to them; but it was only that love, that impulse, that spiritual necessity to view genius as one. Hence it was that they employed Aristotle to explain their scholastic points, but without suffering the old philosophy to enter into any part of the base of their structures: it is clear that the scholastics decided with freedom for themselves what views were most just, and that they did not follow blindly the opinion of any philosopher. In general it is evident, that they did not hold to any decision of Aristotle or Plato, but that they received them with various modifications, and came to adopt, at length, through necessity, as the clear product of their own reflection, a middle age philosophy. In fact, we find in the scholastics the greatest originality, and the utmost riches of thought."*

If we turn to the Catholic philosophers of a later age, who were most distinguished for an enthusiastic attachment to the ancient philosophy, we shall find that the study of pagan writers had never tainted the purity or cooled the fervor of their faith. If they would say, with the Count de Maistre, "Let us never leave a great question without having first heard Plato," they do not leave us to doubt whether they concluded with the Gospel. Marsilius Ficinus, who obtained so eminently the title of Platonist, says himself, that he has only followed the example of Augustin, and other most holy men, in respecting Plato, and in delaying in the Academy, in order to show the concord of Moses and Plato, and how the Christian dogmas are confirmed by the Socratic.†

In his letter to Picus of Mirandula, he says, "that all his desire in studying the Platonic philosophy, is to make men Christians."‡ All the desire of Ambrosius Traversari, in translating the work of Diogenes Laertius, is to show that the more we study the heathen philosophy, the more we must admire the Christian religion. Alas! how different from the language of the scholars of a later period, who, like Heinsius and Scaliger, reserved all their eloquence for pompous orations in praise of the Stoical philosophy§—all their zeal for reprobating "the hive of Loiolites,"—all their enthusiasm for admiring Casaubon's divine castigations on Athenæus! "Tuæ divinæ in Athenæum castigationes adeo me rapiunt," says the latter, "ut quam in illas incidi, ægre me ab illis revocari patiar." "There is no writer who has taught me so many or such great things as you in that divine work."‖

Indeed, the scholars of this reformed school seemed to avow that the state of things around them, which they so greatly admired, was only a return to that of the heathen world. "In the writers even of the eighth century," says one of these, "we meet with a reminiscene of the ancient philosophy, which seems an anticipation of our modern humanity. Eginhard thinks and speaks like the most virtuous man of an enlightened age: by studying the monuments of the fine Roman

* Johan. Scotus und die Wissenschaft zeiner Zeit, 1. 444. † Epist. Lib. vii. & viii.
‡ Id. Lib. xi § Heinsii. Orat. xxiv ‖ Jos. Scal. Epist. Lib. i. 58, 59.

civilization, he had divined our own."* What would that poor Ratherius, in the tenth century, who was counted, we are told, as the first amongst the Palatine philosophers, have thought of such a criterion to judge of the progress of philosophy?

What would he have thought on hearing men affirm with Heeren, that the study of heathen literature might contribute to a salutary reform of the Church, and after sixteen centuries, place theology for the first time on its true basis,† or with an English author of genius, that they lamented the ancient idolatry! "I visited the Pantheon," says a modern traveller, "and entered with a reverence approaching to superstition. I closed my eyes, and tried to persuade myself the pagan gods were in their niches, and the saints out of the question; I was vexed at coming to my senses and finding them all there—St. Andrew with his cross, and St. Agnes with her lamb; then I paced disconsolately into the portico." Where could a parallel be found to such a passage throughout the whole literature of sixteen centuries? Certainly, it is not from Catholic scholars that a descent can be traced by these men, who, with the same breath, attempt to prove the heathenism of the ancient Catholic state, and to complete their consistency, perhaps, are building heathen temples, as in Hanover, and placing upon them such an inscription as that which may be found there, "Genio Leibnitzi." The Catholic church would never lend her sanction, though only by silence, to such a spirit. She sent her scholars to behold God in the ancient monuments of human genius, but not to rebuild paganism with their ruins.

Marsilius Ficinus acknowledges, indeed, with gratitude, that if the books of Plato had not caused him to fall into some heresy, he owed his escape to the care of St. Antoninus, archbishop of Florence, for the vigilant pastor seeing the incredible ardor of the young canon for the works of this philosopher, feared that the beauty of the language might lead him astray, and therefore engaged him to suspend that reading until he had first studied the four books of St. Thomas against the Gentiles. The sermons of Savonarola, at which he was an assiduous assistant, completed the extirpation of any latent pride resulting from his love of the Platonic writings, which was contrary to the resolve of glorying alone in being a Christian.‡ The necessity for caution, indeed, was well observed all through the ages of faith,

Hence, Francis Picus of Mirandula remarks, that all Christians ought not to consult the books of the Gentiles, "for some," he says, "are so imbecile and infirm, that when they find them contradicting faith, they will hesitate; and others who guide souls to the heavenly Jerusalem cannot find time to study them."§ But when minds were truly enlightened, to glory in such studies was the same as to glory in the

* Villemain, Tableau de la Lit. au Moyen Age, i.

† Gesch. d. Class. Lit. im. Mittelalt. ii. 350.

‡ Hist des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. tom. iii. 23.

§ De Studio Divin. et Hum. Philos. Lib. i. c. 5.

Cross. Some condemned his illustrious uncle John Picus of Mirandula for his assiduous study of the ancients, objecting to all philosophy, on the ground that Adam, on account of science, was ejected from paradise, and that it is extirpated by the example of Christ. But how magnificent was the reply of that admirable young man, the pride and ornament of his age, whose name the greatest of his contemporaries pronounced with an enthusiasm, which, perhaps, was never paralleled. "Let them permit me, who am a Christian, born of Christian parents, who bear the sign of Christ on my forehead, to exclaim with Paul, I am not a Jew, not an Ishmaelite, not a heretic; but I worship Jesus Christ, and I bear the cross of Jesus in my body, by whom the world is crucified unto me and I to the world."*

"I found in my late sickness," says Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Francis Marescalcho of Ferrara, "that human writings confer nearly nothing, and that the works of Christ console more than the words of all the philosophers." To a similar conclusion we find many coming in the middle ages, who, like Hugo Metullus, writing to St. Bernard, took a pride in styling themselves "the late domestics of Aristotle, now the servants of Christ."

Truly in these illustrious lovers of wisdom, was seen verified the prediction of the holy fathers and the schoolmen, that to the pure all things are pure, and that even the philosophy of the Gentiles can reveal God. Francis of Mirandula says, "that his uncle John Picus had such an ardent love for God, that once when they were walking together in a certain orchard at Ferrara, talking on the love of Christ," he said to him in conclusion, "I will disclose a secret which is for your ear alone. As soon as I shall have finished my lucubrations, I am resolved to give all that I possess to the poor, and armed with a crucifix, barefooted I will go through towns and cities and castles, preaching Christ." "I heard afterwards," adds the nephew, "that he had resolved on entering the order of St. Dominick."† The great and learned men, who in ages of faith had Plato and Aristotle on their tongues, had no less Christ enshrined within their hearts, to receive adoration there, and undivided love and glory. The Catholic scholars of the sixteenth century united the graces of the ancient literature with the simplicity and piety of the Christian. Like Picus of Mirandula, they might be heard saying, a cock to Æsculapius the physician, at our death, which is the true recovery,‡ showing how well they had understood Plato, without leading any one to suspect that they did not die as monks or hermits die.

Hermolaus Barbarus describes the last moments of Zachariah, the legate at Venice, as follows:—"Such was his constancy that he did not once indicate the least possible sign of grief, so intrepid that he seemed about to move not from life but only from one house to another. During three days continually he spoke or heard others speak of God, of religion, of the immortality of the soul. The

* Apologia. † Vita ejus. ‡ De Hominum Dignitate.

extreme sacraments he not only did not defer receiving, but of his own accord he demanded them. All the senses of his mind and body, in which few men surpassed him, he preserved to the last. Nay, at the last he showed himself more subtle than he ever did before. He had two little images, one of Christ, and the other of the blessed Virgin, which he kept pressed to his breast, and he expired kissing them. It is inexpressible the consolation derived from witnessing such a kind—do not say of death, but of glorious resurrection, to a better life." But we must proceed to consider the other studies which imparted a vision of God to the clean of heart.

CHAPTER XV.

THE holy Scriptures, in ages when they were understood as the church interprets them, and in ages when it was thought that every reader might interpret them according to his own judgment, have exercised a very different influence upon the human character, and led to results of a very dissimilar nature in the history of mankind. At the effects caused by their diffusion during the latter period we can but occasionally glance, since they do not form part of the subject of this history. On others may devolve the task of surveying wars and disputations, and murders, which were deemed acceptable to heaven, and men who sought and found themselves in the inspired books. Our path leads us to survey the beauty of a peaceful paradise, the order and wisdom of a celestial world, and the felicity of men, who in the Scriptures, as in the book of nature, and as in the primeval records of the world, sought and beheld God. Jesus Christ wrote nothing, and it does not appear in what is written that he gave orders to his Apostles to write. There was no ground from earlier revelations to suppose that the divine light preparing for the world was to be diffused by writing; for, on the contrary, God had said by the mouth of Jeremiah, "I will write my law in their souls, and I will engrave it in their hearts." "Hence," the holy fathers say, "that the church might have dispensed with Scripture, if Christians had remained in charity and truth." "Thus," St. Chrysostom says, "our life ought to be so pure, that we should have no need of the assistance of holy Scripture, and grace alone serving us in place of all books, the law of God would be written in our heart, not with ink, but by the impression of the Holy Spirit. God has sufficiently shown us by what he has said and done, how much more happy this first state would have been than the latter. For, he spoke

to Noah, to Abraham, and to his descendants, to Job, and to Moses, not by characters and letters, but immediately by himself. In the New Testament God has retraced the conduct which he had observed in the Old, and treated the Apostles as he had treated the Patriarchs. Jesus Christ has left them nothing in writing, but instead of books, the grace of the Holy Spirit. "A man, therefore," says St. Augustin, "supported by faith, hope, and charity, and retaining them unimpaired, has no need of the Scriptures, unless in order to instruct others."* Experience proves this, for St. Irenæus testifies, that many lived by these three in solitude, without books. "Whence," he adds, "I think is fulfilled in them what is said, sive prophetiæ evacuabuntur, sive linguæ cessabunt, sive scientia destruetur." In the symbols of the Apostles and of Nice, after the words Spiritum Sanctum, follows immediately the holy Catholic Church, without any mention of the Scriptures, since men were not to believe in the Church, from believing in them, as modern philosophers suppose, but, as St. Augustin says, "to believe the Scriptures, because the Church presented them."

Paul the Apostle in many places of his letters, says, "the Church is the body of Christ, and Christ the head of the Church." "Therefore," continues Louis of Blois, "he who rebels against the Church, rebels against Christ. Si contemnitur Ecclesia, contemnitur et Christus." There is but one voice of the body and head; and the precepts of the Church are the precepts of Christ, although not expressed in the sacred Scriptures; for the authority of the Church does not depend upon the testimony of the Scriptures, but rather the authority of the Scriptures depends upon the approbation of the Church; for who would know that the Scriptures which we venerate were divine, unless the Church received them? The Holy Gospels, the Epistles, and Acts of the Apostles, were written many years after the ascension of Christ into heaven. Had the Church then no authority of making statutes, because what she might ordain was not expressed in the Scriptures? Were not men bound to believe and obey the Church, then teaching without the Scriptures of the New Testament?†

Such continued to be the convictions of men, and such predictions continued to be verified during sixteen centuries. "The simpler sort of people," says Louis of Blois, "who are men of good-will, fulfil the law; that is, they love God and their neighbor, although they may not read those divine Scriptures, many places of which are difficult to be understood."‡ Nevertheless, the abuse of sacred Scripture began in very early times, so that St. Augustin recapitulates the accumulated evidence of preceding ages, saying, "heresy springs from no other source but from good Scripture ill-understood and boldly maintained."§ Tertullian had concluded his great work against heresy with these words, "Thus have we brought to an end the question between us and heretics of every description, by certain just and

* De Doct. Christ. lib. i. c. 39.
† Ludovic, Blosius. Epist. ad Florentium.
‡ Ludov. Blos. Collyr. Hæreticorum. Lib. i. c. 3.
§ Tract. in Joan, xviii.

necessary prescriptions, drawing them away from that collation of the Scriptures to which they invite us. "With discussions from Scripture," he says elsewhere, "they fatigue the firm, capture the weak, and leave those that are between with scruples."* Not to consult Scripture, therefore, are men to be challenged, nor is the combat to be in them, where there is to be no victory, or a very uncertain victory, or what amounts to the same. Nor do I fear to say, that the Scriptures themselves are so disposed by the will of God, that they should minister materials to heretics, since I read that heresies must of necessity come, which, without the Scriptures, could not be.†

In fact, when the heretics refer us to the Scriptures, we can answer, what need to refer to Scripture, since, without its assistance, we can prove to God, that you have no right to the Scripture? The Church may say to them, who are you? Whence did you come? You Marcius, what right have you to work a mine which belongs to me? "I had a source whose waters were of the greatest beauty:" say, Valentin, "who has given you leave to come and trouble it? All this is my inheritance; you are strangers, why do you pretend to sow my land, and to feed your flocks upon my pastures? It is my heritage—I possess it since a long time—I possessed it before you—I have the titles which have been transmitted to me by those to whom it belonged. I am the heir of the Apostles—I hold it conformably to their testament—I execute what they have committed to my faith: nothing shall make me depart from this rule of conduct; but as for you, they have disinherited you; they have rejected you as strangers and as enemies."‡

The gnostic heretics, by whom such a flood of fantastic errors was let loose in the first ages, were of all men of that period the most assiduous readers of Scripture, and the most laborious in quest of texts to suit their purposes. And, if we pursued history farther, we should find that at no epoch were there wanting men to fabricate arms of iniquity from the words of truth—a fact remarked even by poets, saying,

> "————In religion
> What damned error, but some sober brow
> Will bless it, and approve it with a text,
> Hiding the grossness with fair ornament?"

The holy Scriptures, as we shall soon observe more fully, were regarded in ages of faith as that tower of David spoken of in the book of Canticles, hung round with shields for all who combated in the cause of God and his Church. "Sicut turris David—mille clypei pendent ex ea, omnis armatura fortium."§ But though intended for all, it was known that there might be times and circumstances when the pastors of the Church would find it for the good of men's souls, to supply them with the word of God exclusively, in the way of preaching, and of spiritual books of instruction. The fathers, who have so forcibly recommended the reading of the Scriptures, did not deem it right to put all its books indifferently into the

* Ap. xv. † De Præscript. ‡ Tertullian de Præscript. xxxvii. § Cant. 4.

hands of the faithful. St. Basil, in his letter to Chilon, his disciple, warns him against the danger of reading the Old Testament amiss. "Do not neglect reading," he says, "principally that of the New Testament; that of the Old may sometimes have inconveniency. I do not mean to say that the things written in it are not good, but they may cause trouble in the mind, and wound it in consequence of the weakness of those who allow themselves to be wounded. Bread is proper for nourishment, yet it is hurtful to the sick."*

"St. Jerome would not allow the book of Canticles to be read till a mature period of life;" and he says elsewhere, "that the beginning and the conclusion of the prophecy of Ezechiel were so obscure that the Jews used to forbid their being read by all under thirty years of age, and that they extended the same prohibition to the commencement of Genesis."† If we read St. Jerome's fiftieth Epistle to Paulinus, we shall find how that holy and learned man esteemed the study of the Scripture deep and difficult, and requiring a surer guide than merely a good intention. The mystic and scholastic theologians of the middle age were impressed with the same conviction. The profound and multitudinous knowledge which is required for a thorough understanding of the holy Scriptures, is shown with great judgment by Raban Maur.‡ And, in fact, all sciences and arts were then chiefly cultivated, with a view to elucidate them. Honorius of Autun, in his encyclopædical work, De Animæ Exilio et Patria, represents the soul as a pilgrim—wandering in exile, that is, in ignorance, through ten different states, which are the sciences of the trivium and quadrivium, physics, mechanics, and œconomics, to its true country, which is the holy Scripture.

Richard of St. Victor remarks that, "the Scripture often says one thing and means another."§ "Many places of Scripture," saith he, "have a vain and perverse sound in relation to history, which yet discussed mystically, speak what is right according to spiritual intelligence."‖ St. Augustin had said, "that it is with the prophetic books as with harps, in which not all parts give sound, but only the chords."¶ Thomas Haselbach, of Vienna, spent twenty-two years in explaining the first chapter of Isaiah, as Œneas Sylvius relates.** Yet, erudition was far from being considered as the most important qualification. "A learned exposition of the holy Scriptures," as Frederick Schlegel observes, "most certainly requires and presupposes a philosophic spirit, but it is not itself philosophy,"†† still less was it considered synonymous with religion. According to Catholic theologians, simple reasonings upon texts of the Bible, however solid, do never constitute the faith of any doctrine. In early times many knew the Scriptures by heart, without being considered as having made a greater proficiency in truth.

* S. Basil, Letter to Chilon, his disciple.

† S. Hieron Lib. ii. Ep. 1. Paulinum. Presbyterium.

‡ Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum, Lib. iii. c. 8.

§ De Eruditione Hom. Inter. P. i. Lib. i. ‖ Id. l. Lib. ii. 9. ¶ De Civ. Dei, xvi.

** Epist. Lib. i. 165. †† Philosophie der Sprache, 249.

"There are some," says St. Augustin, "who read them, and neglect them; they read that they may retain them; they neglect lest they should understand: to whom are to be preferred greatly, without doubt, those who retain the words less, and see their substance with the eyes of their heart."* "In later ages," Frederick Schlegel remarks, "that the study of the Bible has not prevented the northern Germans from adopting the system of rationalism," founded upon the idea of the Bible itself being also progressive, and certainly never has it been proved to conduce of necessity to the nourishment of the interior life. This result of experience explains many things.

When a certain young person came to offer herself to be received into one of St. Theresa's convents, and said that she must have permission to bring her Bible with her, we read that this holy mother and truly profound lover of wisdom, who in a pure heart was blessed with so clear a view of God on earth, replied immediately, "O, then you are not for us! We are poor ignorant sisters, who can only spin and sew. You would do much better to go elsewhere with your Bible." It is evident that the saint perceived, by her manner, that she was vain and fond of disputation. Not by such persons did the inhabitants of cloisters, in the middle ages, require to be taught reverence for the Scriptures. We read, in the annals of the Minors, that it was remarked by the senior monks of the monastery of St. Mary of the Angels at Florence, that brother Silvester, when the gospel was read, used to change his place and fall into the rear, in order to prevent any one from observing his tears and rapture at hearing the divine word.†

Undoubtedly, the believing men of yore were far from recommending the study of the Bible, exclusive and unconnected with other discipline, as a sole sufficient way of spiritual progress. "O how glorious is it," exclaims Alanus de Insulis, "to read, how fruitful is it to study, with intense fervor, the Scriptures—to inquire into the mind of God, to investigate his instructions! but every one ought to read in a triple book—in his book of creatures, that he may find God, in the book of conscience, that he may know himself, and in the books of Scripture, that he may love his neighbor."‡

Another indispensable obligation of the pastors of the church, relative to the study of the holy Scriptures, was to prevent the possibility of the people being deceived and led into error by means of false or unworthy translations of the sacred text. In transcribing the Scriptures, the Jews are so careful, that if any copy should be found deficient in a single letter, or with a single letter too much, or with a fault in one letter, it is burnt or otherwise destroyed: and was the church to be condemned for regarding with execration wilful alterations of the text, in order to establish certain opinions by means of them? From time to time new versions of the Scripture were proposed by men like Berenger, of whom Guit-

* De Doct. Christ. Lib. iv. c. 5.

† Wad Annal. Min. tom. v. Lib. xlviii.

‡ Alani de Ins. Sum. de Arte Prædicat. cap. 36.

mundus says, that he chose rather under the admiration of men to be a heretic, than to live a Catholic without exciting notice under the eyes of God. Against these, simply to relate the conduct and language of the church, is to refute the accusations of her adversaries. Pope Innocent III., after mentioning that certain societies of men and women in the diocese of Metz had lately translated into French the gospels and epistles of St. Paul, as well as other books of the holy Scripture, and adding that he wishes that they had done so prudently as well as readily, concludes in these terms:—"But, although the desire of understanding the divine Scriptures, and the study of exhortation according to them, so far from being a subject for censure, is deserving of praise, yet they appear to merit being reproved on this account—that being persons of such a description, they celebrate their occult conventicles, usurp to themselves the office of preaching, elude the simplicity of the priests, and despise the society of all those who do not adhere to themselves." To the bishop and chapter of Metz he writes, therefore, saying, "Be solicitous to investigate who was really the author of this translation, what was the intention of the translator, what is the faith of those who use it, what is the cause of their teaching, whether they venerate the apostolic see and the Catholic church, in order that we may be able to understand better what to determine."*

When we read that the holy Gregory VII., in the eleventh century, forbade the King of Bohemia to make a translation of the Scriptures into the vulgar tongue of that country, through fear lest the sacred truth should be exposed to rash interpretations—or when we observe the distrust of the Gallican church, in the sixteenth century, with respect to new versions and the use of them by the people,† we must refer, for a solution of the difficulty, to the circumstances which made such caution necessary; which cannot be known at present without studying the literary and religious history of the country at the time—an inquiry which Protestants need not disdain to institute, for their own writers have repeatedly acknowledged the danger. "Considering with myself," says Fuller, "the cause of the growth and increase of impiety and profaneness in our land, amongst others this seemeth to me not the least, viz., the late many false and erroneous impressions of the Bible;" to the rash study of which Hey, another of their divines, attributed the civil wars.

That just and accurate versions of the holy Scripture were studiously withheld from the people in the middle ages, is a modern error which has been so often exposed, and which, indeed, is so utterly unreconcilable with all the historical facts produced in the course of these books, that any consideration of it here would be superfluous. In proportion as the modern languages began to supersede the Latin, we find the zeal of holy men directed to the end of supplying versions of the Scripture. It was Hedwige, the saintly young queen of Poland, an assiduous reader

* Inn. III. Epist. Lib ii. 141, 142. † Berthier, Discours sur l'Ecrit, Sainte, Hist. tom. xviii.

of the Scriptures, so devoted to the propagation of the Catholic faith that she consented to marry one most odious to her when assured that such an alliance would greatly promote it, who caused to be made, in 1390, the first translation of the Scriptures into the Polish tongue. It was James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century, compiler of the golden legend, who translated the whole Bible into Italian.* Again, in 1471, it is Nicolas Malermius, a Camaldolese monk of St. Matthias de Muriano at Venice, who gives a new literal translation of the whole Bible into the vulgar Italian, under the title of Biblia Volgare Historiata.† The old French versions, by Guiars des Moulins, Raoul de Presles, and others, were in every library; ‡ and the whole Bible was translated into French in the reign of King Charles V.; and long before the invention of printing, versions of it were given in most of the European languages. Before the Lutheran revolution, several editions had been printed in Italy, Spain, France, Germany, Holland, and Bohemia. Although many German translations from the Vulgate had before been printed, yet in 1534 we find the project of a new edition by Luther so favorably received by the Catholics, that he said on one occasion, "Our adversaries read the Bible translated more than our people. I believe that Duke George has read it with more care than all the nobility that holds to our side. He said to some one, 'Provided this monk finish the translation of the Bible, he may depart hence when he pleases. I read the Bible much in my youth, while I was a monk.'"§ Hurter remarks the absurdity of those modern writers who repeat one after another that even the clergy were not familiar with the Bible.‖ The resolute assertions, in this respect, of Calvin,¶ of Robert and Henry Stephens,** and of Jurieu,†† constitute, certainly, an important fact to enable us to determine the credit due to such witnesses in general.

Of the labors bestowed by learned men, during ages of faith, upon studies that had for object the explanation of the sacred text, I can hardly hope to give a faint idea. I can but recall such names as Menochius, Cajetanus, Estius, Cornelius à Lapide, Calmut, De Sacy. Great commentators had preceded these: such as that profound theologian and admirable historian, in the middle of the thirteenth century, the English Dominican, Nicolas Trevet, whose father was one of the chief ministers of Henry III.; and Pierre de la Pala, of whom Sixtus of Sienna says that he read a part of his vast comment on the Scriptures in the library of the Dominicans at Lyons, and that his comment on the Psalter alone filled seven volumes.‡‡

* Touron, Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. Tom. i. Lib. 6.
† Annal. Camaldul. Lib. lxvi.
‡ Berthier, Discours sur l'Ecriture Sainte Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. xviii.
§ Michelet, Mém de Luther, tom iii. 90. ‖ Geschichte Inn. III. book xiii. p. 246.
¶ In Luc. et in Antidot. Concil. Trid.
** Pref. de sa Réponse aux Doct. de Paris : and Apolog. d'Herodot.
†† Apol. pour les Réform. t. i. 145.
‡‡ Touron. Hist. des Hom. Illust. de l'Ord. S. Dom. tom. ii. Lib. 9. 11.

To these men the moderns are indebted for many things which tend to facilitate and diffuse a knowledge of the holy Scriptures. It was Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury, so deeply versed in them, who first divided the sacred books into chapters, as they are at present.* How admirable are the comments of Albert the Great upon the Psalms! What profound views respecting the interpretations of all Scripture are furnished by the work of Hugo of St. Victor, entitled Eruditionis Didascalicæ !† How his great disciple, Richard, in his explication of some difficult passages of the apostle, casts a penetrating glance through the abyss of the Scriptures! Yet with what humility do these guides offer their assistance! "Since the divine Scripture can be variously expounded, no one," says St. Thomas, citing St. Augustin, "should so precisely adhere to any one exposition as to persist in maintaining it to be the sense of Scripture, if it can be shown by certain reason to involve an error."‡ Many things, indeed, were to be held which are not found in Scripture; but, as St. Bonaventura says, "true faith does not sound at discord with Scripture, but it agrees with it, with an assent not feigned."§

The rules of interpretation followed through the middle ages, which may be found in Mabillon's work on monastic study, were those of the early fathers. They guided men, with St. Augustin, to see the New Testament concealed in the Old, and the Old manifested in the New—to understand all that is contained in the former, as written either of Jesus Christ or for Jesus Christ,‖ and to believe that wherever the Scripture seems to order a crime or to forbid a beneficent or useful action, it is figured.¶ They preserved men from all gross conceptions of religious truth. "We read that God is angry, and that he repents; but I am indignant," continues Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remy, "to think that any ecclesiastic should be so ignorant as not to know that in all such passages the authority of the Scripture only speaks after our manner, and uses figures accommodated to our expressions."**

The importance attached to such erudition may be estimated from observing that the highest glory was to be gained by those who cultivated it. Thus St. Boniface, writing from Germany to Archbishop Eckbert in England, to request that he would send him some of the treatises lately written by the great luminary of the British church, Bede, styles him that spiritual priest and investigator of the holy Scriptures.†† Similarly, John Scot Erigena, passing over all their other acquirements, says, that besides the holy apostles, there is no one with the Greeks of greater authority in exposition of the holy Scripture than Gregory the theologian; no one with the Romans than Aurelius Augustin.‡‡ This was, in effect, the highest praise that could be thought of; for Raban Maur says that the science of the holy Scriptures is the foundation and perfection of that wisdom which should belong

* Hurter, Geshichte Inn. ii. 59.
† Lib. v. vi.
‡ P. i q. lxviii. art. 1.
§ S. Bonavent. Breviloquii. Pars. v. cap. vii.
‖ Le P. Lamy, Introduct. à l'Ecrit.
¶ S. August. de Doct. Christ. Lib. iii. 16.
** Epist. Lib. ix. 9.
†† St. Bonif. Epist. ixxxv.
‡‡ De Divis. Nat. iv. 14.

to clerks.* To transcribe them had always been a darling occupation of holy men. St. Bonaventura, who knew by heart both the Old and New Testaments, with his own hand wrote two copies of the whole Bible, which Wadding says are still extant.† The beautiful manuscript of the Gothic translation of the gospels, by Ulphilas, in the fourth century, is in the library of Upsal. The Bible written by Alcuin, and given by him to Charlemagne, contains a multitude of exquisite miniatures. Charles the Bald, who conferred inestimable benefits upon men by his love for science and learning, among other books collected many of these Bibles, which can be still met with in France, Italy, and Germany. He caused a superb copy of the gospels to be written out for the abbey of St. Denis, in letters of gold, which was afterwards given by the emperor Arnulf to the Abbot St. Emmerson at Regensburg. A similar copy he had made for the abbey of Fleuri; he set such a value on the manuscripts which he had collected with such pains and cost, that before his second journey to Italy he made an ordinance that in case of his death his rich library should be divided into three parts, one of which was to be given to his son the prince, another to the abbey of St. Denis, and a third to that of Compiegne.

Bibles were a common donation in the middle ages; and it is curious to remark how steadily the eyes of the donors were directed to God, even in the act of giving or bequeathing them. Thus it is to St. Cuthbert that William de Carileph, bishop of Durham in the eleventh century, leaves his books, the list of which begins with the Bible in two volumes, as may be seen in the mortuary of that prelate, who built the cathedral. The monastic records are full of such donations. Thus a seigneur, called Peter de Lagny, presents the abbey of St. Geneviève with a canton covered with vines, and also with a Bible.‡ In the Necrology of the same abbey it is recorded, in the twelfth century, that Master Matthew de Savigny gave the monks a very beautiful Bible and a gold ring.§ The word Bibliotheca often signified a Bible. Thus Suger, abbot of St. Denis, in founding the priory of Essone, gave to the church sacerdotal vestments, curtains of silk, two texts, the gradual of the Emperor Charles, and also Bibliotheca in two volumes, which was a Bible.‖

We have already seen many incidental testimonies to the diffusion of a love for biblical study even among the laity of the middle ages; and they who desire further proof may refer to the discourse of Berthier on the sentiments of the church with respect to the use of the holy Scriptures. Theganus says, that the Emperor Louis the Pious knew admirably the sense of all the Scriptures, both the spiritual and moral, and also anagogical sense.¶ Writing in the thirteenth century, Vincent of Beauvais says, "In our times, according to the prophecy of Daniel, I behold multiplied every where the knowledge not alone of secular letters, but also

* Rabani Mauri de Institutione Clericorum, Lib. iii. cap. 2. † Annal. Minorum, tom. iii.
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocèse de Paris, tom. vi. § Id. tom. xii. ‖ Id. tom. xi.
¶ De Gestis Ludovic. Pii, c, 19.

of the divine Scriptures, and all men, especially our brethren, assiduously employed in giving historical and mystical expositions of the sacred books, and in solving their more obscure questions."* The familiarity of the French people with the holy Scriptures could, indeed, be inferred merely from remarking their own popular sayings and forms of expression, which are conceived from so subtle an observation of Scripture, that even biblical scholars might require time for reflection before they could feel their force. Luther, while a monk, studying the Bible in the cloisters of Erfurt, came to the conclusion that the sins of the world around him arose from a want of the knowledge of the Scriptures. He burned with desire to translate them; he never considered that there had been already sixteen versions in his native tongue; well, at all events, beyond a doubt he was more eloquent than others before him. So he rushed forth, and fared as all men know: but what is worthy of remark is, the fact that in his latter years he recognized his error in having thought that all which was wanting to make men perfect was a greater distribution of Bibles. "Why should new heresies arise," saith he, "when the world has an epicurean contempt for the word of God? It is satiated with it."

Having seen the caution and judgment, the learning and ability, which men in ages of faith brought with them to the study of the holy Scriptures, it only remains to show briefly with what earnest and pathetic tenderness they encourage one another to pursue it. Let us hear St. Bonaventura:—"Among other virtues of the most holy virgin Cecilia, it is said that she always carried the gospel of Christ in her breast, which is to be understood as implying that she always meditated on the life of our Lord. This, of all spiritual exercises, is the most necessary; for it is by studying the life of our Lord Jesus that you will be instructed and strengthened to conduct your course. Hence it is that many illiterate men have been profoundly instructed in the mysteries of God. How do you suppose that the blessed Francis was able to arrive at such an excellence of virtue and of wisdom in understanding the holy Scriptures, unless by means of a familiar conversation and meditation with his Lord Jesus? Hence he ardently studied him, as if he would make his picture; and so affectionately did he seek to imitate him, that he was, as it were, transformed into him."† "I wish you were to know the New Testament by heart," says Father John de Avila, in answer to one who wrote to consult him.‡ This study was the soul of the religious state. The father abbot of La Trappe, speaking of Dom Bazile in that austere community, says that his books were the lives of the holy fathers of the desert, the conferences of Cassien, the works of St. Ephrem, of St. John Climachus, the Ascetics of St. Basil, but, above all, the holy Scriptures, which were his constant food.§ "The holy Scriptures are a garden," says St. Chrysostom, "full of the sweetest flowers—a

* Vin. Bellov. Prolog. cap. 11. † Meditationes Vitæ Christæ, Proem.
‡ Epist. lxvii. § Rélations de la Mort de quelques Rel. de l' Ab. de la Trappe. 1.

paradise always refreshed with gentle winds, and the most delightful air." "They who use them rightly," says St. Aldhelm, Bishop of Sherburn, "are like bees who disperse themselves on the wings of the morning through a garden of flowers: at one time feasting on the honied leaf of the palmy shrub, at another drinking nectar in the purple pavilion of the flower; so does the devout mind, through the odoriferous meadow of the Scriptures, fly from one beautiful object to another, and saturate itself every where with sweetness."*

"When the mind is dissipated," says St. Theresa, "we must have recourse to books in order to fix it; and I confess that the words of the Gospel are more sure to inspire me with attention than the most learned and eloquent works."—"As for me," says Petrus Cellensis, abbot of St. Remi, "I should think myself sufficiently rich in having the science of the Scriptures."† So imbued are the familiar epistles of holy men, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, with the learning of the holy Scriptures, that if the Bible had not been transmitted to us in its present form, we might collect from them the whole of its contents, as far as related to history, doctrine, and instruction of manners. The sublime and affecting manner in which the divine words of our Lord and of his apostles are introduced, as may be witnessed in the letters of Bede, St. Boniface, St. Bernard, Peter the abbot of Cluny, and a multitude of others, shows that their inmost nature had become assimilated to that heavenly food. Their precepts also were express. "Be sedulous in studying the holy Scriptures," says Winfred, in his letter to Nidhard: "quid enim, frater Christiane, à juvenibus decentius quæritur, aut quid à senibus demum sobrius possidetur quam scientia Scripturarum sacrarum."‡ St. Gregory of Tours says, that he remembers when he was a child, during the sickness of his father, having a vision one night of a person, who asked him whether he was well acquainted with a certain book of the holy Scriptures, and charged him to learn it.§ With the practice and precepts of the holy monks and hermits the wisdom of the scholastic philosophers coincided. "All truth to me is suspicious," says Richard of St. Victor, "which the authority of Scriptures doth not confirm; nor do I receive Christ in his transfiguration if Moses and Elias be not present with him."‖ "Do not in the words of God despise humility," says Hugo of St. Victor, "for by humility you are illuminated to divinity. All this seems to you like mud, and, therefore, perhaps you trample it under your feet. But hear this, 'with that mud the eyes of the blind are opened to see.'"¶ Touron observes, that St. Thomas derived his wisdom in great part from his profound meditation on the holy Scriptures, of which he would say with Jerome, Oro te inter hæc vivere, ista meditari, nihil aliud nosse, nihil quærere. "God is witness," says Savonarola, "how often while I have been preaching to the people, when I have wandered into the subtle doctrine of philosophers with words of human wisdom,

* Aldhelm de Laud. Virginitat. cap. 2.
† Pet. Cellens. Epist. Lib. iv. 2.
‡ S. Bonif. Mart. et Archiep. Epist. I.
§ S. Greg. Tur. De Gloria Confess. 42.
‖ De Præparatione Animi ad Contemplat. c. 81.
¶ Prænott. c. 5.

that I might show the depth of the sacred words to inflated minds, or to the sciolists of this world, I have perceived, from a certain impatience of my auditors, that I was less attended to not only by rude but by skilful ears; but as often as I have returned to the majestic language of the sacred page, I could discern that I excited a wondrous attention, and that all eyes were fixed upon me as if I were beheld by marble statues.* Truly we see daily that not alone the crowd of the religious, but also that numbers of the most learned and scientific men, after they have once tasted the fountain of the holy Scriptures, leave all other sciences as insipid in comparison, and thenceforth reserve themselves wholly for that study. I know at this time many who have done so."† "As the holy Scripture," says Duns Scotus, "is a certain knowledge divinely given to direct men to a supernatural end, the things that are necessary to salvation are expressly in Scripture, if obscurely in one place, clearly in another; but it is not necessary that other things, which are not necessary to salvation, should be there expressly delivered."‡ The whole school, therefore, seems to speak on this head with the tongue of Dante:—

> "——Be ye more staid,
> O Christians! not like feathers by each wind
> Removable. Either Testament,
> The Old and New, is yours; and for your guide,
> The Shepherd of the Church: let this suffice
> To save you."§

If we turn to the eminent laymen in the middle ages, who applied to philosophic studies under the inspiration of faith, we find them all possessed of the same conviction, and writing in agreement with the holy school. Thus Antonio Galateus, the celebrated philosopher and physician, writing to his friend Summonti, says, "I wish if you are about to read my writings, that you would first consult the sacred Scriptures, which are the fountain of salvation, and the law of good and happy life. Then apply to the Platonic and Aristotelian dogmas, and afterwards exert all your strength in attacking your Galateus."‖ John Picus of Mirandula, expressing his admiration for the holy Scriptures remarks, how, on every ground, they are superior to all the philosophic writings of the Gentiles. Amelius, saith he, the disciple of Plotinus, though an enemy of the Christian religion, yet evidently quotes John the Evangelist: for he says, "And this was that Word by which the things that were made were made." Thus he, an enemy, approves of the sentence, and accepts the faith of him whom he calls a barbarian. Lately, after reading the Tusculans of Cicero, I took up Isaiah the prophet. What comparison between the eloquence even of Æschines or Demosthenes, or of any other orator of Greece, and these words of Isaiah. Audite cœli auribus, percipe terra, quoniam Dominus locutus est: Filios enutrivi—and what follows?" "Heaven

* Triump. Crucis, Lib. 11. 8. † Id. 11. 15. ‡ Duns Scoti Miscel. 9. vi. § Para... v.
‖ Ant. Galatei Callipolis Descriptio in Thes. Antiq. Italiæ, tom. ix.

forbid," exclaims John Francis Picus, his illustrious nephew, writing to Paul Sancinus, "that I should abandon the frequent reading of the Scriptures through ardor for the study of Aristotle. For those studies are, in the first place, to be pursued, which infuse the love of God into our hearts; but after them, in second place, those which illuminate the intelligence; for as long as we are in this life, surrounded with this frail flesh, we stand more in need of perfection in the will than in the intelligence."*

But we cannot remain any longer to have such testimonies multiplied. Is any thing further required to fulfil our object, and show that the blessed clean of heart saw God in the holy Scriptures? Then it must be some words from a seraphic page. "Take up the book to read in it," says Thomas à Kempis, "in the same manner as the just Simeon took up the child Jesus in his arms; and when you have finished reading, close the book, and return thanks for every word proceeding out of the mouth of God, because you have found in the Lord's land a hidden treasure."† "The holy Scripture," says the Abbot Ælred, of Rievaulx, "is a field like that into which holy Isaac went at eventide to meditate, when Rebecca met him, and assuaged his sorrow. Good Jesus! how often do my days decline to evening when grief visits me like the shades of night; when all things that I behold seem flat and insipid and miserable. What then? I go out to meditate in the fields, I revolve the sacred pages, I meet Rebecca: that is, thy grace, O sweet Jesus, dispels my darkness, and turns my tears into celestial joy."‡

I think no more is wanting. But the clean of heart now, from this time forward, become encompassed with such radiance, that mine eyes can hardly follow them:

"———O trinal beam
Of individual star, that charm'st them thus!
Vouchsafe one glance to gild our storm below"§

* F. Pic. Mir. Epist. Lib. ii.
† Thom. à Kemp. Doctrinale Juvenum, cap. v.
‡ Ælred. in. c. 15.
§ Dante, Parad. xxxi.

CHAPTER XVI.

MAN is created for this end," says St. Augustin, "that he should understand God; understanding, that he should love him; loving, possess; and possessing, enjoy him for ever." Such was the conclusion of the school respecting this great question, on which the philosophers of old had delivered such various judgments. In ages of faith, the chief good was known, the last end of all things was known, and virtue itself derived its value from this knowledge. "We do not enjoy virtues," says Hugo of St. Victor, "but we make use of them; for although they are of themselves to be loved and desired, yet not on account of themselves only, but on account of God finally, do the saints in hope, and sometimes in deed, reap them. We use virtues, therefore, in order that by them we may enjoy the blessed Trinity, that is, the chief and incommutable good."*

In proportion, however, as the blessed clean of heart drew nearer to the enjoyment of that vision, which is the reward of faith, they passed beyond the sphere of history, and the mode of their progressive illumination becomes less visible. As long as it was a question of their beholding God in creatures, in the miraculous operations of his Providence, in the acts which belong to exoteric mysticism, in the traditions of the human race, and in the holy Scriptures, it was not difficult for one of earthly temper like him who collects their scattered thoughts on this page, to illustrate their advance, and confirm it from historic records; but now that we are required to observe them in relation to the church, and to the sacred mysteries of religion—acts of love, vigils of praise and prayer, and midnight choir, all shadows of the service done above, all fruitful in the gifts of esoteric mysticism, being the means ordained to conduct them to the glorious consummation of their immortal destiny, our course seems about to terminate in darkness; for what eye can follow that illuminated life succeeding to the purgative which leads immediately to the intimate union of the soul with God? Here each step transcends our conception. History indeed attests, from time to time, incidentally the fact of holy rites and mysteries, vested in dense impenetrable blaze, having been observed throughout the ages of faith. We know that the church, as one mysterious family, was found every where; that from the rising of the sun to the going down thereof, the clean oblation was daily offered up; that seraphic hymns

* Hug. St. Vict. Speculum de Myst. Eccles. cap. 9.

ascended at benediction from evening choirs; that sacrifice was the great business of life with countless multitudes in every age during sixteen centuries; that men participated in the sacred mysteries of communion at the holy mass; that they had constantly access from morning till evening to the sacramental presence of Christ, which was reserved for them every where; that they prayed, that they meditated, that they remained often fixed in contemplation; that they experienced ecstasies, and sometimes in that state expired; but with that knowledge our observation ends; for if thou dost require us to show what corresponded to these outward acts in the interior world of the soul, to fathom the full tide of spiritual joy, and love resulting from them, to unfold what they saw when so employed, to explain the mode of the operation of these mysteries, or to say why such means should have been ordained, ah! greatly hast thou mistaken the limits of our skill. High rapture, ineffable transport of the intelligence, no doubt, would be the power to reply;

> "———But not the sou
> That is in heav'n most lustrous, nor the seraph
> That hath his eyes most fix'd on God, shall solve
> What thou hast ask'd: for in the abyss it lies
> Of the everlasting statute, sunk so low
> That no created ken may fathom it."*

This alone we know, that there is no Thabor without the road of the cross, no transfiguration without a passion, no gift without engagement, no full power without full obedience; such we can discover to be the immutable, fundamental law, in the mystic kingdom.†

There is, however, another path bordering upon this divine world, which, to a certain point, is open for us; for as the philosophers taught that natural things were the works of God, by which men could arrive at a knowledge of his virtue and glory; so the men of faith showed, with the friar Savonarola,‡ that the things which were done in the church, perceptible by the senses and by reason, were the works of the same God, by which they could arrive at the knowledge of the majesty and glory of Jesus Christ, who is to us invisible; that while the one saw God in the wondrous works of nature, the other beheld him, as it were, permanently incarnate in the Church, present in those who governed it, present in the lowest of its members, and continually re-appearing under a sacramental form in the mysteries of faith, and with such clearness and certainty too, that the mere observation of the effect which that vision wrought upon them, yea, the mere reflection as seen painted in their countenances, was thought by many to furnish one of the most convincing proofs that all things announced by revelation to the human race were true. Some, indeed, have presumed to pass beyond the mark, and ask, how could God establish or preserve such a society on earth, and how could he give us

* Dante, Par. xxi. † Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 175. ‡ Triump. Crucis Lib. i. c. i.

what he promised ? and others vainly have essayed to comprehend infinity, and make the mortal measure the divine. Well it would have been for the latter had they hearkened to such warning sounds as come to every human mind, resembling those which Dante heard when he looked too steadfastly upon Beatrice, the light of divine truth, conveying nought but this " too fix'd a gaze."* They laid claim to more philosophy, yet alas ! in sooth, beating their pinions, thinking to advance, they backward fell. Grace ought first to have been gained, and then they would have known, with Hugo of St. Victor, that by loving, rather than by disputing, men advance towards God.† You ask, why should such stupendous acts of condescension be required to purify the soul ? Brother, the answer would have been, no eye of man not perfected, nor fully ripened in the flame of love, may fathom this decree. The human mind, as Abadæus says, must of necessity consort with darkness, either with that which arises from the cupidities and prejudices of the mortal nature, or with that which arises from God himself, and which brings hereafter the effulgence of his glory :

> ——— O splendor !
> O sacred light eternal ! who is he,
> So pale with musing, in Pierian shades,
> Or with that fount so lavishly imbued,
> Whose spirit would not fail him in the essay
> To represent thee such as thou didst seem
> To hearts that were made pure.

All things are veiled to your mortal eyes ; you cannot discern the real nature of the meanest plant or reptile—and yet you would behold the sovereign God divested of a veil and shadow. Ah ! it should be the dictate even of that natural philosophy, in which you take such pride, to say with the ascetic, " I have truly, and I adore him whom the angels adore in heaven ; but, at present, I in faith, they in essence without veil. It becomes me to be content with the light of true faith, and in that to walk until shall dawn the day of eternal brightness, and the shadows of figures pass away." Savonarola remarks, that " assistance towards the immediate attainment of the final end of man, was one of the innumerable benefits resulting to the human race from the Incarnation of the Divine Word. The beatitude of man consists, indeed, in the vision of the divine essence ; but a consideration of its immense sublimity might deter him from attempting to attain it, therefore he was shown a union of the divine and human nature, in order to have argument for believing that an union of his intelligence with God was not impossible ; and to his senses were presented the Incarnate Word, the humanity of Christ, with all the mysteries of his institution clothed in material forms, by which the clean of heart even in the present life, could truly, and not in figure, see God."‡ Moreover, the divine wisdom provided, by the discipline of the church, as well

* XXXII. † Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiæ, cap. ix. ‡ Triump. Crucis, Lib. iii. 7.

as by the psychological laws of sympathy with external nature, that things of themselves senseless and earthly, should be instrumental to spiritual visions: therefore, the bones and other relics of canonized saints, symbols that denoted ecclesiastical authority, the rites attending festivals as required by the rubric, the image of the cross, the paintings which represented Christ, his blessed Mother, the holy apostles, and the other friends of God, were the means of preserving innumerable minds in communion with the celestial world; insomuch that, where faith had diffused its highest illumination, a glance at any of these objects was frequently followed by ecstasy. The effects which they produced upon the clean of heart are attested by numberless authentic records; as in those relative to St. Rosa of Peru, St. Catherine of Sienna, and others of whom Goërres speaks.

But visions of the highest order must now engage our thoughts. Proceeding then with timid steps, reverential and subdued, the initiated few, who have outstretched the neck in time for food of angels, will not require to be told that the purified race saw God in those adorable mysteries of faith, which placed before their ravished eyes, in presence real, Him from whom perfection to the perfect springs. Yes! there is on earth a light, whose goodly shine makes the Creator visible to all created, that in seeing him alone have peace. Throughout the circle of the Church all is one beam reflected from this first, giving to every part light and warmth. "Moses did not dare to look upon the fire; and, behold," exclaims St. Odo of Cluny, "there is more on the altar to which we so unworthily approach; for the fire was not God, but a creature from which the voice of God proceeded; but here is the body of Christ, in which dwells all the plenitude of divinity."*

Such was the great mystery of faith, the divine deposit, the great traditional secret of the Christian family, recognized even by schismatics in the earliest times, as St. Optatus remarks, "the principle, in short, from which the whole Catholic society, spread over the world, derived its strength and its vitality: all that it prized flowed from this source—the divine Eucharist, most holy, sanctifying all that was most holy and sanctifying, in which, as the Master of the Sentences said, "He is wholly taken, who is the fountain and origin of all grace."† And yet, O speech! how feeble and how faint art thou to give conception birth! Rejoicing spirits encompass it with so divine a song, that fancy's ear records it not; and the pen passeth on and leaves a blank. "O, how admirable thy operations, Lord!" exclaim the men who thus saw God, "how powerful thy virtue! how ineffable thy truth! Thou hast said, and all things were made; and this too is done which thou hast ordered. Wondrous thing, surpassing human intelligence!—rejoice, my soul, and render thanks for such a noble gift; for such a singular consolation left for thee in this valley of tears!"

If any one inquired respecting the manner in which the mystery of the Eu-

* S. Odonis, Abb. Clun. ii. Collat. Lib. ii. Bibliothec. Clun.

† Pet. Lomb. Sent. Lib. iv. dist. 8.

charist was accomplished, by what means God and our nature join, he was shortly answered in the words of the same great authority, " Mysterium fidei credi salubriter potest, investigari salubriter non potest." Enough ! it was the saving oblation, fragrant with virgin sweetness, foretold by prophets, instituted by Him whose will is power and whose work is mercy, and offered up throughout the universal Church by the elect of God.

The historical question, respecting the antiquity of this belief, need not detain us long. In the administration of all mysteries, the discipline of the Church has varied in different ages ; so that some objectors have as much reason to require immersion in baptism, as others to complain of the restriction of the chalice. In times of persecution, the holy communion used to be sent under the sole species of bread, whereas, in the assemblies, children only received under the species of wine. The question, however, is respecting the doctrine ; and the most learned of the moderns, Leibnitz, admits that the real presence was that of the primitive church.*

St. Ignatius, the disciple of St. John, speaking of certain heretics, says, " they abstain from the Eucharist and the prayer, because they do not confess the Eucharist to be the flesh of our Saviour Jesus Christ which suffered for our sins." These heretics were the gnostics, who, as St. Epiphanius says, deny that Christ came in the flesh ; and as it was their tenet that God never became incarnate, they could not assent to the doctrine of his sacramental presence. That this belief of the primitive Church had followed every where the preaching of the Apostles and of apostolic men, is also clear from history. " We are compelled to believe," says a recent historian of the middle ages, who, with the same breath, is so unhappy as to declare his own incredulity, " that the Anglo Saxons understood Christ to be immolated on the altar, and we may observe that the same opinions were entertained by the Scottish ecclesiastics."† Such, most assuredly, was the belief of the universal Church. It is not to be supposed, however, that there were no contradicting voices. The same description of men who opposed and derided our divine Saviour in the person of Jesus, walking in Palestine, resisted and defied him in sacramental presence, in the assemblies of the faithful. " Si discipuli durum habuerunt istum sermonem, quid inimici ?" asks St. Thomas. How should the impure discern God in time, who, without some total renovation of their nature, will not see him for eternity ? How must not their blindness correspond with that of demons, who, as the Angel of the School remarks, cannot know God, though most manifest according to himself, because they have not a clean heart by which alone God is seen.

In some of the very ancient chronicles, published by Dacherius, we read of individuals who presumed to question the divine doctrine of the blessed Sacrament ; nor was it only the profane and intemperate who evinced hostility : the pride of

* Syst. Theolog. † Lardner. Cyclop. iii. 328. ‡ 1. q. lxiv. art. i.

the understanding was also liable to create a disposition to philosophize in opposition to the simplicity of divine faith. The ninth century beheld men of a character from which such opposition was almost inevitable.—Gottschalk is described by Hincmar as a man of elate mind, impatient of quiet, desirous of new words, inflamed with an insatiable ambition of honor, rash and tumultuous, that he might render his name famous by a vain ostentation of mind and a certain false novelty.* In the same age, John Erigena composed a book on the Eucharist, which, being written more in the style of a philosophical treatise than of a theological work, contained expressions that differed from the universal canonized language of theologians: though, as we have already remarked, it is impossible to discover the nature of the opinion, as the book was lost soon after his time; and, at all events, the error to which these expressions were thought favorable, which was immediately condemned, made no impressions, and no one attempted to support it; nevertheless, Hincmar of Rheims, and Adrevald Floriacensis collected the Sentences of the holy fathers to guard against the danger of any novelty being introduced.

It was not till the eleventh century that Berenger appeared, that degenerate disciple of St. Fulbert of Chartres. To him opposed themselves, of the Episcopal order, Adelmann of Brixen, Hugo of Lincoln, Guitmundus Aversanus, Deoduinus Leodiensis, Lanfranc of Canterbury, and Durandus. Synods were especially convened to condemn him,—at Rome thrice, under St. Leo IX. and once severally at Vercueil, Paris, Tours, Florence, Rouen, and Poitiers. Obedient to the sentence which condemned his error, Berenger returned to France a sincere penitent, and died at Tours, in 1088, a rare example of contrition, as is attested by Clarus Floriacensis, William of Malmesbury, St. Antoninus, Vincent of Beauvais, and Martinus Polonus. Then followed an interval of peace. Though still, no doubt, the Eucharistic vision of God was reserved for the clean of heart, for allusion is often made to the blindnesss of others. "We read in the Gospel," says St. Bernard, "that while the Saviour preached on one occasion on the mystery of eating his body, some said, 'Durus est hic sermo,' and that these no longer went with him; but that the disciples being asked by him whether they also wished to go away, replied, 'Domine, ad quem ibimus? Verba vitæ æternæ habes.' So I say to you, my brethren, down to the present day it is manifest that the words which Jesus speaks are spirit and life, and some follow him, but to others they seem hard, and they seek elsewhere a miserable consolation."†

In the sixteenth century the controversy was revived, but it was in the more ancient form of gross sensuality resisting faith, rather than in that of a speculative genius desiring to appeal to reason from its decisions. An historian cannot find, through all the gloomy circles of the world's history, spirits that swelled so proudly against God as those which were then enrolled against the mysteries of faith: but still the banners were the same. The weapons of the modern adver-

* Epist. ad Nicol. pass. † De Diversis, Serm. v.

saries are, therefore, only those of the old ones refurbished ; and we find accordingly, that the mode of resisting them, in the early and middle ages, was the same as that which is now adopted by the guides of holy truth. The early fathers, in order to show their hearers the possibility of this mystery, remind them of the most stupendous miracles, such as the change of the rod of Moses into a serpent, the fall of manna during forty years, the multiplication of the loaves in the desert, the change of water into wine, and in fine, the creation of the world. St. Chrysostom compares the act of consecration to the mystery of the Incarnation, which involves, he says, a still greater difficulty ;* and by his words, if duly weighed, that argument is void which often has perplexed the foolish ; for, in being man, and in sacramental presence, it follows, as he observes, that Christ was at once visible and invisible, and that in neither manifestation did he depart from one place to another, or deprive the heavens of his glory in order to come into the world, or remain on earth to accomplish the work of our deliverance and sanctification. But in what manner, you ask, is this done? "Do you not fear," exclaims St. Chrysostom in reply, "do you not shudder ? What! if any one were to ask in what manner our bodies and souls shall be immortal, would it not be a ridiculous question? Because it does not belong to the human understanding to inquire into such things, but only to believe : there should be no curious investigation where the immense power of the Promiser is a sufficient demonstration. Why do you search into inscrutable things?"† The same line of argument is steadily pursued through the middle ages. All the objections advanced by modern adversaries were then anticipated and refuted. Richard of St. Victor remarks that "when Christ gave his body to his disciples he carried it in his hands ;" that "he is torn and never injured, distributed daily in innumerable places and always whole and undivided."‡ They could discern consequences without the assistance of our writers.

St. Anselm seems to have foreseen all the objections of the nineteenth century, in his treatise De Sacramento Altaris, when he alludes to persons who are troubled by certain passages in the works of St. Augustin. Let us hear St. Hugo of Lincoln addressing Berenger, "argue no longer, I pray, concerning the divine Omnipotence, for as you cannot comprehend how the Word was made flesh, so neither can you understand how that bread is changed into the flesh, and that wine transformed into the blood, unless the faith of Omnipotence teach you. Cease to attack the celestial mystery. Consider that the will and word of God predominates over all nature, and that he is able to change them according to what is written, Mutabis ea, et mutabuntur ; for with God to will and to perform are the same."§

"You argue with subtilty against the divine doctrine of the Eucharist," says

* Hom. 2. in Matt. † Hom. vi. in Joan.

‡ Ric. S. Vict. de Contemplatione, p. 1. Lib. iv. c. 18.

§ Hugonis Lingonensis Tractat. de Corpore et Sanguine Domini.

Hugo of St. Victor, "but what can your rhetoric, or sophistry, or your ratiocination, effect here? This is to cast dust against the stars. Your dialectics cannot reach so high. Behold where you stand, and mark how much higher is faith than all your intelligence."* Methinks the blessed clean of heart could attest the reality of their vision, in language that from being pious, was not the less philosophical, and we might assuredly add, not the less imbued with love and mercy; for hear the concluding words of one who has recently treated on this divine mystery, in allusion to the men who are engaged by their profession to deny it: "Are they aware," he asks, "of what they are doing? Are they aware that they are attacking a faith the most fruitful in every kind of grace; a faith which preserves in all places the spirit of devotion and of sacrifice? May He who was meek and humble of heart, in presence of the proud ingratitude of those whom he came to save, remove from our lips the least word of bitterness against these unhappy despisers of the most admirable of his gifts. And how would it be possible to speak to them of it excepting in a language full of love! If such a language did not exist, it would be invented for the purpose of speaking of the Eucharist. But, at the same time, a mournful indignation constrains us to rise up against their deplorable ministry. Profoundly impressed with this double sentiment, we should not know how to express this sorrowful affection with which they inspire us, if we did not remember the words of Christ to the first despiser of the mystery of faith—those words so tender and so overwhelming—Friend, wherefore art thou come? Amice, ad quid venisti?"†

Turning our backs upon these spirits, plunged in woe and darkness, without remedy, since what hope for them who want that manna, without which he roams through the rough desert retrograde, who most toils to advance his steps, let us briefly mark the sentiment of the blessed clean of heart in ages of faith, with respect to the sacramental Eucharistic vision of God. In the first place they too had difficulties—they too had the trials of intelligence and of sense, but they triumphed over them—they too could hear the serpent, but they turned from him with the quickness of instinct. To whom should we go, O Lord! they cried with a doctor of the Church. "Whither should we go? To flesh and blood? To reason? To philosophy? To the wise of the world? To murmurers? To the unbelieving? To those who daily ask us how can he give us his flesh to eat? How can he be in heaven, if, at the same time, we eat his flesh on earth? No, Lord, we do not wish to go to them, nor to those who leave thee: we will follow St. Peter, and will say, Master, to whom should we go? Thou hast the words of eternal life." "Faith," say the schoolmen, "is an obscure habit, infused into the soul; it is figured by the cloud which covered the Israelites, which was both darksome and illuminative—obstructing the view of the Egyptians, and enlightening the faithful people." Man living in darkness can only be enlightened by

* Hugo St. Vict. Speculum de Mysteriis Ecclesiæ, cap. 7. † Gerbert S. Matt. xxvi. 50.

darkness, as the prophet king observes, saying, "the night teacheth knowledge to the night." Do you desire the recompense of intellectual purity, the beatitude of the clean of heart, you must believe, "for unless ye believe," says the prophet, "ye shall not understand."* As St. Gregory observes on our Lord's appearance to the two disciples, "to them," speaking of him, "he exhibited his presence, but to them doubting concerning him, he concealed himself."

The blessed sacrament of the Eucharist, like the doctrine of baptism and the incarnation, was a trial of faith. Did men find this faith faltering within their hearts? Did their reason endeavor to revolt? Did their senses attempt to exert more than their due influence? The clean of heart were not troubled; they only prayed with greater fervency; they recalled to mind Jesus Christ instituting this wonderful sacrifice, with an irresistible authority, and with words of life; they beheld the Apostles preaching throughout the world this same sacrifice; they followed this immemorial tradition of the Church which has received this mystery, which has firmly believed in it and practised it, without interruption, defending it unceasingly against all the enemies which hell has raised up against it. They retraced before their eyes a lively and rapid image of the numberless prodigies which it has effected, having been the strength of martyrs, the constancy of confessors, the purity of virgins, the patience of saints, and their detachment from the world, the hope, the consolation of all. They too, therefore, believed, borne alone by the example and authority of the whole Church, by so many virtues and miracles, by the reason of God, before which theirs was a pure nothing. They approached with confidence and humility; faith, recovering strength, charity was reanimated; their Saviour waited for them; he gave himself to them, a flood of grace flowed into their soul; and thus did a trial become for them, the most excellent and signal of all graces.

This was the light which renewed the face of the earth, and replaced Eden in its wilderness. This changed all things; this appeased the restless cravings of the human heart—substituted truth for error, and dissipated its enemies. O holy Church, Catholic and Roman, if all that hitherto is told of thee were in one praise concluded, it were too weak to furnish out this turn. The human race had preserved the remembrance of an original society between God and man, and the same tradition had perpetuated the hope, that more intimate communications would be re-established by the Redeemer, universally expected. The belief in a God present only by his grace, was never able to satisfy that immense craving of the human heart, for a closer union with the Deity. "The writings of the old philosophers abound with indications of its existence," Plotinus says, "that the vision of God is a vision of such beauty, and worthy of such love, that without it, however rich in other goods, man is most unhappy."† Porphyry held, that by certain theurgical consecrations, minds were rendered capable of seeing God.‡

* Isa. vii. † S. August. de Civ. Dei. x. 16. ‡ Id. x. 9.

Plato says, "that men of all kinds taste of certain pleasures, but that to taste the delight of being able to see the essence of all pleasure, and of all existence, is impossible for any one but a philosopher."* "This desire not understood aright," as a French theologian says, "erewhile perverted well nigh all the world, so that it turned to fabled names of Jove, and Mercury, and Mars, for every vicious practice is founded on a just feeling, diverted from its true object, as every error is founded on the abuse of some truth. The propensity to theurgy which was so vehement among all pagan nations, as well as that inclination to recognize, in extraordinary personages, some god veiled under human forms, arose, therefore, from this natural longing of the rational creature, to recover its original felicity. This divine instinct pervaded, agitated the whole universe, and all worship, even in the superstitions connected with it, was in some measure the prophetic aspiration of the human race, seeking every where for the personal presence of the divinity. Jesus Christ appears, and the world breathes again. The expectation was fulfilled. "This faith in the real presence produced immediately," as Gerbert remarks, "this remarkable result, that among Christians, the universal mania for divination—for the invocation of spirits, for magical operations, was suddenly suppressed. It was not merely the exterior practices that yielded to the severe prohibitions of the Church—it was the propensity itself, hitherto so violent, so indomitable, that became appeased in the heart of man, and gave way to a profound calm—the natural consequence of an immense desire having been at length satisfied."

So through the long lapse of ages which faith illuminated, there is heard from the race of men an uninterrupted voice of praise, and literally witnessed a sleepless act of adoration. For, behold God, the Saint of saints, the Creator of men, and the Lord of angels! is present on the altar. Those who are in chosen fellowship advanced to the great supper of the blessed Lamb, whereon who feeds hath every wish fulfilled, can say with truth that Jesus, the most sweet, most benign Jesus, is in the midst of them; they see him—blessed are they. They see God. "O, invisible Creator of the world, how wondrously dost thou act with us!" exclaims one of that happy number, "how sweetly and graciously dost thou dispose things with thy elect, in offering them in the sacrament thyself!" But, alas! the blindness of man!

Why does not every heart commingle with the flame that shrouds that glory? Is obduracy to be justified by repeating the language of the disciples, who, when they had Christ with them, at the same time desired to see the Father, saying, "Domine, ostende nobis Patrem, et sufficit nobis," not having then been taught that to whom the Son sufficeth not, the Father could not be manifest; or, are we to go back to the question of the benighted philosopher, and ask with Cicero, "Tibi hoc incredibile, quia beatissimum?" Why should not the Saviour's prom-

* De Repub. Lib. ix.

ise be fulfilled? Why should not the clean of heart be comforted? Yes, when we recall to mind those ancient holy men, many of them the wonder of their age for wisdom, the glory of their age for earthly grandeur, who evinced seraphic love for this divine mystery; when we recollect the number of profound angelic intelligences, which recognized in it the source of all their light, of all their virtue; when with the eyes of mind we behold them bowed unto the earth, in presence of the Eucharist, or with looks directed towards the hallowed steps, so full of joy, as if they saw descending from them every light in heaven, the natural impulse is to exclaim with the Ascetic, "O vera ardens fides eorum, probabile existens argumentum sacræ præsentiæ tuæ!" Yes, for not to speak of streams of living radiance, which played round the outward fleshly dwelling, as we read of Vincent Ferrier, the bishop Kentigern, Rosa of St. Mary, Thomas the Lombard, Barnabas of Pistorio, Tolomei, Catherine of Bologna, and innumerable others,* the fragrancy of heaven rising from within proclaimed, that he had visited the human soul, and entered it with his glory. Here, at length, is order with equality, the rich man and the beggar side by side, in charity made one; for what availeth ignorance or skill, where God immediate rules, and nature awed suspends her sway? These hearts of the ages of faith are not left without afflation of eternal bliss; they exhale a perfume, transcending all sweetness, which attests that they have commingled with the source of all delight—the author of all purity—that God has revealed himself within them, and that he who had no rest upon the cross, has rested there. "Et reclinabit in te," says Richard of St. Victor, "qui reclinatorium non habuit in cruce."†

"Truly it is thy beloved who visiteth thee," says Hugo of St. Victor, "but he cometh invisible—he cometh occult—he cometh incomprehensible—he cometh that he may move thee, not that he may be seen by thee—he cometh that he may admonish thee, not that he may be comprehended by thee—he cometh not that he may fulfil thy desires, but that he may excite thy affection—he presenteth thee with the first fruits of his love, not with the plenitude of perfect satiety." "Do you feel regret," my sisters, said St. Theresa, "at not being able to behold him with your bodily eyes? Such a regret is little reasonable. It is one thing to have beheld him as he was formerly, when clothed with all the appearances of humanity, and it is another to contemplate him as he is now, resplendent with celestial glory. How could mortal eyes sustain his vision? Be thankful that he is pleased to veil his majesty, when you have permission to approach him." His beauty so shines, that, were no tempering interposed, thy mortal puissance would, from its rays, shrink as the leaf doth from a thunderbolt.

The recompense of the clean of heart was also the principle of their spiritual existence—they beheld God from being pure, and they were pure in consequence of beholding him; as the angels cannot sin, because their beatitude consists in

* Goërres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 322. † In Cantic. Cant. 12. ‡ The Road to Perfection

seeing God by essence, "the essence of God," as St. Thomas says, "being the essence of goodness."* This leads us to consider the outward effects of the Eucharistic vision in ages of faith. "Plus valet Deus operari, quam homo intelligere potest," and he who wrote these words had himself within his own bosom experience of their truth. Of the extraordinary visions resulting from the divine Eucharist, Goërres has produced instances. Truly wondrous things, in this respect, are related of Petrus Tolosanus, Angela of Foligno, the abbot Hugo of Cluny, the Cistercian Juliana, Cassetus the Carmelite, St. Francis Borgia, St. Catherine of Sienna, and countless others.†

Let us hear St. Augustin attesting only the ordinary results. "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ." Some great thing, I know not what, is promised to us. Does he wish to say it, and is he unable, or is it that we do not understand? I fear not to say, my brethren, that not even by the holy tongues and hearts, through which truth is announced to us, can what they would announce be either uttered or conceived. It is a thing great and ineffable, and they themselves only see in part, as the Apostle says, "Now we see in part, as in an ænigma, but then face to face." Behold, they seeing in an ænigma thus burst forth: what shall we be then, when we shall see face to face, what they could not find a heart to conceive, or a tongue to reveal, or men to understand? But why does he say, "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ?" He sought for a word to speak of human things, which he said; and because he saw men losing their understanding, through the immoderate drinking of wine, he saw what he would express; because when that ineffable joy is received, the human understanding as it were perishes, it becomes divine, and is drunken with the abundance of the house of God. Whence in another Psalm it is said, "Calix tuus inebrians quam præclarus est!" This was the cup of which the martyrs drank, when going to their passion, they no longer knew their own. Who so drunken as he who does not distinguish his weeping wife, or children, or parents? They did not distinguish, they did not think that these were before their eyes. Wonder not, for they were drunken. Whence were they drunken? Behold, they took the cup whence they were drunken. Wherefore he also returned thanks to God, saying, "Quid retribuam Domino pro omnibus quæ retribuit mihi? Calicem salutaris accipiam, et nomen Domini invocabo." Therefore, brethren, we are children of men; and we hope under the shadow of his wings, and we are drunken of the abundance of his house. "Inebriabuntur ab ubertate domus tuæ: et torrente voluptatis tuæ potabis eos:" water is called a torrent when it comes with a rushing force. There will be a rushing of the mercy of God, to refresh and inebriate those who place their trust under the shadow of his wings.‡

If when the Word made flesh dwelt in the midst of men, the mere touch of his vestments was able to cure the sick, can we doubt, asks St. Theresa, that a lively

* 1. Q. lxii. art. 8. † Die Christliche Mystik, ii. 119. ‡ St. Augustin Enarrat. in Ps. xxxv.

faith will obtain miracles from him when he comes to establish his residence within us?* The ordinary miracles which this mystic vision wrought in ages of faith, of which even history must take note, were those of virtues and those of wisdom. "Love itself is knowledge," as St. Gregory says;† and here was the fountain of all true love, and consequently of all wisdom. Do you ask whence the Angel of the School derived that light which has illuminated the Church? The historian of his order says expressly, that he drew it from the holy sacrament of the altar: all his works demonstrate, that it was this prime enlightener who gave him strength on the high triumph of his Church to gaze, and virtue to utter what he saw; nor is it less certain that it was from this disposing influence supreme the feeling artist learned to trace those lustrous images of the pure and holy which have made cities and realms glorious; for here all perfection was vouchsafed, and every gift that life could teem with; so that the human nature, without that sweet medicine to clear and strengthen sight, never was, or can be, such as it was in them. The fountain at whose source the clean of heart drank their beams, supplied them in as many modes with light as there were different offices in the Christian life, each according to the virtue it required, equal in love and sweet affection. "Look then," saith the poet contemplatist of these ages, "how lofty and how vast the eternal might, which, broken and dispersed over such countless mirrors, yet remained whole in itself and one, as at the first."‡

And here I must observe, while speaking of the moral consequences of the Eucharistic vision, that if there were no other evidence in proof of the divine origin of the Catholic religion, an attentive observer would feel compelled to believe that God was its author, from the one consideration of its effects produced, through this divine mystery, upon the human nature; so exactly do they correspond with all its wants and all the peculiarities of its constitution; so completely do they restore all its parts, and establish an harmonious unity. Whence could such tempering and moulding proceed but from the same intelligence and hand which created man? for it is this which completes him, which purifies, which gives the last touch to this admirable painting of the rational creature. Faith is like those transparent unctions, which revive the work of the artist when it is sunk into the canvass, or clouded over and defiled; it changes nothing of the original lines, not a stroke of the pencil, however fine, perishes under its gentle action; it only refreshes and restores the whole to that pristine liveliness and beauty, which it possessed when first it left its author's hands. Such is the Catholic religion in general and the Eucharistic union in particular, in relation to the human character. It is not that it destroyes the inequality of natural gifts, or that it yields the fruit of subsequent acquisition, but that it gives an ineffable charm, some thing heavenly indescribable, to all gifts, and a grace which every one can distinguish, and which no artificial acquirements can ever supply. Take any instance

* The Road to Perfection. † Hom. 27. in Evang. ‡ Par. xxix.

of a nature which has been wholly consigned to this influence, and then judge : pass by the natural virtues and wisdom and nobleness of men, which you might say, perhaps, could be ascribed to studies, experience, and condition ; stand and consider the ignorant and simple, who draw all from the Church, from the altar, from faith and its mysteries. Remark that maiden, wife, and mother. Can the purest and highest intelligence conceive any thing more assimilated to the goodness and purity of God ? You cannot be blind to the difference which exists under similar circumstances of nature where Catholicism has not been applied. See how many evils attach themselves to the best and sweetest dispositions, which are corrected here. See how this softens down every thing harsh, removes every thing ridiculous and unamiable ; and O, what dulcet, rich, and glorious tones does it bring forth, and yet so secret in its operation, that all the while we think it is only nature. Nor do we err ; for this, or rather approaching this, was nature in the state of innocence. " We know," says Savonarola," that they who frequent these mysteries piously are so delighted in the divine worship, that they often remain in ecstasy with bodies immovable,—that their countenance changes, emitting beams of sanctity, which render them lovely and venerable to all. And though in former times this occurred oftener than now, yet at the present day also we know many, not alone the simple, but the wise, in whom all this is verified. Whence then this ecstasy ? whence this fervor ? these warm sighs, these delicious tears, this ineffable jubilation of the Church, sounding in hymns and canticles of such passing sweetness ? If these mysteries, these temples, these altars, these vestments, this order of ceremonies belong to vanity and labor lost, could man, especially when wise and of penetrating genius, by the use of these things be so wonderfully exalted and transformed ? Could such illumination proceed from lies ? Even the very order and the signification of the things which are done in the Church, must be of divine, not of human invention : for there is nothing in this form of worship irrational, nothing without sense ; but there is throughout the whole a harmony and an adaptation of parts like what we find in the universal works of nature, which no one, without perverse obstinacy can refuse to ascribe to God."*

But let us attend to the practice of the middle ages. A sense of their own indignity was not suffered by the ancient guides to interfere with the devotion of frequent access to this grace of sacramental union, and the manner in which they explain their conduct in this respect, is very characteristic of their exquisite art of blending the highest with the lowest things ; " for," says Louis of Blois, " as the son of a king while a youth rejoices in being able to play with those boys who are of obscure birth, and who are clad in vile raiment, so also the Son of the great King, the Son of God, Jesus Christ, willingly joins himself, by the sacrament of the Eucharist, not only to the perfect, but also to those who are obnoxious to

* Triump. Crucis, ii. 10

many imperfections, who do not love their imperfections, but endeavor to grow better, and to be delivered from all deadly sin by the help of God."*

Mabillon has shown that, in the tenth century, the laity were required, under strict obligation, to receive the holy communion at least four times in each year.† This was only determining the minimum consistent with the Christian profession; for the desire of the Church had always been that so earnestly expressed by St. Licinius of Angers, in the sixth age, that the people would frequently partake of that divine food, by means of which their Saviour would remain in them, and they in Him. The fathers of the council of Paris, in the year 829, addressed the emperor Louis le Debonnaire, in these terms: "We warn you to receive the body of our Lord whenever it is possible for you to do so; and, by your example, to excite those of your court to communicate frequently."‡ At that time the practice of daily communion was frequent. Symphorius Amalarius wrote to recommend it; but Gennadius of Marseilles only exhorted the people to communicate every Sunday. Walafried Strabo seemed to consider that those who communicated but once in the year, at Easter, through a professed fear of being unworthy to approach it oftener, were proved by that very delay unworthy of communion then, since communion is a remedy against sins.§

By the second council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in the year 836, the faithful were required to receive the body of the Lord every Sunday, "lest by withdrawing from the Sacraments they should withdraw from salvation." Profane historians are obliged to notice the immense influence which the Christian mysteries produced upon the whole order of society. Hence it was that an interdict was found to be so great an evil. Immensa vitia super crescebant, say the contemporary writers.‖ Life, in all its ways, and turnings, sanctified by the Church, appeared, says Hurter, alluding to an interdict, to be now severed from it. The sun-like splendor of higher consecrations was eclipsed, and the earthly existence remained without any intervention of the heavenly.¶

It remains only to consider the clean of heart in relation to the last sphere, which sees completion of their lofty aim in a mystic union with Him, who lives ever, and for ever reigns. "Do you wish to be great?" asks St. Augustin. "Begin," he continues, "by being little. Do you desire to construct a vast and lofty fabric? Think first about the foundation of humility; the higher is to be your structure, the deeper must be its foundation. What is to be the height of our building? to what elevation does its summit reach? I will tell you in one word, to the sight of God! Behold, how lofty a thing it is! What a thing it is to see God! They who worshipped false gods, could easily see them; but they saw them who had eyes and saw not. To us is promised the vision of the living and seeing God."** The clean of heart discerned the whole immensity of this

* Lud. Blos. Enchirid. Parvulorum, Lib. i. in. fin.
‡ Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. tom. v. 320
‖ Hist. Epp. Antiss. in Labbé Bibl. T. 1.
** Serm. X. de Verb. Dom.
† Præfat. in Sæcul. Bened. 3.
§ De Reb. Eccles. cap. 20.
¶ Geshichte. tom. iii. 1. 351.

prodigious promise, both with respect to the future and to the present life, and yet it alarmed them not. Far from being induced to seek with wretched worshippers of old to bring down heavenly things to meet the human condition, they loved to contemplate that future destiny on the most awful side. Along with these ardent longings, these incessant aspirations after the union of their souls with God, unearthly, pure as the cherub's light were all their conceptions of his nature ; for hear how they speak of him : "Alone, without an equal, distinct from all things, by his infinite greatness, he possesses himself in the solitude of his being."* The Master of the Sentences remarked, however, as an example of the future society which is to be established between God and the reasonable soul glorified, that the soul has been joined to corporeal ligaments, and an earthly mansion, in order that man might know that since God can join together in one federation and friendship natures so dissimilar as body and soul, it will not be impossible for him hereafter to exalt the humility of the rational creature to a participation of his glory.† But how is the promise to be realized on earth ? "What flesh," cries the Sibyl, "can endure to behold the God of heaven, who dwells in light inaccessible, since mortals cannot even stand against the sun with unaverted eyes ?"‡ St. Augustin distinguished three kinds of visions ; the corporeal through the outward senses, the spiritual through the imagination and fancy, and the forms of corporeal things, and the intellectual, which is without such forms.§

According to Cardinal Bona, the scholastics deny, the mystics affirm, that a pure intellectual vision can be given in this mortal life.‖ Yet it was not found difficult to reconcile them, by the illustrious teachers who came forward in that twofold capacity. "All intellectual thought," says St. Bonaventura, "must be impure, because it can only apprehend things by means of phantasms, and can only conceive God phantastically ; whereas seraphic love illuminates the soul without phantasms, and is, therefore, a nobler attainment of truth."¶ To this there would be no dissenting voice in the school. Whatever may be their difference in respect to terms, both agree in holding that the vision which, as St. Augustin says, is the whole reward of faith.** may be partially enjoyed on earth. Nothing, it is true, can surpass the humility with which the schoolmen speak of the vision of God, as may be witnessed in the work of John Scot Erigena, entitled De Visione Dei ; as also elsewhere, when he treats on the superessential nature and cause of all things.††

"O Lord !" exclaims St. Anselm, "with my whole heart I seek thy face, Vultum tuum Domine requiro. But certainly thou dost dwell in light inaccessible—and where is that light ? or how can I approach to light inaccessible ? What shall thy servant do who is cast so far from thy face, though he was made for beholding thee ? O, I beseech thee, send me not away empty, who came hungering to

* Tertullian. † Petr. Lomb. Lib. ii. Dist. 1. ‡ Clem. Alex. Strom. v. 14.
§ De Genesi ad Liter. xii. 6, 7. ‖ Bona de Discret. Spirituum, 17. ¶ Mystica Theologica.
** De Trinit. 1. †† De Divis. Nat. 1.

seek thee! I will not attempt, O Lord, to penetrate thy altitude; for my intelligence is not comparable to thine; but I desire to understand a little of thy truth, which my heart believes and loves: not that I seek to understand that I may believe, but I believe that I may understand; for I believe this also, that unless I believe, I shall not understand."*

St. Gregory, in his Morals, says that "whoever beholds wisdom, which is God, dies to the present world; for no one who lives after the flesh can behold Him, because no one can, at the same time, embrace God and the world. That it is necessarily death to see God, is explained thus by Marius Victorinus:—"If any one should see God, he must die, because the life and intelligence of God are in themselves, not in act; but every act is external, and our life is thus external: therefore, it is death to see God. We must, consequently, abandon external life if we wish to see God, and that will be death to us; for it will be the being made similar to what we behold." Thus discourseth this most obscure writer. Nor are there wanting examples of this death. The seraphic virgin, Catherine of Sienna, often experienced this angelic death; and her soul became separated from all her organs, being absorbed in God, for in this state the body is deprived of its senses. Many other saints have similarly experienced the mystic death.†

The physical consequences of such visions have been observed with the eyes of science, and their reality cannot be questioned. St. Philip Neri, in his thirty-first year, on the feast of Pentecost, experienced an ecstasy of divine love and joy, in which he lay on the earth dissolved. On returning to himself, he found that his breast, over the heart, was swelled to the thickness of a hand. He lived fifty-two years after this event, but the expansion which gave more room to the heart remained unchanged to his death. In prayer, and at the altar, he used to suffer intensely from the internal flames which attended the wondrous activity of the organ, which so shook his shuddering frame that its trembling affected the entire chamber. On his body being opened after death, it was found that two of his left ribs had been broken, and the heart prodigiously enlarged. Goërres states the whole result of the anatomical examination, and the declaration of the physicians that it had a cause supernatural. Many other instances of a similar kind are well authenticated. Herrmann Joseph, of Steinfeld, experienced ecstasies which produced such effects upon his whole organic system, that, as they chiefly occurred on the festivals of the Church, he used to say, Festa sunt mihi infesta.‡ Let the reader remember what was observed in the Fifth Book, and he will be able to conceive to what numbers the festivals of the Church were thus terrible.

St. Bernard, indeed, says this vision is not of the eyes, but of the heart, to which the Lord has promised it: this is the proper good of the heart.§ But that the promise obtains in some measure, even in this life, a more literal fulfilment,

* S. Anselmi Prosologium, cap. 1.
† Bona De Discret. Spirituum, 234.
‡ Goërres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 6. 11.
§ De Divers. Serm. ii.

was evidently the general conviction. To the perfect wisdom there was known to be a triple way—the purgative, the illuminative, and that of union, which included the divine vision,* that is, a joy which without it is inconceivable. How should not He be seen who was ever present? According to the words, "I seek a pure heart, and there is the place of my rest."

Of the mystic visions of God, of heaven, and of the saints, imparted to the blessed clean of heart, in ages of faith, it would be difficult to speak. Goërres, in his admirable work, has ventured to treat upon the wondrous things recorded of many of them. To Lidwina of Scheidam they were given during twenty-four years. Veronica of Binasco and Frances of Rome beheld the whole life of the Saviour, from his birth to his passion and death. Lucia of Narni, and Johanna of Jesus Maria, in Burgos, beheld all the stages of our Lord's passion,—visions granted to so many, that Goërres treats of them, in a separate class, under the title of Mystic Stations.† The vision of heaven described by Mary of Agreda is related in Spanish, in the great volumn entitled, The Mystic City of God, which has been translated into many languages. Mary of Oignys used to behold our Lord at the different festivals, in the act of accomplishing the mystery which each commemorated. The light which St. Theresa saw was totally unlike our light: she declared that she beheld and learned in it, in one moment, such a multitude of things, that many years of meditation would not have enabled her to attain to the thousandth part of them. Herrmann Joseph of Steinfeld, when in the early choir the Benedictus Deus Israel was sung, used to fall into ecstasy, and behold a vision of angels. At the words of the Antiphon propter nimiam Charitatem suam, and the response of the choir for Easter, Et David cum Cantoribus, Beatrix of Nazareth beheld the brightness of the heavenly Jerusalem, and heard sounds so sweet and wonderful, that she fell to the ground. What was seen and heard in mystic visions by Christina of Stumbele, Catherine of Sienna, Joseph of Copertino, Magdalen of Pazzi, Dominicus of Jesu Maria, the Carmelite, Osanna of Mantua, and others, is attested by evidence which cannot be rejected without rejecting all human testimony.‡

With such facts before them, it is not to be wondered at that Hugo of St. Victor and all the great philosophers of the middle age should have understood the seeing of God, which is to recompense the pure, to imply a temporal as well as an eternal vision. In effect, the whole spiritual life, and all contemplation and ascetic philosophy, signified nothing but an interior union with God, in which he was present and mystically revealed to the eyes of the mind. "They who have the Spirit of God," says Hugo, "see God; for they have that eye enlightened with which God can be seen." "The heat of the sun," observes St. Ambrose, "penetrates the most solid dwellings, and extends to the hidden roots of trees under the earth; and how must not the intellectual splendor of God shine into the hearts and thoughts of men!"§

* Henric. de Palma Mystica Theologia Prolog.

† II. 471.

‡ Goërres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 247—57.

§ Officiorum Lib. i. 14.

Truly astonishing was the experience of the speculative as well as unconscious esoteric mysticism of the ages of faith, vivifying and illuminating above all sense and reason. Richard of St. Victor compares it to what befell the two disciples going to Emmaus. "What is it," he asks, "to have Christ, that is, the wisdom of God, present in a foreign species, unless to behold truth, not in its simplicity, but in a mirror or enigma? Without the house, as if in a journey, this vision is shown when the contemplation of sublime things is enjoyed by ecstasy, and as if in passing: it is as when two are going forth and walking—when reason and intelligence, exceeding human limits, by theft and surprise attain to the spectacle of sublime things."* "To attain God in mind," says St. Augustin, "is great beatitude." Richard of St. Victor, treating on the preparation of mind for contemplation only, says, "In this double church of thoughts and desires, in this unanimity of studies and of wills, the contemplative mind is divinely exalted.† What means," he asks, "that dividing of the soul and spirit, of which the apostle speaks, but that the spirit is separated from what is lower, that it may rise to the highest? It is separated from the soul, that it may be united to God—that it may adhere to Him, and so become one spirit with Him. O happy division and separation to be longed for, when what is passible, what is corruptible, dies with its passions, and what is spiritual, what is subtile, is sublimated to the vision of the divine glory, and transformed into its image."‡

This was the end of all philosophy in ages of faith; this was the true object of all love of wisdom: "for what skills it," cries Duns Scotus, "to know the triple primacy of the first Being, the order and emanation of essentials and of notionals—to show with philosophers by natural reason, or with Catholics with certainty, though in an enigma, the perfection and immensity, the unity and singularity, of that first radical nature,—unless by well-doing, praying, and contemplating, the eye be purified and the affections be purged, as Scot requires; so that the glorious God may be truly seen and tasted in Himself, to whom be honor for ever. Amen."§

If any philosophers, at the syren voice of knowledge, seemed to linger in the rudiments of this world, as if they thought that life were given for the end of merely seeking and investigating truth, there was a mystic voice from the desert, which penetrated the schools of the middle ages, like that which awakened Dante and his guide when standing fixed in mute attention to hear Casella's song; and which caused them to depart with hurried step, when it exclaimed;—

> "How is this, ye tardy spirits?
> What negligence detains you loit'ring here?
> Run to the mountain, to cast off those scales
> That from your eyes the sight of God conceal."‖

Towards the end of his commentary on the work of Dionysius, Hugo of St.

* De Erudit. Hom. Inter. i. Lib. i. 20. † De Præparat. an. ad Contemp. c. 84.
‡ De Extermin. Mali, p. i. tract. iii. c. 18. § Id de Primo Principio, cap. iv. ‖ Purg. ii.

Victor breaks out in these terms:—"I wish that my soul may never, through earthly stain, lose the brightness of interior light, or through the cold of sin dispel the holy fervor of devotion; but that, being from heaven enlightened and warmed, it may be changed into the likeness of God. O the blessed existence, that is united with the existence of all existences! O the blessed nature, which is fulfilled with the nature of all natures! What happiness would be comparable to such beatitude?"

Henceforth, reader, to the end of this Book we must proceed, as schoolmen say, without arguments. We are now so near the summit, that I feel the air is not for beings like myself. Hitherto I have followed at a distance the clean of heart, but now can follow them no more—my course here bounded, as each artist's is, when it doth touch the limit of his skill. They who ascend higher must have bared the feet, and cast off all impediments that weigh the spirit down—as we are admonished by the verses of Isseltius, prefixed to the ladder of paradise, which now may be within view, like the words which men find inscribed upon the rocks as they climb the craggy path which leads to some cloister far renowned:—

"Quisquis ad hunc montem Climacum lecturus adibis
Sis monitus; nudo non licet absque pede.
Si secus accedas, nil hic mirabile cernes,
Omnia sordebunt ut male culta tibi.
Solve prius solcas, dabiturque videre Jehovam,
Ardentemque rubum, multaque digna Deo."

All that we can do will be to approach humbly to the holy brethren who sit here, to repose awhile, and hear them speak of what they see above, and tell how mortals can proceed farther, and describe the effects which immediately result from reaching to that loftiest point of purity and joy on earth.

"As long as the soul," says Hugo of St. Victor, "had its triple eyes—those of the flesh, of reason, and of contemplation—open and unobscured, it saw clearly and rightly distinguished. But after the darkness of sin had entered, the eye of contemplation was extinguished, so as to see nothing; the eye of reason became weak, so as to see unduely; and alone the eye of the flesh retained its full perspicacity. Hence it is that the hearts of men more easily consent to the things which they perceive with the eye of the flesh than to those which they attain with the sense of reason or the faculty of the mind; because where they see without darkness they do not differ in judging. Man, therefore, having the eye of the flesh, can see the world and the things which are in the world; likewise, having the eye of reason in part, he can see the mind partly, and the things which are in the mind; but because he has not the eye of contemplation, he cannot see God and the things which are in God."* This is restored to him by purity of heart, and by a participation in the mysteries of faith, yielding an obscure but super-

* De Sacramentis, Lib. i. p. x. c. 2.

natural light. In what sense the former was understood, as connected with life and philosophy, has been shown in the commencement; but in immediate relation to the vision of God, it stills remains to hear what the ancient teachers say. Blessed John of the Cross, in his ascent of Mount Carmel, compares the stages of the soul's progress to three stages of the night: the first answering to the night of the passions, when they are mortified and laid asleep; the second to the state of the soul, which seeks the privation of every thing in order to rest solely upon faith, becoming insensible to the light of the senses and of the imagination, which is the mortification of the intelligence; the third to the withdrawing of the memory from things created, to fixing it upon God the Creator. The first of these, he says, may be compared to the hour of night-fall, which first involves all ways in obscurity; the second, which is the night of faith, resembles midnight, when every thing is invisible; the third corresponds with the last watch of the night, or, rather, with break of day, to which succeeds the light of the glorious sun, or the full possession of the sight of God. This is more briefly expressed by St. Augustin, saying, "Inasmuch as they die to this world, men see God; and inasmuch as they live to it, they see Him not."* The fire of passion falls upon them, and they see not the light of the sun.†

Richard of St. Victor describes in another manner the progress of this illumination:—"What is it to enter the cloud at the approach of the divine vocation, unless, to depart in mind, and to darken in it, as it were by a cloud of oblivion, the memory of adjacent things. Hence, also, the lucid cloud overshadowed the disciples of Christ. One and the same cloud overshadowed them by shining and illuminated by overshadowing them; because it both illuminated to divine and clouded over to human things."‡ This was felt by Dante, after he had looked upon the everlasting splendor; for then he said,—

> "My tongue shall utter now no more
> E'en what remembrance keeps, than could the babe's
> That yet is moisten'd at his mother's breast."§

"We must first," says Richard elsewhere, "desert Egypt and pass the sea; the Egyptian food must first fail, before we can receive the celestial aliment. Let him pass the Red Sea, let him study to expel all grief and bitterness from his heart, and then he may be satiated with internal sweetness. The Egyptians must be subdued, perverse manners must perish, lest the angelic citizens should disdain a degenerate guest. Beyond a doubt the love of God, the more fully it conquers every other affection, the more abundantly does it refresh the soul with internal sweetness. In this state the mind sucks honey from the rock, and oil from the hardest stone; in this state the mountains distil sweetness, and the hills flow with milk and honey; in this state the Lord often descends from heaven, and visits him that sitteth in darkness and the shadow of death: but while he exhibits

* De Doct. Christ. ii. 7. † Ps. 57. ‡ De Contemplat. i. v. c. 2. § Par. xxxiii.

his presence, he showeth not his face ; as yet clouds and darkness are around him ; as yet his throne is in the column of the cloud ; and although he appears in fire, it is yet more a kindling than an illuminating flame ; for it kindles the affection, but not as yet enlightens the understanding : the soul, therefore, while in this state, sees as if in the night, as if under the cloud, as if in a mirror or enigma, but not yet face to face."* In the meanwhile, love ought always to increase in us from knowledge, and, nevertheless, knowledge from love ; so that, by a mutual ministration, they may both conduce to the growth of each other. "From the visible world," he continues, "is the Creator seen. This vision is common to the evil and to the good, for in this manner all men see God ; in this manner the philosophers saw him, who yet did not find him by love. He passes to man as in an image of his soul, by reason and intelligence ; he passeth, however, not to all men, but only to the good and spiritual, who find in themselves an image of God, according as they advance to perfection. Yet good men, however holy, see him only in the night, and in obscurity ; for, as blessed Job speaks, 'the stars are darkened by the shades of this night ;' for even they who shine by virtues and sanctity of life are obscured by the darkness of human blindness. Vices obscure and prevent contemplation ; so that, until the mirror of the soul is made clean, there can be no faithful refraction of images. But to the eyes of a clean heart, God shines as in a mirror, which is clear as he is clear, and holy as he is holy. The pure of heart passeth in this manner to the Author of purity, from saints to the Saint of saints, where he finds his beloved."†

St. Bonaventura, having shown that the vision of God is to be obtained by love, proceeds in this manner :—"There is a two-fold mode of attaining to that ardor of love—one scholastic and common, the other mystic and secret. The first is by way of inquisition and elevation, beginning from inferior things and ascending to the summit by exercise, by meditation and philosophic reasoning from the phenomena of nature ; the second mode of rising to God is far nobler and more easy, and that is the unitive wisdom, in the desire of love by flaming affections, the knowledge of God by ignorance, in which the mind abandons all things and gives up itself, and is illuminated by the resplendent rays of inscrutable wisdom, in which there is no need of previous investigation or meditation ; and this is attained by humility and prayer, and the immediate descent of the Holy Spirit ; from which it follows that the soul always tends to God as directly as a stone falls to the earth."‡ "The vision of God," says St. Bernardine of Sienna, "which by nature is granted to the philosopher, is communicated by grace to the clean of heart, which is the light of faith, to which the intelligence ascends by ten degrees—by hearing the wisdom of faith, by appeasing the movements of passion in the mind, of which Daniel says, 'The four winds of heaven contended in the great sea,' that is, the

* De Quat. Gradibus Violentæ Charit. † Ric. S. Vict. in Cant. Canticor.

‡ Mystica Theologia.

worldly mind, by raising the mind from sensible to insensible things, by meditating on spiritual things, by discerning in them truth from falsehood, for the spiritual man judgeth all things, that is, all things which relate to life and justice. These five things relate to the discernment of the science of faith; but the rest which follow regard adhesion to the science of faith: the first of which is to delight in truth, the second to perfect the mind by truth, of which the prophet says, 'Et veritas tua, O Deus! usque ad nubes,' the third to rest in its complacency, 'congaudet veritati,' the fourth to admire it; and the fifth is consummate faith, to which is given by grace the knowledge of God, as is written, 'God appears to those who have faith in Him.' Thirdly, the vision of God is communicated by glory—yet not permanently, but in a transitory manner, according to St. Bonaventura in his illuminations, and to Alexander de Hales, who says that by the perfect, by perfect contemplation, God can be seen, yet not fully, as after this life; for as Gregory saith, 'Sapientia abscondita est ab oculis omnium viventium;' for he can be seen by certain circumscribed images, but not by the uncircumscribed light of eternity. Yet the eternal brightness of God has been intellectually seen by some, as by Jacob and the apostle Paul; for the former says, 'Vidi Dominum facie ad faciem et salva facta est anima mea;' and the latter speaks of his being caught up to heaven by a miraculous operation of divine virtue. Blessed, then, the clean of heart, who, with the simple eye of their heart looking to God, contemplate celestial secrets to his glory—here by excellent grace, and hereafter by consummate glory."*

It still remains to supplicate these angels upon earth, to mention briefly the effects which resulted from this mystic union of the soul with God. But first we may remark, that in their own wisdom they exemplify what by their teaching they attest: for, ask the biographer of St. Thomas, from whence did the Angel of the School derive his wisdom? Touron will reply, that he drew it in great measure from the close union of his soul with God, from the knowledge and love of Jesus Christ, and of his cross. From the same fountain of living splendor were all the blessed luminaries of the ages of faith kindled and sustained. This it was, which raised the humble mind in a moment to understand more reasons of eternal truth, than could otherwise be known by one who had studied his whole life long in the schools; this it was, which yielded to the holy patriarch of hermits, Antony, that gift of wisdom, and that gift of faith, which made him such a wonderful ruler over the spirits of men, enabling him to convert innumerable heathens, and to draw after him to the desert thousands who already believed in Christ.† From this proceeded that sudden miraculous proficiency in mental attainments, not alone in wisdom, but in learning and science, which was seen in the abbot Rupertus of Deutz, near Cologne, in the thirteenth century, in Albertus Magnus, in St. Lawrence Justinian, in St. Ignatius of Loyola, in Henry Dilson, in Charles of Saëta, in Candidus the Cistercian, in Hermannus Contractus, and in many others,

* Sermo. X.

† Goërres die Christliche Mystik, i. 197.

including religious women, as Margaret the Dominicaness, Catherine of Cardona, Osanna of Mantua, Catherine of Sienna, and Rosa of Lima.* Yet, no doubt, than these extraordinary results, no less wondrous was the gift of faith—the principle and foundation of all other gifts.

"To the soul that seeketh him with a constant intention," says Richard of St. Victor, "God revealeth himself, in whose presence it is renewed, and, as if adhering to him, it perceives a sweetness of internal taste, a spiritual intelligence, an illumination of faith, an increase of hope, an emotion of charity and compassion, a zeal of justice, a delight in virtue. Enlightened by this grace it begins to see the darkness of its heart, and to know itself, to perceive how many vices are hidden there under the appearance of virtues; for in the soul a new day arises after the night of ignorance, and it rejoices to have found, though as yet only imperfectly and in vow him whom it loveth."†

Here then is revealed the secret of that intense faith, which characterized these ages, for, says Louis of Blois, "When the spirit of man attains to that wisdom of mystic theology, namely, to that divine union, it is then illuminated with the light of eternal truth, its faith is rendered more certain, its hope is strengthened, its charity is inflamed. Therefore, if all the wise men of the world were to say to the man who had experienced the mystic union, 'you are deceived, wretched man, your faith is not true,' he would undoubtedly answer, 'nay, it is you who are deceived, for my faith is most true and most certain:' this he would answer firmly, having an ineffable foundation in his heart, not so much by the investigation of reason as by the union of love. Such a man certainly knows divinity better than the greatest number of learned masters, who, not being as yet admitted into the holy of holies, and into the secret chamber of the Eternal King, have not been greatly illuminated with the light of grace."‡ A Catholic philosopher of modern times has remarked this fact, that "it happens often in the sphere of faith, in relation to science and religion, that what in the beginning was merely a rational belief, changes afterwards by degrees into a deep and inward faith, a conviction still profounder, more personal, nay almost into an internal intuition or actual view of living truth."§ Frederick Schlegel, perhaps, had not read the passage of the schoolman, in which he explains the cause of this phenomenon, showing how piety assists reason, and reason excites piety. "The mind," says Hugo of St. Victor, "strengthened by reasonings, is excited to a more fervent devotion. Thence arises the third and perfect state of religion; for the man, being purified by devotion, begins to have a certain foretaste of the future, and with a clean heart hastens to that which is known by faith and devotion. So the purified conscience, by invisible testimony, and with a secret and familiar visitation of its God, is daily instructed and confirmed, in so much that it begins now to have him pres-

* Id. ii. 196-207.

† Ric. S. Vict. in Cantica Cant.

‡ Instit. Spirit. cap. i.

§ Schlegel, Philosophie der Sprache, 218.

ent by contemplation ; and already by no reasoning, although the whole world should be turned into miracles, can it be separated from his faith and love. These, therefore, are the three steps of promotion in faith by which it rises to perfection. The first is to choose by piety, the second to approve by reason, the third to apprehend by truth."*

This mystic state is described by Hugo of St. Victor in a passage most remarkable.† "There are three visions of the rational soul—thought, meditation, and contemplation. Thought is when the mind is touched transitorily with a notion of things ; meditation is a certain curious and sagacious power of mind, endeavoring to investigate obscure, and to unravel complicated things ; contemplation is that vivacity of intelligence, which having all things open, comprehends them with manifest vision, so that what meditation seeks, contemplation possesses. In meditation there is, as it were, a certain struggle of ignorance with science, and the light of truth shines as if in a certain middle state of darkness—like as fire at first with difficulty seizes upon green wood, but, when with wind vehemently excited, it begins to burn with greater intensity in the subject matter, then we see rise vast globes of smoky darkness, and the flame itself scarcely at rare intervals can be discerned, until, at length, the conflagration by degrees increasing, all vapor being exhausted, and darkness dissipated, the serene splendor may appear. Then the conquering flame rushing through the whole mass of the crackling pile, freely dominates, flying round the subject matter, and licking it with all pervading touch, burns and penetrates, nor rests until pervading it through its most intimate recesses, it draws all that it finds not itself into itself. But after that which is to be burned has lost all property of its own, and wholly passed into the similitude of fire, then all noise ceases, and every sound is hushed—the straws of flame raised aloft are borne away, and that cruel voracious fire, having subjected all things to itself, and incorporated them into a certain friendly similitude, composes itself into a deep and silent peace ; because it now finds nothing different from itself nor opposed to it. So in like manner the carnal heart, as if green wood, not yet dried from the humor of fleshly concupiscence, if any spark of the divine fear or love should fall upon it, at first, indeed, arises the smoke of passions and perturbations, reluctant with depraved desires ; then, the mind being strengthened when the flame of love begins more fiercely to burn, and more clearly to shine, all the darkness of perturbation ceases, and the soul with a pure mind pours itself out to the contemplation of truth. But, finally, after that the heart becomes penetrated with an assiduous contemplation of truth, and that with all the affection of the soul, it enters wholly into the very fountain of highest truth, then, as if become itself all fire, and changed into the flame of love, the noise and perturbation die away, and it rests in that supreme peace. Then, truly, when he is received with that intimate love, that besides himself there is nothing else left remaining in the heart, God is to be discerned all in all."

* De Sacrament. Lib. i. p. x. c. 4.

† A Masterpiece of Middle Age Latinity.

The result of this mystic elevation of the highest spiritual faculties is ecstasy —whatever that may be to the souls which suffer it, and they were many, as the Church attests. Angela of Foligny remained three—Ignatius Loyola, seven—Magdalen of Pazzi, eight days in ecstasy. Seven times each day Elizabeth of Spalbach was thus transported. The whole lives of some were ecstatic. The hermit Macarius spent nearly all his life in ecstasy, and the same is related of St. Francis of Assissi, Giles, his disciple, Columba of Rieti, Gertrude of Oosten, Joseph of Copertino, and many others. Ecstasy in confession, as to Magdalen de Pazzi—ecstasy in communion, as to Catherine of Genoa, and innumerable saints—ecstasy in preaching, as to John of the Cross—ecstasy in performing the ceremonies of holy week, as to Thomas of Villanova—ecstasy in singing, as to Christina of Stumbelen, and Petrus Petronius, the Carthusian—ecstasy in death, as to holy men and women without number, who departed singing in unearthly tones, to the embraces of their God,* were the gifts bestowed upon the clean of heart, in the churches, cloisters, and even secular houses of the ages of faith.

At one time the brightness of the mystic vision rendered them invisible, as in the instances related of Hermann Joseph of Steinfeld, Nevelo of Faventia, and the holy Bona of Pisa.† At another it encompassed them with heaven's own blessed light, visible even to others. While St. Bernardine was preaching in St. Martin's church, at Sienna, all the people beheld an illumination round him. Similarly St. Francis de Sales, while explaining the commandments, was encircled with a light which every one saw. The countenance of Camillo de Lellis, while he was preaching on the love of God, began to shine like the sun. At midnight, Esperanza of Brenegalla, in Valencia, adoring the blessed Sacrament, was found encompassed with a splendor which lighted up the whole church. The streams of lustre which issued from Hieronyma Carvallo, prevented the beholders from seeing the countenances of the poor gathered round him, who asked alms. The holy priest William, of the Cistercian order, beheld a light encircling the blessed John, as he sung the song of Zacharias, and directed the prior to notice it, who asked him, what had been his thoughts while they sung "Benedictus Dominus Deus Israel:" he replied, "I thought I was in heaven surrounded with angels." The prior again asked him concerning what he had in mind at the verse, "Et tu puer Propheta:" when he answered, "I felt as if John the Baptist stood before me and I became senseless through joy."

St. Elizabeth of Hungary, and the holy Hedwig of Poland, were both seen while praying, encompassed with a miraculous light, and the same is related of many others.‡ It was during such intervals that the transcendant prodigies, with which all holy history rings, were effected. It was then that the bodies of the saints were elevated above the ground,§ transported from place to place,‖ en-

* Goërres die Christliche Mystik, ii. 398. 402. 404.
† Id. ii. 339—43. ‡ Id. ii. 310—313. § Id. ii. 515. ‖ 528.

dued with a celestial fragrance,* given a taste of ineffable sweetness,† instantaneously healed from diseases, extatically assimilated by the divine Saviour, marked with a bleeding crown, pierced in the side,‡ stigmatized to the complete imitation of the Son of God.§ Then did they enjoy those gifts, which so visibly bespeak the joys of a world unlike ours—the gift of tears, streaming delicious tears —tears that were a wonder, and rightly denominated a gift from heaven, such a bliss spread through the soul as soon as they flowed forth, like the waters of a river, sweeping away black sorrow and disquietude, and trembling doubts; then came there the gift of jubilation, ineffable, inconceivable, producing insensibility to all material objects around—the gift of utterance too of words, that surpass human intelligence, of tones unearthly, as if all that the soul had ever learned here below, were already blotted out and forgotten; and so in truth they were at least while that high triumph lasted, for in that heavenly banqueting, the soul, as Dante saith, outgrows herself, and in the transport lost, held now remembrance none of what she was.‖

The uncertain and hidden things of divine wisdom are made manifest to her. "Were such intervals to be granted unto all who studied holiness, faith would lose its merit," says one who had endured them; for what profane person would not hail such consolation, if he could be sure of obtaining it? Such joys exceed all the delights of the world, and all the pleasures incident by nature to the heart of man. Then broke forth words of light, of seraphic fire, sounds surpassing all sense and reason. Witness those of Dionysius, speaking of seraphim, which Hugo of St. Victor concludes, "can be nothing else but words from a higher world." "Man," he observes, "does not speak so. These words," he continues, "may be an echo of those unspeakable words which Paul heard when he was raised to the third heaven, and caught up to paradise. These words came from the word itself, they could not certainly be spoken by him who thoroughly understood them, but yet something could be imparted by them, and that is in the words which we read. They are great as telling of immensity, dark as relating to what is concealed, deep as concerned with what is incomprehensible. They sound like a voice from heaven, and fill us with amazement; but they enlighten us not. Even as some thought that they heard thunder, others an angel, not God himself, so also we. But our amazement must attract us higher, the words must become a sweeter music—an enjoyment, we must learn to love them; then we shall understand them. If I be less excited to knowledge I shall be incited to love, and meanwhile love itself will be refection, until from it will arise contemplation, by which illumination cometh."

The holy Hildegard used to apply to things divine and human names that were unknown to others, and Goërres has published a kind of Glossary to them, which is found in an ancient manuscript. He supposes that the images presented to

* Goërres die Christliche Mystik, 89. † 86. ‡ 410. § 420. ‖ Par. xxiii.

her in mystic visions could not suggest the ordinary words of man.* But our limits are already overpast, we must not remain here longer, and even listening to such things, is not for ears of uncleansed flesh and blood. These living splendors of the times of faith, rise up now and move from our view. Intellectual extremes have met long enough while they conversed with us. They must proceed upwards, and we descend sorrowing, though not without hope, to the blind sordid world again. Yet, reader, if it hath not been thy lot to mourn always with the lost and separate, there must be light prepared for thee below, for thou must have known some faithful tender souls to which these visions have been granted. Thou must have observed the silence, the motionless suspension, the tears, the overflowing joy when Christ appears in humble veil upon the lighted altar. Then thou canst understand the long tract of ages by the holy past ; then thou canst, in some degree, conceive with what hopes they looked forward to the clearer vision of another world ; for, if such be the victim, self-annihilated as it were on the altar, what will be the Creator visible in his glory? The mystic view, intelligential and obscure, is peace to the heart of man, what will be the unveiled and perfect manifestation of the eternal godhead? " Reliquiæ cogitationum diem festum agent tibi," saith the prophet king. " Think," adds Richard of St. Victor, " what will be the solemnity in the abundance of that view if a festival is celebrated out of the leavings of thoughts."†

Some there are, albeit, adorned with bewitching smiles, whose heart, save their Maker, none can to the full possess, watching it no less than she above, who would have all her court be like herself. One I have known, who not from that day when on this earth I first beheld her charms, has ever ceased with inward song adoring to converse with Christ, his blessed mother, and the saints. O thou pure and loving soul, what will it be after so many prayers, so many genuflections, so many stolen vigils in the stilly night, so many communions prepared for with all thy poor strength, so many kisses bestowed upon the crucifix and holy relics ever next thy bosom, so many aves murmured on thy beads, so many tears and prostrations while singing " Tantum ergo and O Salutaris Hostia," at the benediction of each closing day, which to thee even in youth was joy, mirth, rapture, every thing—what will it be, I say, after all this life of expectation and desire infinite, of alternate joy and sorrow, of light and darkness passing through the heart, to behold thy God, where days end not, where blessed moments change not, where the vision of glory fades not through eternal years? O spirit, born for joy, who in the rays of life angelic, dost already taste that sweetness, what will be thy radiance then? And where will be the poor heart dwelling within this dust, that now can only wonder at thy beauty?

A smile sits painted on the cheek of these high teachers, and their fixed gaze bends on the point at which my vision fails—then their words resuming, they

* Die Christliche Mystik, ii. 152.

† De Grad. Charit.

begin, "let us behold with the blessed thy countenance, O Christ God, the joy which is immense and excellent! O, what delight to mix in the choir of angels, to be in perpetual society with patriarchs and prophets, with holy apostles and martyrs, with confessors and virgins, with the glorious Mary, mother of God! No more fear, no more sorrow, no more indifference, no more fatigue, no more vexation. There is an end of labor and obstacles, of disgust and wants. O what riches of consolation, what affluence of delight, what overflowings of joy! What an abyss of pure pleasure to behold that boundless and beauteous light, that ineffable glory of the most holy Trinity, to see the God of gods on the mountain of Zion, to see him no longer in enigma, but face to face—to see the glorious Humanity of the only Son of God!

O! what pure prayers were offered day and night before those altars of the middle age, imploring grace for virtue yet more high to understand—the supreme bliss. Truly, these were the generations seeking him—seeking the face of the God of Jacob. There methinks I see them kneel, beseeching him through saints and angels, and above all his mother ever blest, to drive each cloud of their mortality away, that on the sovereign joy unveiled they may soon for ever gaze. "Good Jesus," they exclaim with Thomas, "when shall I stand to behold thee? When shall I contemplate the glory of thy kingdom? When wilt thou be to me all in all?" These perfect souls, as Richard of St. Victor wished, devoted to the contemplation of highest things, at every hour of their pilgrimage expected, with the utmost desire, the departure from their present labor, in order to behold that which they held through faith shown in itself intelligibly plain. Like Abraham who used to sit at the door of his tent; like Elias who used to stand at the mouth of his cave—they stood prepared to go out to hail the Lord's coming.* "Quando veniam et apparebo ante faciem Dei? My little sons," adds the saintly Bernard after repeating these words, "let us desire the courts of the Lord, let us breathe after them. Our country is there—let us, at least, adore it from a distance, let us from afar salute it."—Amen.

* De Contemplat. p. i. Lib. iv. c. 10.

END OF THE EIGHTH BOOK.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

BOOK IX.

MORES CATHOLICI;

OR,

AGES OF FAITH.

THE NINTH BOOK.

CHAPTER I.

NOW we have turned to the seventh circle of beatitude our ascending step,—though had we not assurance that still two lines were to be passed, we might suppose that all had been already seen. We are, in truth, so near the sum of blessedness, that separate lights are swallowed up in the universal radiance. Encompassed with a perfumed air of such sweet intensity, we shall not easily be able to distinguish the fragrance of any fresh flowers of the divine garden. As a man who has travelled over much of the earth, considers how he has been in this place and in that, and ponders many things, so we, having in our memory the children of grace who inherited the first six promises from the mountain, may feel it almost superfluous now to ask where are those to whom were made the seventh, or that which is the complement of all. We have already seen them. If, indeed, we sought to imitate the style of geometricians, we might consent to this suggestion and conclude our history here; for in their lessons they take for granted whatever has been taught before, and proceed to explain only that on which they have not already written. But we would follow rather that of the philosophers, who, as one of their own number says, accept whatever comes to their hand, and heap all things together, even such as had been discussed in another place. To those who ask now, were the middle ages remarkable for having produced a multitude of pacific men? it would be a sufficient reply if we referred them to the former books, in which they have seen that men in those ages possessed in rich abundance the first six of these graces; for this being proved, it is a necessary consequence that they were, in-

deed, the sons of peace. Clearly there must have been much peace to the poor in spirit and the meek; for if, as we have shown, the latter verified the promise, "Omnis locus quem calcaverit pes, vester erit,"* they were, as St. Bernardine of Sienna distinguishes, "pacifically constituted the lords of the world." As clearly there must have been peace to the blessed mourners who found it in their detachment from the world and in their tears; to those also who so loved the divine law as to thirst after its universal reign; to those, again, whom mercy and love necessarily rendered peace-makers; and, finally, to those who had obtained that wisdom from above which St. James describes as being first pacific, and which St. Augustin ascribes to the pacific, in whom all things are ordered, and no motion rebels against reason, but all things obey the spirit of man as he obeys God, whom to see is to see peace.

Nevertheless, we will not content ourselves with such an answer; but to illustrate from history the two sentences which yet remain, we shall devote separate books; and if our wish may be fulfilled, although we have thus seen before that men in ages of faith were eminently the lovers of divine peace, and the blessed sufferers for sake of justice, we shall still adduce historic proof for each of these propositions separately.

Not without a mystery, according to the gloss adduced by St. Bernardine of Sienna, is the beatitude of peace ranked in the seventh degree; for in the sabbath of true rest will be given true peace. And St. Ambrose shows how justly it follows the beatitude of the clean of heart; since it is only when the interior has been purified that men can begin to enjoy that peace which they can then impart to others. The order of history after the sermon of our Lord upon the mount will not be found to exclude direct evidence in proof of the love and possession of divine peace. The wise, the great, the unforgotten,—those who wore mitres, and helms, and crowns,—were all encompassed with it. What others gained who with no less purity walked in the way of God unnoticed, may be learned from him who prophesied of old that such should dwell in peace upon the earth; so that, in fact, it is the historian who has profoundly studied the character of the ages of faith, who is of all men the best qualified to explain the true nature of this divine state, and to appreciate its felicity. He best can tell how sweet to the generations of men is peace; he best can show how to cultivate, preserve, and impart tranquillity; so that when referring men to the thoughts and manners of Catholic ages, his counsel may be expressed in the words of that spirit which cried to Dante and his guide,

> "——If ye desire to mount,
> Here must ye turn: this way he goes,
> Who goes in quest of peace."‡

To men, however, who are wholly ignorant of that history, and who judge only

* Deut. xi. † Baruch. iii. ‡ Purg. xxiv.

from the reports that pass current whenever the voice of modern sophists has prevailed, there will seem to interpose an objection of immense difficulty; for they are persuaded that the history of the middle ages contains nothing but the spectacle of social chaos, an uninterrupted course of wars, and violence, and confusion. The historians, like the poets of our days, sing the misery of man, and, like the fallen angels in Milton's hell, lament the destiny which is to them unknown; but, like them also, "their song is partial." Nevertheless, however we may be convinced that their view in this respect is mistaken, we cannot be dispensed from seeking to prove that it is so; and, therefore, from this elevation where we stand, our steps must lead us back awhile to regions of sin and darkness, and to those scenes of horror which modern writers love to unfold.

That wars and violence should have been found in ages of faith is an observation which affords no ground for combating the truth that is to be illustrated in this book respecting the multitude of those who inherited the blessing pronounced upon the pacific by our Divine Saviour. Under the religion of Him who said He came "not to send peace upon earth but a sword," and who never promised to secure the interests of the world and of material prosperity, the reign of temporal order can never be considered as an accurate criterion to estimate the degree of approximation of ages to the true end of man. The peace which He offered was, as we shall see presently, something different from this temporal external order which many enthusiasts, in various ages of the Church, proposed to establish. During the ages of faith all who heard the Church were perfectly aware that in the present condition of men there must be wars and disorders to punish, correct, and try the human race. If in the Church of God, for which Christ died, there must be heresies, what Christian could be scandalized at finding horrors affecting the material order in the world, for which Christ did not pray? St. Theresa was told by a spiritual man that he was not surprised at the evil which is committed by men in the state of mortal sin, but that he could not sufficiently wonder that they did not cause much greater.* Intervals of order, breathings, as it were, would occur, but nothing more. "We shall rest during a certain number of days, but on the next we shall fight again;" and in saying this to Achilles, Priam relates the history of the world. What Tacitus says on the death of Vitellius might be its motto: "Rather war ceased than peace began."† "Dum paci dat tempus hiems," was all that Cæsar promised;‡ and, in fact, it was not a singular epoch when men might reckon summers, like Thucydides, by wars. It is a fond desire, therefore, of the poet to find a lodge in some vast wilderness where rumor of unsuccessful or successful war may never reach him more. Pindar, indeed, had said of the sacred race of the Hyperboreans, that they lived apart from toil and battles, undisturbed by the revengeful Nemesis.§ But, however heroes and their feats fatigued the former, he was forced to see that in every heart are sown the sparks that kindle fiery war.

* Castle of the Soul, chap. i. † Hist. iv. ‡ Lucan ii. § Pyth. x. 56.

"Is it a thing possible that this world should be at peace?" asks the author of the Tree of Battles, and he answers, "Truly it is not. Nature herself," he continues in his quaint but forcible style, "by difference of complexions causes war. Let there be two seigneurs in a country, one is of one complexion, the other of another. One loves justice, the other simony; one loves merchants, the other men of arms and pillage. One inclines to peace, the other to war; one sides by the King of France, the other by the King of England. Then, supposing them in an hotel together, one likes to eat early, the other late; one to speak too much, the other to listen; one likes white wine, the other red; and thus in consequence of the complexion of human bodies scarcely can there be accordance in this world. God, indeed, can make peace everywhere; for he can make all men good and wise, and for such men it will not be impossible to remain at peace; for the wise man is lord of his stars, and if by carnal inclinations he should be bent to war, by the virtue of wisdom he can surmount the inclination of the flesh; but the number of the unwise is great, and therefore, war must follow."* Nor is overmuch importance attached to trifles in this curious passage. Sparta sent out a great armament against Polycrates of Samos, in order, as Herodotus says, to revenge the plunder of a cauldron and a breast-plate. "Here bread makes peace for you," says St. Augustin. "Take away bread, and see what a war will be within you."† The mere interview between worldly chiefs has produced great disorders. Such was the consequence of that between Don Fernando IV. of Castile, and Denis of Portugal, his father-in-law; and of that between Philip I. and Don Fernando. Between Hector and Achilles there was mortal anger which nothing but death could appease, on account of no other cause, if you can believe the poet, but that the highest virtue was in both.‡

Strange virtue as it would have been deemed in ages of faith, but, perhaps, consistent with all that fallen nature yields: the most amiable of ancient poets ascribes to youth in happiest times, as a matter of indifference, the occupation of either cultivating the soil or of shaking towns with war.§ The schoolmen see the necessity of the evil from estimating the confusion within the human heart. "What a perturbation of internal peace!" exclaims Richard of St. Victor; "thoughts contradict thoughts, and affections resist affections; and contrary emotions meet. Nation rises against nation; the evil are divided against themselves, and the Lord makes the Egyptians contend against Egyptians. Nay, what is still more strange, the good sometimes rise against the good, and a man fights against his brother and against his friend; and each one would devour the flesh of his own arm. From weakness of the head and will, the good often rise against the good, and the kingdom of Israel is divided into two parts, and they contend with each other in many battles and seditions; and never in any state during this life can there be found a firm peace or a perfect rest."‖ "Yes," exclaims

* L' Arbre des Batailles. † In Psalm xxxiii. ‡ Hor. Sat. i. 7. § Æn. ix. 606.
‖ De Statu Interioris Hominis, l. i. c. 17. 19.

Petrarch, " such is the lot of all that are born, to be ever exposed to battle either against foreign or domestic foes. Our first and last hope must be Christ."* " Genoa would be a happy city," says its historian, " if it could be proclaimed to be without conflicts against foreign enemies ; but no such state can exist for the reason that no mortal can be supremely happpy."† or as Spenser says, " that blisse may not abide in state of mortall men." St. Avitus replies to Aurelien, who had congratulated him on some interval of rest amidst the invasion and domination of the Burgundians, " Yes, doubtless it is a manifest sign of prosperity, however fugitive and weak, to be able to receive news from one's friends ; but this diluvian tempest of events and disasters which you describe can never wholly cease from agitating human things so long as we sail on the ocean of the world. If, then, we are allowed a moment for breath in these calamities, we must perceive it is a suspension, but not a termination, of our dangers— a little gleam of light, less to dissipate than to reveal our miseries, in order that our souls may be the more tempered to suffering. Cease, then, to regard these evils as finished ; and let not prosperity elevate or adversity depress you, and hope for no port till you arrive at the world where tranquillity will reign for ever."‡ Even when there is not war either between nations or between kings, between kings and people or monarchies and republics, still to vex man's peaceful state there must be battle between the two forms of the human intelligence, between faith and rebellious reason, those two distinct powers having each their chiefs, their assemblies, their pulpits, and mysteries ; for with the world began a war which will finish with the world, and not before— that between faith or the Catholic power, and negation or the rationalist power serving a rebellious will, the one descending from God through the patriarchs and the Jews to Christ, the other from the demon through all those who have imitated his pride. History is nothing else but the narrative of this interminable struggle. " Impiorum omnium caput Diabolus est," says St. Gregory. So the author of the Tree of Battles asks, " Where was the first battle ?" and answers, " in heaven, when an angel rebelled against the sovereign Lord God ; and truly it is no great marvel that in this lower world there should be many great and marvellous wars and battles, since even above in heaven there were wars and battles."§ This great battle was not fought, however, with material arms. " It was," says Bossuet, " a conflict of thoughts and of sentiments. The angel of pride said, Let us do our own will like God ; and Michael asked on the contrary, Who is like God ? whence is his name ?" The war in heaven was soon finished, but it broke out afresh within the human heart, where the demons hoped to re-establish their former empire. When there were only four persons in the world, one of them slew his brother. The conclusion which the philosopher comes to, had been drawn by St. Augustin ; " The first founder of the earthly state was a

* Epist. x. 12.

‡ Epist. xxxiv.

† Stellæ Annales Genuenses, Lib. i. c. 6.

§ L'Arbre des Batailles, c. 11.

fratricide, and it is not strange," he adds, " that its history should correspond with that archetype."* But we need not leave the middle ages to find profound views on this subject. Vincent de Beauvais says, " In Cain began the malice of the reprobate—in Abel the patience of the saints. Cain built an earthly city, and congregated wealth by rapine and violence, and invited his friends to robbery, and fearing those whom he injured, on account of security, collected them in cities ; and Cain is born before just Abel, to show that in Adam the whole human race is corrupted in mass, and that when any one from that mould is made a vessel of honor, this proceeds not from nature, but from the mercy of God, calling : the studies of the sons of Cain," he adds, " manifest to what state they belong."† In fact, as Frederic Schlegel remarks, " his descendants are distinguished in all the original records and traditions of mankind by a skill in the mechanical arts, in the working of metals, by a turbulent and warlike spirit, producing at last the race of giants. On the other hand, the family of Seth are traced by the characteristics of piety, reverence, virtue, and peaceableness ! These two races of men are marked in profane monuments, as well as in holy writ."‡

Under these two different forms, the race of men is presented in all the ancient traditions of the world. On the one hand it is a devout race seeking God, loving peace, enjoying long life in a patriarchal condition of simplicity, yet not without a deep wisdom, as may be learned, not merely from perishable rolls of writing, but from durable monuments of stone. On the other hand, a colossal race, of strong, mighty, wicked sons of God's, of heaven-assaulting-giants, as they appear in our later heroic fables. This division of men into two opposite kinds, mutually opposed and hostile, forms the real contents of the whole of early history. As soon as this division of mankind had taken place, and two wills arisen in them, one a godly, or at least, a will desiring God, and the other a natural, desiring only nature, passionate and disordered will, it is immediately observable, that the human race takes two different and opposite directions, separating from each other. Although that opposition was pointed out as a difference of stem, and a division of two people, yet it was never the main point to remark it as a mere distinction between a noble and a weak race of men, as later writers have done in reference to the Celtic tribes. In the olden times, it was much more an opposition of mind, and of the spiritual disposition, than a bare difference of original stock, which divided the world into two divisions, each hostile and combating the other. However far removed in time from the present, " they may be regarded," he proceeds to say, " as answering to the two parties divided in their belief, only in another form and manner, and under other relations from what now exists. It was, in a word, the opposition of religion and irreligion, but on the vast scale of the original world, and accompanied with the gigantic power which the oldest traditions commemorate."§

* De Civ. Dei. xv. 5.

† Vincent Bel. Spec. Hist. i. 57.

‡ Philosophie der Geschichte, 1. i. 52.

§ Philosophie der Geschichte, i. 55.

These are the giants spoken of in the prophecies, from which the Church reads, who were from the beginning, knowing war, whom the Lord hath not chosen, an allusion to whom explains the saying of Montaigne, that there is more difference between some men and others, than between some men and some beasts. There were, moreover, other considerations, to convince thoughtful Christians, in the ages of faith, that the world could never enjoy uninterrupted tranquillity. One of them thus sung—

> "Nunquam bella bonis, nunquam discrimina desunt;
> Et cum quo certet mens piá semper habet."

"If it be asked," says another, "what are the causes of there being so many wars in the world? I answer, that they are all for the sins of the people, to punish which God permits wars. Men of arms are the scourge of God, by his permission to punish sinners, and to do execution upon them in this world, as the devils of hell do in the next."* "Times of war," says St. Augustin, "are according as God judges fitting, to punish the human race."† They are also to correct it: therefore, the same great doctor said to the men around him, "Scipio wished you to be terrified by an enemy, lest you should give way to luxury. Now that you are ground down by an enemy, you do not even repress it. Perdidistis utilitatem calamitatis, et miserrimi facti estis, et pessimi permansistis."‡

"Sadness," as Richard of St. Victor says, "when it is chastized by God, tries to accuse not its own conscience, but His justice, and fears not to adduce in His reproach what God prepares for its correction, and as it were, a medicine for its special disease: what so impious, what so alien from true piety!"§ But still the end is fulfilled. "By adversity," as he observes, "the reprobate are punished, but not corrected; while by adversity the good are corrected from their evil, or are promoted to better things."‖ "Hence," as St. Augustin remarks, "God sometimes executes his good will by making use of the evil will of wicked men."¶ For as the Master of the Sentences shows, "the will of God is always fulfilled by man, whithersoever he turns himself."** From this knowledge it followed, that in ages of faith a poet would not, like Virgil, invoke with surprise the muse, to tell him what anger of the deity "insignem pietate virum, tot adire labores impulerit."††

Hear how the chronicles of St. Denis speak:—"Thus was the good king Philip de Valois a true Catholic, therefore, our Lord wished him to have pain and tribulation in this world, in order that he might reign with him after death for ever.‡‡ Without such trials, there could be no exercise of fortitude, which is the science of enduring contrary and formidable things!§§ Still less would a poet then have referred, like Cowper, to the long security of his country from war, while

* L'Arbre des Batailles. † De Civ. Dei, v. 22. ‡ Id. i. 33. § Annot. in Ps. xxv.
‖ De Contemplatione, ii. c. 19. ¶ Enchir. 24. ** Lib. i. dist. 46. †† Æn. i. 10.
‡‡ Ad. An. 1350. §§ Cicero Tuscul. iv.

inflicting it upon other nations, as an argument to prove that it was especially favored by God, addressing it in lines like his.

> "Peculiar is the grace by thee possess'd,
> Thy foes implacable, thy land at rest;
> Thy thunders travel over earth and seas,
> And all at home is pleasure, wealth, and ease."

He speaks as if under the old law, not the new, which imposes penance on nations as on men. During ages of faith, in times of overwhelming disaster, as in the fifth century, when some minds, not firmly settled in its doctrine, were troubled and filled with doubts as to the providential government of the world, there rose up men to repeat and develop the doctrine of St. Augustin. Such were a Prosper of Aquitaine, a Salvien of Marseilles, a St. Eucher of Lyons, who philosophized like him on the invasions and wars of the barbarians. "These wars and desolations," says a writer in the year 890, alluding to the Huns in a letter to the bishop of Verdun, "are sent to punish our sins and lead us to mercy. In all ages they have been employed for that end. Blessed Gregory, in the close of his book 'on Ezechiel,' deplores the calamities of his times, saying, on all sides we are encompassed with swords, and with imminent danger of death. Blessed father Augustin reproves a bishop for lamenting over much the ruin of his city," and says, "non est magnus qui magnum putat quod corruunt lapides et moriuntur mortales."* In 1330, an historian of Pavia says, "though our city is now oppressed with discords, let our objectors know that God has inflicted these dissensions on it as on a city that He loves and wishes to correct in mercy; for doubtless the machinations of these sons of Belial, who by his just permission have risen up amongst us, will only conduce to enhance the crown of the good."†

That wars and troubles were unavoidable, had been recognized, notwithstanding the vain Roman formula,‡ by the ancient sages and poets, who endeavored also to trace the evil to its source. Plato finds it in the body, which in fact, explains best the poet's words, "et multis utile bellum."§ "Wars," he says, "proceed from the love of riches," and we are compelled to gain riches on account of the body, τὰ δὲ χρήματα ἀναγκαζόμεθα κτᾶσθαι διὰ τὸ σῶμα.‖ St. Bonaventura shows this from holy writ. Property causes strife, as appears from the shepherds of Abraham and of Lot,¶ and those of Isaac and of Gerara.** Hence, the poet says—

> "Si duo de nostris tollas pronomina rebus,
> Prælia cessarent, pax sine lite foret."

The type of a multitude in all ages is the dealer in crests for helmets, with the

* Ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. tom. i. p. 230.
† Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, 22. ap. Mur. Rer. It Script. xi.
‡ Dionys. Halic. Lib. vi. Procon. Lib. i. § Lucan. i. ‖ Phædo, 66. ¶ Gen. xiii.
** Gen xxvi. Compend. Theol.

Greek poet, who tells Trugæus that the peace has ruined him, *ἀπώλεσάς μου τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον.** Such was Auguto, and we should thank Italians for so concealing his English name, who replied to the Pax tecum of two friars, who came to see him at the castle of Montecchio, may God deprive you of alms! explaining afterwards his reply, by reminding them that he lived by war, like the Roman conqueror who was an enemy wherever any money could be extracted,† like others too whom we need not mention.

> "Arma placent miseris, detritaque commoda luxu,
> Vulneribus reparantur."

Such men by violence would seek the fortune of the Cid and his companions, who went to the king's court upon mules, and who returned upon horses. Æschylus only states the fact, that the Furies wish to be fellow inhabitants of the same city with Minerva.‡ Virgil speaks of her—

> "——————— Cui tristia bella,
> Iræque, insidiæque, et crimina noxia cordi."

Addressing that direful enemy, he says, "you can arm brothers of one mind against each other, and diffuse hatred and misery through houses,"—"tibi nomina mille, Mille nocendi artes."§ He again represents the type of a large class of men that will always exist, in him who says—

> "Aut pugnam, aut aliquid jam dudum invadere magnum,
> Mens agitat mihi, nec placida contenta quiete est."‖

Yet to fate he ascribes it, for with a deep groan Æneas says, "Nos alias hinc ad lacrimas eadem horrida belli Fata vocant."¶ In ages of faith, the poet had a refuge, "a stormy star rules this place," says Petrarch, "against which the best remedy is flight. But alas! whither can we fly from the thunder of fortune? One resolution I have come to, that the peace which we seek in vain from without, we seek within us; and that which the world hath not, we implore from God."** Lucan, whom Dante saw so high advanced,†† enumerates all the causes which impelled to arms the raging people, and drove peace from the world. He speaks of wealth, new manners, luxury, prodigality, feasting, the dread of poverty, the desire of joining field to field, unbridled passions, and of Rome not able to bear herself, "Nec se Roma ferens." Passions, indeed, as another keen observer says, were, and ever will be, a fruitful source of war,‡‡ before and after Helen, for whose sake so long the time was fraught with evil. And equally inseparable from this present life is that darkness which involved the mind of Scipio or of the poet Ennius, which makes him boast, that by the slaughter of enemies he had opened for himself a way to heaven. That the fallen nature of

* Aristoph. Pax, 1212. † Petron. Arbit. de Bell. Civ. ‡ Eumen. 916. § Æneid. vii. 335.
‖ Æneid. ix. 186. ¶ Æneid. xi. 95. ** Epist. Lib. x. 7. †† Infern. iv. ‡‡ Hor. S. i. 3.

man is blindly amorous of war was well known to historians of the ancient world. "There being a numerous youth," says Thucydides of the states of Greece, "they were pushed on to war with eagerness," ἔῤῥωντο ἐς τὸν πόλεμον.*

In the year 1412 the old men and the young disputed in Padua as to whether they should make war or not upon Vicenza. "Let there be peace," said the former; "peace, to which every man tends finally." "Let there be war," cried the latter, and their voice prevailed; so that no one could speak of peace in Padua without danger of death.† It is something to find one point here in the dissent of the aged on which the resemblance fails to that picture by the Greek historian, who says, that of the Athenians, both young and old were smitten with the love of that unhappy expedition against Sicily; though the rest is sufficiently similar, for he says that if any man disapproved of it he was induced to keep his opinions to himself, fearing lest he should be thought disaffected to the state. So it set out amidst the blast of trumpets, and libations to the gods, and the cheers of an enthusiastic multitude, and the chant of pæans that rose simultaneous from the sea and from the shore.‡ It is certain that there is in men an inclination to kill and to destroy. Lucan says that Cæsar's soldiers were at first reluctant to march against their country, but that they were recalled by the direful love of war; and he says that Cæsar himself loved wars for the sake of wars. Some, conversant with later times, will think that we need not go back to Cæsar to hear those words ascribed to him: "In vain would storms rage if no forest intervened to feel their force; the flame would expire if it met no obstacle; so to have no enemies would injure me, and I should consider it a loss if those did not rebel whom I could subdue by arms." As De Maistre says, "Man sometimes kills for killing sake. Proud and terrible king, nothing can resist him." There are many nations of savages, as the Père Lafiteau remarks, who cannot exist without fighting. Cæsar himself is an instance, who, as the poet says, "Furious in arms, rejoices in having no way unless by bloodshed: has pleasure not in entering gates that are thrown open, but in breaking them down, 'Nullas, nisi sanguine fuso Gaudet habere vias.'"§ Pompey ascribes the same mind to all his soldiers, eager for battle when he sought to avoid it, "Metuunt, ne non cum sanguine vincant."‖

There is no age of the world secure from such images, so terribly expressed by Homer, when a hero says, "To me were always dear ships, and comrades, and wars, and arrows, and all the things which are bitter to other men. To me these things are sweet: they are placed in my mind by God, for each man has his particular delights, which are dear to himself and not to another."¶ There are even whole nations influenced by "that fierce spirit whose unholy leisure was soothed by mischief since the world began." The Corinthians said that the Athenians regarded rest from labor as no less a calamity than ceaseless toil, and that it

* Lib. ii. 8.
† Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, i. 16. ap. Muratori, xii.
‡ Lib. vi. 24—32.
§ Lucan. ii.
‖ Id. v. ii.
¶ Od. xiv. 227.

would be a true assertion if any one affirmed, in brief, that they had never rest themselves, and would never suffer other men to have rest.* But leaving heathens and their times, whose experience was not unknown to men in Christian ages, we may conclude from the whole, that conflicts and disorders, so far from being thought by the latter irreconcilable with the existence of the true religion, seemed to them a fulfilment of its predictions, and an evidence of its truth. St. Bonaventura shows that there is a four-fold war distinguished in Scripture: "War between flesh and spirit, unless penance pacifies it; war between man and God, unless justice pacifies it; war between man and angel, unless the blessed incarnation of of the Son is applied to pacify it; and war between man and his neighbor, unless patience pacifies it."† Seek peace, and follow it. He does not say, adds St. Augustin, that you will find it here: but seek, and follow it. Whither shall I follow it? To the place to which it is gone before: for the Lord is our peace, who hath ascended to heaven.

In this world it is impossible that there should not be contentions and sorrow.‡ The perverse society of the impious, observes Vincent of Beauvais, renders our condition so uncertain, that the prophet says, "Neither on entering nor on leaving the world is there peace."§

> "Such is the state of men; thus enter we
> Into this life of woe, and end with miseree."

What is man? Pindar will answer, the shadow of a dream. What is man? Calamity itself, says Herodotus; the occasion of miseries, says Philemon; the plaything of fortune, and the image of mutability, says Aristotle.

"If you read all the writings of the philosophers," says one who sought in late times to imitate them, "you will find that no one wrote with more discernment than Heraclitus wept."‖ Christians in ages of faith, had, it is true, other views, and, as we have seen before, a different experience; yet, contrasted with the peace within them, which enabled them to discern what must be elsewhere, they would, with a slight reserve, subscribe to this description of the external world:

> "O, why doe wretched men so much desire
> To draw their dayes unto the utmost date,
> And doe not rather wish them soone expire,
> Knowing the miserie of their estate,
> And thousand perills which them still awate,
> And he that happie seemes, and least in payne,
> Yet is as nigh his end as he that most doth playne?"¶

Hugo of St. Victor, after citing the opinion of St. Jerome, that our Lord wept not because Lazarus was dead, but because he was about to recall him to the mis-

* Thucyd. Lib. i. 70. † Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6. ‡ In Ps. xxxiii. Enar.
§ Spec. Mor. i. 4. ‖ Heinsii Orat. 23. ¶ Spenser, iv. 3.

ery of this life, adds, "which, perchance, was so, since, from the sentiment of true piety which he there possessed as truly man, he wept over the miserable lot of the human condition to which he was about to recall Lazarus."* A tragedy, a tragedy, were the words which the venerable Dom. Didier de la Cour, abbot of S. Venne, was heard to repeat in his last hours. Some one, who heard him, at length demanded, "Father, do you wish to teach us that this life is a tragedy, and that you have played your part in it?" He replied by an inclination of his head to signify assent.† Of the life of faith, opposed to that of glory, St. Augustin says, "Bona est, sed adhuc misera."‡

Such reflections are a necessary preparation for the sad retrospect which now awaits us, to enable us to understand, with the great poet of the ages of faith, "how bitter can spring up when sweet is sown." For at that retrospect, in reference to these happy times, still we see the tenor of man's woe holds on the same. The glorious city of God is placed amidst the society of men living, as St. Augustin says, "after the manner of men under the domination of rebel angels."§ To few generations, therefore, of the peaceful race can an historian apply the Thucydidean phrase, and designate them ἄπειροι πολέμων. Often into a fleet falls every grove.

"——————it tristis ad æthera clamor
Bellantum juvenum, et duro sub Marte cadentum."‖

Honoré Bonnor assigns as one of his reasons for composing his work, entitled the Tree of Battles, that he can hardly name a spot of ground, whether country or duchy, which at that time was perfectly at peace. "Many sons of discord and enemies of peace were still in the kingdom of France and in other kingdoms," says the great chronicle of St. Denis, on the accession of Charles the Bald; and when was it otherwise? Fearfully significant of disorder in the world are the very directions given to visitors of parishes, as these, by the Council of Rheims, in 1408, which command them to inquire in each, whether there be any chests in the church without necessity arising from war.¶

The Roman poet, speaking of the Pharsalian tragedy, declines describing the worst scenes, and wishes that they may be consigned to oblivion.

"Ah! potius pereant lacrymæ, pereantque querelæ?
Quidquid in hac acie gessisti, Roma, tacebo."**

If, in the review which we are now to make of the wars and discords which desolated the nations during ages of faith, I should omit to speak of many, for our limits will permit but of a rapid glance, which can only catch the most prominent, the silence will not proceed from a similar motive; for the glory of the city of God has nothing to lose by bringing forward instances of the obstacles

* Annot. Elucid. Evang. Joan. † Voyage litt. de Deux Bénédict. 106.
‡ Tract. 124. in Joan. § De Civ. Dei, xvi. 17. ‖ Æn. xii. 409.
¶ Ap. Martene Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. tom. vii. ** Lucan. vii.

opposed to it by the perversity of men. These are the dark, troubled waters which, from the beginning, I declared we should meet, and which I pledged myself to pass, offering also to conduct others beyond them, a confidence in which none of the historians or moralists of the middle ages will be found deficient, for truth they felt needs no concealment. George Stella, in the preface to his Annals of the Genoese, declares, accordingly, that he will describe both the evil and the good of his country, in order that the understanding may be instructed as to the condition of the times, and that the mind may be more fervently impelled to desire that peace which the world cannot give.*

The gests of kings and dukes, and in what strain sad war may be described, has Homer shown; but how can I undertake to give even a faint idea of the evils, contrary to the spirit of the blessed peaceful, which afflicted, for so many ages, the city of God? Schiller says, that it would require eternity to consider the perplexed image of the universal woe. To use the words of our great poet,

> "We see the ground whereon these woes do lie,
> But the true ground of all these piteous woes,
> We cannot, without circumstance, descry."

"In the world," says St. Hildegarde, "there are, at intervals, times of insolence, and, again, times of contrition, and occasionally, times of the lightning and thunder of diverse iniquities."† These are the funeral and Tartarean years, of which St. Augustin speaks, like that when Rome saw five consuls.‡ These are the hours of terrific judgment, when, as at the Passion, the angels of peace weep bitterly;§ when the holy patient are heard to breathe a prayer that the rude scene may end · for then, as an old poet says,

> "Factum est in terris quidquid discordia jussit."‖

Then all things are in disorder excepting the constant minds of the saints, while impious Mars rages throughout the world. Then wars, that make such waste in brief mortality, announced with "cry of Haro," with harsh resounding trumpets, dreadful bray, and grating shout of wrathful iron arms, furnish occasion through all lands for deeds unsung by poets but chronicled in hell Then, as one of late so grandly sings, "The sound is that of the assault of an imperial city, the hiss of inextinguishable fire, the roar of giant cannon; the earthquaking fall of vast bastions and precipitous towers, the clash of wheels and clang of armed hoofs, and crash of brazen mail, as of the wreck of adamantine mountains, the mad blast of trumpets and the neigh of raging steeds, and shrieks of women whose thrill jars the blood, and now more loud the mingled battle cry." Alas! poor sons of peace, where are they the while? Nearly the whole of the present book will be an answer to this question.

* Stellæ An. Gen. ap. Muratori, tom. xvii.
† Epist. ad Anastas Pap.
‡ De Civ. Dei, iii. 16.
§ Isaiah xxxiii. 7.
‖ Petron Arb. Bell. Civ.

But let us seek to distinguish in brief some few of these dread intervals. They occur early in our history. Witness what St. Jerome says, "The mind shudders to contemplate the ruins of our times. For more than twenty years the Roman blood has unceasingly flowed from Constantinople to the Julian Alps. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epirus, Dalmatia, and all Pannonia, have been ravaged and laid waste by the Goths, Sarmatians, Huns, Vandals, and Marcomans. How many matrons, how many virgins of God, have been a prey to these animals! Bishops prisoners, priests slain, churches overthrown; horses stabled at the altars of Christ; the relics of martyrs untombed. Every where grief and groans, and many images of death. The Roman world is falling, and our stiff necks are not bent. The east did seem safe from these evils, and only terrified at the intelligence, when, lo! from the utmost rocks of Caucasus there have come down upon us wolves not of Arabia, but of the north, to overrun the provinces. How many monasteries captured, how many rivers swollen with human blood! To describe these things, Thucydides and Sallust would be mute."* The horrors which accompanied the fall of the Roman empire may be designated as the first act in this great drama. Passing over the long and cruel wars and spoliations which ended in the subjection of Italy by the Longobards,† if we turn to the state of Gaul in the fifth century, we have striking testimonies as to the extent of the evil. Affecting are the complaints of Sidonius Appollinaris on occasion of the war of the Burgundian chiefs, which filled all places with confusion and dismay. Fauriel remarks the melancholy which pervades men of this fifth age at the spectacle of the wars around them. He cites the letters of St. Avitus, and one from St. Germain, bishop of Paris, to Brunehaut, urging her to use her influence with Sigebert, to prevent war. "Although these countries," says the latter, "are accustomed to misfortune, and though we seem approaching our complete destruction, I should not have despaired of seeing the divine mercy suspend chastisement in expectation of an amendment, if it were not for the absolute rule of those wills which engender death, of that cupidity, root of all evils, and of that fury, which destroys all sentiment of prudence."‡ The wars of the Franks in this century were peculiarly horrible, inasmuch as they devastated the country, and eradicated the very fruits of the earth. It was of the Franks that Libanius said, "Peace is for them a horrible calamity,"§ and to Alaric that these words were ascribed:

"Atque utinam cunctos licuisset perdere bello!"‖

Disordered as were these times, there was still something left of horror to distinguish that dark episode of eighty-eight years which saw the reign of Clovis and the fall of the Merovingian race in the confinement of Childeric. Then came the civil wars in the time of Louis-le-Debonnaire, whom Divine Providence seemed re-

* Epist. xxxv. † Muratori, Antiq. Ital. diss. 23. ‡ Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. tom. ii.
§ Orat. ad Constantin. ‖ Claud. Paneg.

solved to punish in his children, down to the third generation, in Charles the Simple, whom Herebert put to death in the prison of Peronne. Truly the domination of these sons was violent and disordered. What a piteous tragedy was that which in one act displayed the unrivalled grandeur and prosperity of Charles-le-Gros, and in the next showed his sudden destruction, and the race of Charlemagne extinct beyond the Rhine, while perishing in France about the same time in the miserable ends of Charles the Simple, Lothaire, and Louis! The sufferings of men during these wars may be conjectured from what took place at the storming of Châlons, or from the eloquent and pathetic picture given of the horrors which attended the dismemberment of Charlemagne's empire, by the monk who wrote the life of Wala, abbot of Corby. At this epoch a bishop of Brescia thus writes to another prelate: "I beseech your fidelity to inform me what events are passing and what peace our kings, the sons of Louis, observe with Carolomann; for we who live in Italy, a prey one time to this power, another to that, are anxiously expecting to hear of their coming to an agreement, that we may know to whom we are to be subject."* But let us return to the northern invasions. Men of early times had glimpses of what was in reserve for the world. St. Clement of Alexandria styles Christians "the peaceful race," opposing them to the Scythians, Celts, and Thracians.† The Goths and other northern tribes, as Jornandus says, "used to boast that Mars had been born in their country."‡ The answer of Gaukater to St. Olaus, king of Norway, was, "I am neither pagan nor Christian. My comrades and I profess no other religion than a perfect confidence in our own strength and invincibility in battle." What terror pervaded the peaceful race in the ninth century, when these Normans assailed France with whole armies of such men, driving before them into the interior of the country the clergy, carrying the relics of the saints as their most precious treasures, when neither the Merovingians, nor the Carlovingians, nor the bishops, could defend the country; the letter of Hincmar to the pope in this age being a confession of the inability of the latter! "The barbarians," as Muratori remarks, "not content with seizing cities and towns, took possession also of the houses and land of private persons, killing or expelling their owners."§ The ravages of the Danes in Ireland in the eighth century, men like those of Homer, to whom war was sweeter than a return in ships to their dear fatherland, their repeated invasions of England, and their wars with her Alfred and St. Edmund, bear witness that the desolation was not confined to the continent, but that every where the peace of the Christian world was disturbed. Thus returned the race of giants, when "might only was admired, and valor and heroic virtue called. To overcome in battle and subdue nations, and bring home spoils with infinite manslaughter, was counted the highest pitch of human glory."

In the eighth century nearly the whole of Spain had been subdued by the Sar-

* Ap. Heumann de Re Diplomat. ii. 271. † Pædag. ii. 2. ‡ C. 5. § Antiq. Ital. i.

assins, who afterwards seized Sicily; while on the opposite side of Europe the invasion of the Huns was accompanied with indescribable horror. These ferocious warriors raised a pyramid of a hundred thousand human skulls, and boasted that they had raised seventy cities. After their passage of the Rhine, say the great chronicles of St. Denis, "all Gaul was afflicted with battles: every where were cries, tears, horrors, slaughter, and rapine."* To learn the calamities caused by the Huns in general, we should read the different chronicles of abbeys published by Canisius and Leibnitz. The notice which occurs of them when brief is no less significative. Thus, of the year 917, the annalist of Corby says, "The Huns laid waste the monastery and all the country about."† Similarly, respecting the irruption of the Tartars in the thirteenth century, the chronicles of Austrian and other abbeys are full of details.‡ It was after the wars of the Italian princes that Italy was invaded by the Huns, whose cruelties may be collected from the letters of condolence sent by Pope Sergius III. to Leopard, abbot of Nonantula, on the destruction of his monastery, by these invaders in 908.§ Salomon III., bishop of Constance, who died in 919, laments, in a solemn poem addressed to Bishop Dado, the desolation of Italy by these invasions, which were facilitated, he says, by the civil wars of Lambert, Berengarius, and the sons of Louis Boso. He begins by showing that the whole Christian life is love:

> "Quid plus? possidet omne bonum possessor amoris,
> Nec locus est meriti, si deest dilectio cordi."

Then, after describing the state of Italy, whose plains, he says, are whitened with the bones of the slain, he shows that the calamities have been caused by the absence of a strong hand to govern. "Wonder not," he says, "at such horrors, but rather that we have not all perished, when there was no one who could say, Do, or Desist."‖

But unconverted or apostate nations were not the only disturbers of the Christian peace. We must make mention, too, of those kings and feudal tyrants who wrought so many a woe for fair lands. "The season of the year when kings proceed to war," says Radevicus, the continuator of Otho of Frisingen, speaking of the deeds of the Emperor Frederic I., as if the ancient phrases¶ were still current.** "The wars which in our time through the cupidity of kings, have raged in Italy," says an old soldier, Antonius Pontus.†† Such sentences convey a mournful lesson. In fact, few ages have been exempt from the effects of such cupidity. The execrable avarice of Richard I. in his latter years, was a great excitement to his ferocity in making war.‡‡ "Hear me, kings and princes, hear me,

* Liv. i. 6. † Ap. Leib. Scriptorum Brunsvicensia illustrantium, tom. ii.

‡ Ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

§ Muratori, Antiq. Ital. i. ‖ Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. ii. ¶ Reg. xi. 1. Par. i. 20—1.

** Cap. 14. Ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. †† Ap. Ant. Matthæus veteris ævi analecta.

‡‡ Chronic. Anglicarum an. MCXCIX. ap. Martene vet. Script. v.

I pray you!" says the monk Nicholas, in the history of his great pilgrimage to Jerusalem; "What makes wars between you but irrational hatred and the appetite of vain glory, or an insatiable ardor for possessing lands? Alas! you know that to die for such causes is not a safe thing but bitterly perilous."* What the pacific suffered from wars of this description may be collected from incidental notices. Thus, in the Saxon chronicle we read that, in the year 1087, "William went into Normandy and made war upon his own lord, Philip the king, and burnt Mante and all the holy ministers that were in the town; and two holy men that served God, leading the life of anachorets, were burned therein."†

Our Norman kings were, indeed, terrible. Peter of Blois knew them well. "Oh, God!" he exclaims, "deliver me from the necessity of returning to the odious and troublesome court which lies in the shadow of death, and where order and peace are unknown."‡

When the English deserted their fortress of Bernardieres in Limousin, they set fire to it; and when Dugueselin and the French arrived, "they found a priest burnt, and he still held a chalice in his hand; at which spectacle the chivalry of France had pity."§ The monk of Croyland, after describing the horrors of the civil wars which terminated with the death of Richard III., contrasts the misery of life with the happiness of dying; for, speaking of his abbot, Richard, he says, "thus did he exchange the troubled life of this world for eternal quiet." His conclusion is affecting: "Qui legis hæc hominum tot mutatoria rerum magnorum, cur non mundi mutabilitatem totam contemnis? Cur vanæ gloriæ pompa te mentemve tangit?"‖ The wars between France and England when the family of Valois came to the throne of the former kingdom on the extinction of the eldest branch of the Capetian line, and the wars of the two roses during fifty years in England, and those of the English kings in Ireland, must certainly be considered as indicating a cruel abuse of power by those who sought to preserve or to extend it.

The wars of the English kings in France, indeed, were regarded by the invaded country as a divine judgment in vengeance of the policy of Charles V., who may be said to have ordered the great schism by siding with the antipope. As a consequence of these wars must be reckoned the ravages caused by the companies of their disbanded troops, who continued to desolate countries, even after the original contest had ceased. Traces of them, perhaps, occur in the laws of the Visigoths, one of which is directed against those who assemble troops to commit murders: so fresh was still the barbaric element.¶ Muratori describes "the societies" which, in the fourteenth century, infested Italy. They used to plunder lands, seize solitary castles, take prisoners for ransom, and carry devastation wherever they went. So one ancient author exclaims, "O grief and shame of Italy! The

* Le Grand Voyage Hierus, f. cxix. † P. 293. ‡ Epist. 14. § Chroniq. de Dugueselin, 437.
‖ Hist. Croyland. Rer. Anglic. Script. i. ¶ viii. 51. 3.

holy name of society is now assumed by traitors and plunderers, who are not ashamed to prostitute that sacred and venerable name." These were not alone Italians, but Germans, French, and English.* In the fourteenth century, the grand companies; in the fifteenth, the brigands and the écorcheurs; in the sixteenth, the adventurers, who were also styled devils, having no more pay to expect from belligerent parties, ravaged France, and verified what pagans had experienced:

"Nulla fides pietasque viris, qui castra sequuntur:
Venales manus: ibi fas ubi maxima merces."

"Sir knight," says a stranger to Gyron le Courtois, who conversed with him, "I am Brehus the pitiless. "St. Mary," exclaims Gyron, "what say you? If, indeed, you be Brehus, I know that you hold faith neither with God nor man, neither with the world nor with chivalry."† Such were the antichivalrous mercenaries. Then was it the maxim not to travel in winter after the angelus had tolled; then, at one's gate one had to speak with men at whose hands, and not at whose countenances, one should look the while.‡

Few abodes of peace could wholly escape the influence of disorders in the world In an ancient dialogue between an old man and a boy, the former speaks as follows: "Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Lewis were ravaging the country with their wars when I was a student at Vienna, when scholars of both countries used to defend their respective princes in tedious combats of words." The boy then interrupts him: "Strange that Bavaria should have been so desolated, which was so shortly before at peace. Perchance, the demon who goes about the earth perambulating it, as he says in Job, caused these evils." The old man replies, "I do think that the demons provoke discords, as is related in the lives of the fathers, where the demon, by extinguishing a light wished to cause a quarrel between two brothers, but was prevented by the humility of one of them, who instantly prostrated himself before the other and appeased him. However, the occasion of this war was given at Constance, when Duke Lewis insulted his brother Henry, who in revenge, wounded him with his sword, and then fled to Austria, where, with his nobles, he made war against Lewis, and defeated him. How many battles do I remember taking place in different countries in my time! The first was in 1410, between the king of Poland and the Teutonic order, in which there fell more than a hundred thousand men. In 1446, the Hungarians invaded Austria, and ravaged it with fire and sword. I omit to speak of the other bank of the Danube, about Markfeld, which has seldom peace. Pangratius, a Hungarian, long disturbed it; but I have seen the end of all consummation. This man, sitting at table in Buda, cried out, 'Lo, they come!' and dropped dead. Perhaps he saw the demons coming. He was refused burial. Thus evil was his end, as often happens to the oppressors of others. In our country there was another op-

* Antiq. Italicæ, Dissert. 16. † ccxxxi. ‡ Cardan. Præceptorum ad Filios Libell.

pressor, who at length used to be seen wandering from town to town, to whom scarcely, as to a beggar for God's sake, would any one give bread. In Hungary, after the death of Lord Albert, king and duke of Austria, of happy memory, many battles were fought which I pass over; as also those between the Venetians and Milanese, the French and English."* Thus the experience of each man's life could entitle him to the praise bestowed on Bayard, that "he was a true register of battles."†

The decline of the feudal powers before the centralizations of the later monarchal governments did not put an end to the worst evils of war. The French poet, who rather pedantically boasts of having read the wars of Alexander and of Troy the great, of King Arthur and Charlemagne, of Bleopatois of Spain and of the Round Table, declares that in no history has he found mention of such calamities as in his time afflicted the world.‡ The sufferings of the pacific, in disordered times, are conspicuous in all the contemporary monuments. The whole lives of some were thus embittered. Behold, for instance, the troubles of Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester II.! He was at Rheims when that city was laid waste by the sword. His house was plundered, and his life sought for by his enemies.§ In Bobbio, as at Rheims, at the emperor's court, as in his active career at Ravenna, and at Rome, he is seen as one whose life, though blameless, had incurred perpetual strife. Alluding to his three years' residence in France, he says, in a letter to Raymund, abbot of Aurillac, "There, while I endured the anger of kings, the tumults of the people, and the fury of adversaries, I was seized with such disgust that I almost repented having undertaken the pastoral care." At that moment, he says, such are the distractions even of Italy, that he cannot say any thing for certain respecting his organs, or the mode of using them.‖ "Bear assistance to me, father," he says to Romulf, abbot of Sens, "that the Divinity, who is excluded by the multitude of sins, may be bent by your prayers to return to visit us and to remain with us for ever."¶

The peaceful race may seem now to have drained to the dregs the bitter cup, and yet we have not yet reached all that they had to taste, for in still worse desolation we shall hear them cry—"We seek not peace, O heavens! Excite against us the nations."

"————————omnibus hostes
Reddite nos populis; civile avertite bellum."**

"Contention, sister and companion of homicidal Mars," as Homer says,‖ "sooner or later arose in most states," not without that shame which indicates, to use Pindar's words, "the departure of divine protection, when enmity arises be-

* Senatorium Dialog. Historic. Martini Abbatis Scotorum Viennæ ap. Pez Script. Rer. Aust. tom. ii.

† La Très Joyeuse Hist. du bon Chev. ‡ Regnier in Gouget Biblioth. Franc. ix. 332.

§ Hock Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 82. ‖ Ep. 91. ¶ Ep. 13. ** Lucan ii. †† iv.

tween those who are of the same blood."* O ye sons of meekness and desire, what was your country then? "No more your country, but an impious crew of men conspiring to uphold their state by worse than hostile deeds, violating the ends for which our country is a name so dear, not therefore to be obeyed. Such were the intervals which beheld the long civil wars previous to the reign of Rodolph of Habsburgh, the disorders of the great schism, the wars of the two factions of Guelf and Gibeline, the wars between the seigniors of Germany, and the free towns during the miserable reign of Winceslaus of Bohemia, the rivalities of Burgundy and Orleans in France, of Habsburgh and of Luxembourg in Germany."

In Italy, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the wars of private men were multiplied to the disturbance of all states. Peter Damian describes these enmities thus: "A man kills another more powerful than himself, from whose son, after the manner of the age, not after the laws of the gospel, he has to sustain war, the avenger breathing slaughter and rapine.†

In France, these petty wars and dissensions commenced about the year 1031.‡ In the twelfth centuries, the factions of Guelfs and Gibeline began to disturb Italy; but it was not until the time of the heretical emperor, Frederic II., that these first became serious.§ Then after long striving, the divided citizens came to blood, and one party chased the other with much injury forth. This was the great moral plague which devastated that noble land during the thirteenth, fourteenth, and part of the fifteenth centuries. The name of Gibeline was first used to designate those who followed the family of the emperor Frederic I., and desired its domination in Italy. The Guelfs on the contrary were those who disliked that domination. "These latter," as Muratori remarks, "did not hate the empire, or refuse to obey the emperor; but they detested the race of that Frederic I., who had destroyed so many Italian cities, and, therefore, when it was a question of choosing between a Frederic II., or an Otho IV., of the race of the Welphs of Este, they immediately declared for the latter. Moreover, whenever there was a collision between the empire and the Church, they stood by the Church, knowing that not even the emperor himself was exempt from its jurisdiction. These factions divided not only states, but cities, and even families and single houses, brethren being ranged against brethren with indescribable fury."‖

"When Count Gottfred died," says an old writer, "there arose such a discord between the Counts of Languscho, and of Turriani, that if the stones had cried out, 'Pax fiat,' peace would have been impossible."¶ Petrarch gives a sad picture of an Etrurian race, distracted by factions—"You behold nothing safe amongst the inhabitants of this region, you hear of nothing peaceable, you feel nothing human-

* Pyth. Od. iv. † Lib. iv. Epist. 17. ‡ Murat. Antiq. Italicæ, xxiii.
§ Jac. Malveccii Chronic Brix. vii. 103, ap. id. Rer. It. Script. xiv. ‖ Antiq. Ital. 1. i.
¶ Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. c. 311. ap. Muratori, tom. xi. Rer. It. Script.

ized, but only war and hatred, and all things like the works of demons."* Our great poet has made us familiar with these scenes. "Where be these enemies? Capulet! Montagne! See what a scourge is laid upon your hate, that heaven finds means to kill your joys with love!"

To these calamities we must add the insurrections, which from the eleventh till the thirteenth century, attended the rise or struggle of the Communes, or free cities in France; and the local wars of the feudal nobles, who so often desolated the country around them, or sought to punish or destroy each other. "When such times come," says a later poet, "tyranny must be, though to the tyrant thereby no excuse." Reader, you will recollect with what reserve we spoke in the second book of those who dwelt within the feudal towers, only endeavoring to show that there was a chance for such men to enter on the way of blessed life. You will not then tax me now with contradiction, if I present before you many of that class, as cruel tigers, who never lay aside their ferocity. "Lust in their hearts, and mischief in their hands, they roam the earth to prey upon each other." The names of a meek age are all associated with fearful traditions, which attest the brute and boisterous force of violent men, hardy and industrious to support tyrannic power, but raging to pursue the righteous, and all such as honor truth! The πτολίπορθον of Homer, was now changed into a darker term. "Church destroyer," was the surname of the count de Châlons, in the time of Louis VII. He it was who massacred the monks of Cluny, whom his ancestors so dearly loved.† In the reign of King John in England, there was in the English army in Poitou, a man named Enguerrand, of immense stature, and of a cruel heart. Such was his ferocity, that he often broke the gates of churches, whence he was generally called Brise-Moutiers. The churches were often exposed to pillage, but as fast as violent men deprived them of their property, the faithful hastened to make fresh donations, though at the risk of being again plundered.‡ The abbot Suger, in his history of Louis le Gros, says of Eudes, count of Corbeil, "hominem, non hominem quia not rationalem sed pecoralem." Suger wrote to Louis le Jeune, to tell him that some of his barons were but ravenous wolves let loose upon the land. "Their life was but a battle and a march, and, like the wind's blast, never resting, homeless, they stormed across the war-convulsed earth."

Many kings of France were obliged to march at the head of their armies against such disturbers of the public peace. Thus Philip Augustus made war upon Hébert de Charenton as also upon Robert de Beaujeu and the count of Châlons; but of these wars I shall have occasion presently to speak more in detail. In Italy the same class of tyrannic men existed. Pope Innocent thus speaks of Eccelino de Romana, "Under the form of a human countenance, with a bestial mind, thirsting for

* Epist. xi. xii.

† Capefigue, Hist. de Phil. Auguste, i. 85.

‡ St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, i. 214.

Christian blood, he carries on an implacable war against the common federations of humanity. Not content with raging against the bodies, he infuses, by means of corruptors of Catholic faith, death into the souls of men."* The chronicle of Asti declares that he delighted in killing men, and in the act of shedding human blood.† Such is a brief outline of the chief disorders which disturbed the world, during the ages of faith. I have not sought to palliate or suppress them. The study of history, I am aware, will enable men to proceed with the picture in as dark colors as any fancy can desire. But we must resign such employment to others, and inquire now what became of the peaceful race amidst such troubles, and assuredly it will be a grand spectacle after surveying them to behold, " the glorious city of God, in this pilgrimage of time, amidst the impious living by faith, and expecting by patience the stability of the eternal seat."‡

CHAPTER II.

ARMS, slaughter, flames, and blood, float in fearful vision before our eyes, when lo! a sound of prayer, as from a vast concordant multitude,

> "————May thy kingdom's peace,
> Come unto us; for we, unless it come,
> With all our striving, thither tend in vain."§

These are the blessed peace-makers, that glorious fellowship of saintly men, whose varied ministering to the will of God, as angels upon earth, shall now be the object of our investigation, as far as can be attested by human memorials, which here are limited, for in the trials of a disordered world these souls disiring peace only rise for a moment upon the surface, to disappear again in the refining flame.

In order to signify the purport of this first act, in which they will appear to us, we may adopt, as an expressive sentence, that which is prefixed to one division of the history of Leopold William, Archduke of Austria, son of the second Ferdinand, composed by Nicolas Avancin, who sums it up as showing " the desire which he had of peace in the midst of war." It is of this desire that I have now to speak.

" Pacem super Israel :" such was the prayer, during ages of faith, of all who

* Ap. Murat. Antiq. Ital. diss. 1
† C. 2. Ap. id. Rer. Ital. Script. xi.
‡ St. August. de Civ. Dei, i. 1.
§ Dante, Purg. xi.

belonged, internally, to that immense society spread over the earth, the members of which were designated by Tertullian as "Sacerdotes pacis," by Clemens Alexandrinus, as "the peaceful soldiers of Christ,"* by St. Bernard, as "the order of the pacific, far above all others;"† and the diffusion of whom throughout the nations was remarked even by profane historians, as tending universally to a greater order and tranquillity than the world had ever before experienced. "One single century," says a late writer, "had transformed the Anglo-Saxons from blood-thirsty savages into mild, and humane, and affectionate men; had banished from their hearts all selfishness, which is the distinguishing mark of barbarism, and in its place had implanted the self-denying and magnanimous virtues."‡ In fact, these most cruel of the barbarians became the most zealous lovers of peace, insomuch, that more than thirty of their kings and queens left their thrones in order to serve God in the tranquillity of the cloister. The Franks themselves now gloried in a new character. The herald, whom they sent to Morvan, the chieftain of Brittany, warning him of the folly of becoming an enemy to the emperor Lewis, said to him, "The Franks are invincible in war, but pacific, full of religion and humanity, and never taking up arms without regret."§ The very changes of names which were made in so many places, as at Beneventum, which had merited its former sinister title by the slaughter of 30,000 Samnites, indicated the new pacific views which followed the introduction of Christianity.‖

"The Longobards, too, had been terrible, but when they renounced Arianism, and embraced the Catholic faith, they contended with other nations," says Muratori, "in piety, clemency, justice, and humanity, so that the people were happy under them."¶ In short, historians of the middle age in general estimate the titles to admiration, of both states and individuals, by the desire which they evinced of peace. Thus, all that we read of the chief citizens of Pisa, in 1199, whom the writer wished to condemn, is "Filii pacis non erant:"** yet its generally meek, pacific character was deemed one of the glories of that people, while the warlike temperament of Genoa was traced to its old Ligurian blood. In those times, not to love peace, in fact, was deemed synonymous with imperfect conversion; and so another writer says, "The people of Placentia are prone to war and discord, after the manner of the Gentiles, who had here a temple of Bellona;" though of this city the prophecy of Michael Scot declares,

"Piscis ut unda foret, sic pace Placentia floret."††

Other cities, as Padua, gloried in their love of peace. "Mild, quiet, pacific," says an ancient writer, "are the Paduans, therefore, their diligence is turned more to discipline than to arms; thinking that there should be more splendor and glory

* Protrepticus, c. xi. † De Conversione, 21. ‡ Dunham, Hist. of the Germ. Empire, ii. 58.
§ Ap. Fauriel. Hist. de la Gaul Merid. iv. 80. ‖ Italia Sacra, viii. 4.
¶ Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii. ** Gesta Innocent, iii. c. 46.
†† Chronic. Placentinum, ann. 1336. ap. Mur. Rer. Ital Script. xvi.

attached to letters than to arms, since by laws and precepts, rather than by wars, men are first collected together so as to form a republic. Therefore, when they contemplate glorious fame, they seek that renown especially which, in all ages, has followed letters. For by discipline and learning men provide for the ornament and utility of present and of future times, whereas the fame of soldiers is not rarely buried with them in the grave."* Thus, in fine, over cities might have been inscribed the line which is read on the portal of the ancient church of St. Peter, at Louvain, alluding to its origin :—

" Mars Petro cessit, pro clavibus hasta recessit."

Serving with faithful love, until iniquity should pass, and all principality and human power be evacuated, and God be all in all, the Catholic society was taught to refer all use of temporal things to the fruit of earthly peace in the earthly city, and in the celestial city to the fruit of heavenly peace.† The constant voice of its chief authority on earth was that " in the good of peace is comprised all good," as Clement IV. reminded the citizens of Florence.‡ Every tongue that ventured to admonish it, would repeat, with the counsellor of kings, that "wherever Jesus Christ is, there is peace and union."§ Every teacher that its common voice proclaimed remarkable, dwelt upon this theme, and showed that peace, whether internal of the breast, or external in the condition of the times, or supernal in the peace of eternity, was the way of God, all whose paths are peace, whose name is the God of peace,‖ with whose favored people the word peace signified every good,¶ and whose providential government of the world was known to have had, from the beginning, no other object but the restoration of peace to fallen man ; so that Gotfried, of Viterbo, remarks that his own name, which signifies the peace of God, aptly belongs to him, as the author of a work called Pantheon, which contains the whole history of man from the creation.**

Let us hear speak some of the guides of men in ages of faith. " Peace," says St. Bonaventura, " is the language of heaven, for Christ, who came from heaven, spoke that language, as when he said, after his resurrection, ' Pax vobis.' The angels, too, who are citizens of heaven, spoke it, saying, ' In terra pax ;' and the apostles, taught by Christ, were to speak it on their mission, saying, when they entered a house, ' Pax huic domui.' "†† Taught and formed by these divine instructions we find on every page of the history of the middle ages traces of pacific hearts, diffusing a radiance through the darkest gloom, still shining mirac-

* Comment. Savonarolæ, Lib. i. ap. Murat. Rer. Ital. Script. xxiv.

† St. August. de Civ. Dei, xix. 14. ‡ Ap. Martene Thes. Anecdot. tom. ii. 436.

§ Lamentations de Salmon. 134.

‖ Rom. xv. Phil in. 9. Heb. xiii. 20. 2 Thess. iii. 16. 2 Cor. xiii.

¶ Gen. xxix. 6. xli. 16. Jos. x. 21. 1 Sam. x. 4. 2. Reg. vi. 6. Esa. xxvi. 3. Jer. xv. 5. Ps. cxxii. 7. 1 Cor. i. 3. Eph. vi. 23.

** Ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. vii. †† Dietæ Salutis, tit. vii. c. 6.

ulously, like those tapers round the body of St. Hugh, which ancient writers say were borne from London to Lincoln, in great wind and rain, without being extinguished ;* looking, from that tranquillity, like lamps into the world's stormy night; like stars, while clouds are passing by, which wrap them from the veiw of foundering seamen. They who, from the desire of eloquent harangues to show the excellence and good of peace, refer to these ancient books, may, perhaps, experience a disappointment; for, in ages of faith, men were less rhetorical.

"What shall I say of peace, or of the praise of peace?" exclaims St. Augustin: "Your affections anticipate my words. I will not continue. I cannot; I am weak. Let us defer all praise of peace till we arrive at that country of peace. There we shall be able to praise it where we shall more fully possess it. Jerusalem is the vision of peace, and all who possess and love peace are blessed there for evermore."† Yet there was a language in which these lovers of peace on earth could testify their desire. Witness these altars in so many churches, and especially in regions often devastated by war, like Belgium, which are consecrated under the invocation of St. Mary of peace. Over one in the church of St. Nicholas, at Brussels, there is inscribed, "From war deliver us as from pestilence and famine." Even in the streets and squares of Catholic cities, as in that capital, were placed solemn sentences deprecating war. Over the door of an ancient curiously-carved house in Beauvais, near the cathedral, I read inscribed, "Pax huic domui. In te Domine speravi: non confundar in æternum." Artists were representing, like Callot, in horrible imagery, the miseries and calamities of war, while others sought to express, in carved stone, the prayer of fervent souls, that the mountains might receive peace for the people, and the hills justice. To others, finally, forming, no doubt, the vast undistinguishable multitude who, from the depth of their souls, desired the countenance of the pacific king, was left the gift of tears, which, in the worst of times, was their resource and the universal language.

We read of St. Genevieve, in the time of Attila, that whenever she looked up to the sky her eyes filled with tears. Thus did she and countless others comply with the injunction, "Rogate quæ ad pacem sunt Jerusalem." I said in the beginning that men who followed in the track of ages which had heard the Church, need not be told of the horrors which afflicted her from wars and violence. Her children, though nurtured in divinest lore, had yet been conversant with books of poets and chronicles, whose wild but holy talk had not left even their sweetest years ignorant of what she suffered. "Thus the dark tales which history doth unfold, they knew, but not, methinks, as others know; for they weep not." We cannot open any of the familiar letters of the middle ages, of which we have such immense collections, though a modern author has not been able to discover any,

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c. 13.

† Tract. in Ps. cxlvii.

without finding traces of the same desire. Many of them begin with these words, "Pacem et caritatem diligere."*

"Gerbert, whose calamities we have already noticed, calls to witness the clergy of Gaul, its kings and nobility, that all he asks is peace: "Non aurum poscimus, non prædam requirimus; sola caritas est, quam interruptam reposcimus." To the Emperor Otho he says, "To you, to your father, and your grandfather, I have evinced the purest faith amidst enemies and weapons, through wildernesses and haunts of robbers, in hunger and thirst, in cold and heat. Wearied by so many tempests I should have preferred death to not seeing the son of Cæsar reign, who was then a captive. I have seen him and rejoiced; and I wish it may be permitted me to rejoice unto the end, and to finish my days with you in peace."†

Ratherius, bishop of Verona, writes to the Empress Adelheid, to beg that she would procure peace and deliverance from his adversaries while he is engaged in building the church of St. Mary. "If it be true that Nanno endeavors to persuade all my enemies desiring my destruction, I beg that by your power you will preserve my life a short time longer, until I shall have completed the structure of the church of the blessed mother of God."‡ Peter of Blois, writing to a foreign bishop, reminds him of the words of the prophet: "Seek the peace of the city to which the Lord hath made you migrate, for in its peace will be your peace;" and concludes that such is the duty of all Christians.§ We shall see as we proceed, how generally this was understood. One ancient author relates an impressive example. In the month of October, in 1338, "in the silence of the night," he tells us, "there appeared certain persons in the Church of St. Maria. Transtiberi, who cried, Peace, Peace! uttering no other words. The people, hearing of this, went to the houses of the Ursinis and Colonnas, who were enemies, and made peace between them in a manner miraculous."‖ It is a fact which we must notice early, that it was with the hearts and minds of the pacific that the people in the middle ages sympathized.

They were lambs, not wolves, that the pastors of the churches had then to feed; and in desires, at least, pacific were the nations whom cruel men urged on to battle.¶ In the reign of Edward III. every thing had been done to make the English love war. After the battle of Crecy, being thoroughly weary of it, when the chancellor, wishing to rouse a false honor, addressing the Commons, exclaimed, "What, then! should you wish a perpetual peace?" "Yes, indeed, we wish and would accept it," was their reply. A Genoese historian of the thirteenth century says, that in general it is necessary to compel men to engage in battle, and that the readiness of his countrymen to fight on one occasion was a remarkable

* Ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. i. p. 733.
† Ap. Duchesne, iv.
‡ Ap. Pez Thes. Anecd. tom. vi. 98.
§ Epist. lxxxix.
‖ Sagacio et Pet. Gazata Chronic. Regiense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xviii.
¶ Annalista Saxo, an. 876.

exception.* In 1169, the forces of Pisa and Genoa were about to engage, when suddenly Guido de Mercato, consul of Pisa, rode forth, armed cap-à-pie ; and coming up to the consul of Genoa, said humbly, " Why should there be this day a mortal combat between us? It would please me, and all that are on my side, if it should also seem good to you, that there should be no battle. Peace is more to be desired by you than war, and I for my city wish by all means for peace. Answer me, then, quickly, before our troops engage." " What sort of peace do you desire ?" asked Roger, the Genoese consul : " He is the enemy of God who despises peace. Truly I too desire peace with you ; only I deprecate a deceitful peace, and fear lest it may be such that you propose." To whom the consul of Pisa answered, " God knows that with sincerity and a pure heart I ask for peace." When, having called a council, the peace was declared and ratified.† The history of Germany presents a scene of the same kind, which shows the chiefs themselves the foremost in meeting peace. In 1198 Odoacer, hearing of the emperor's death, entered Bohemia, to recover possession of it, at the head of an army, declaring war against his brother ; but Henry, abhorring civil war, and moreover, wishing not evil but well to his brother, in the very night before the intended battle, having held a secret council with his friends, both armies being ignorant of what passed, called his brother to a conference, at which he expressed his desire of peace, and his wish to remove the obstacles to it. Then the two princes gave each other the right hand in pledge of friendship, and returned to their tents. Early the next morning each army was on the march home, Henry returning to Moravia, having resigned Bohemia to his brother.‡ But still, in general, it was the popular voice that advocated peace. When the treaty was made between Philip Augustus and Count Philip of Flanders, which, according to the chronicles of St. Denis, was made " as if miraculously, being made without effusion of blood, the people," we read, " in their joy rendered thanks and praise to our Lord, who had thus saved those who trusted in Him."§

The exclamation of the people of Regium, in 1306, " Moriantur milites et habeamus pacem," and that of all the Italians, according to the same chronicle, in 1331, " Vitat Rex Bohemiæ et pacem habeamus !"‖ are other instances, which might easily be multiplied. O, how many amiable sons of the people, like others found within the castles of nobility, would have responded to the complaint of Schiller's hero in the " Wallenstein !" " Tell me, where is the end of all this labor,—this grinding labor,—that has stolen my youth, and left my heart uncheered and void, my spirit uncultivated as a wilderness? This camp's unceasing din, the trumpet's clang, the never-changing round of service and parade, give nothing to the heart, the heart that longs for nourishment. There is no soul in

* Jac. de Varagine Chronic. Jan. pars v. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ix.
† Caffari, Annal. Genuens. Lib. ii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.
‡ Chronic. Monast. Admontensis ap. Pez Script. Rer. Austriac. § Ad. an. 1184.
‖ Sagacio et Petr. Gazata Chron. Regiense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Scr. xviii.

this insipid business. Life has another fate and other joys." The verses which Cowley addressed to Falkland express the same thought:

> "He is too good for war, and ought to be
> As far from danger as from fear he's free."

> "————Those men alone,
> Whose valor is the only art they know,
> Were for sad war and bloody battles born."

"God has created iron for cultivating the earth, not for slaying men," says Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to the constable of Castile. Writers of the middle age extol Galen, for arguing contrary to the Stagyrite, that the formation of the human body, which is without weapons of itself, shows man to have been born for gentleness. They knew that youth tamed and made innocent by the true discipline is content with its own pacific sports and limbs undecked with trophies of success of war. Possessing its naked arms, not even the ivory shoulder borne by the Pelopidæ would inspire it with envy. "Oh, singular serenity of writing!" exclaims Richard of Buri. "We see the Creator of the world, at whose tremendous name every knee should bow, stooped down to write, as if to teach every generous youth that fingers were given to men for writing rather than for war."* You smile perhaps; but certain it is, that many in these ages resembled in disposition, if not in feature, the young page, of whom the warrior thus speaks in the Lord of the Isles:—

> "Alas, poor child! unfitting part
> Fate doom'd when, with so soft a heart,
> And form so slight as thine,
> She made thee first a pirate's slave,
> Then, in his stead, a patron gave
> Of wayward lot like mine;
> A landless prince, whose wandering life
> Is but one scene of blood and strife.'

The universal joy expressed at all terminations of war in the middle ages was sufficiently significative of what the nations loved. What Cicero says was then more than ever true: "Nothing was so popular as peace."† Gaufred, canon of St. Barbara, in Normandy, writes thus to a friend: "After finishing the letters which I intended sending to you, lo! a new day has risen on our regions, and the divine clemency has poured a bright light into our sad hearts; for peace is made between the king and his sons, and so peace, long an exile, comes back to us. I return thanks to the just and merciful Creator, who wounds and heals, who strikes and makes whole again."‡ The Spanish chronicles, relating the victories of the Christian arms over the Moors, are chiefly eloquent in describing the peaceful consequences; "In every direction arose stately monasteries, those fortresses of the

* Philobiblion, c. xvi. † Pro, Leg. Agrar. ‡ Ap. Martene Thes. Anecd. tom. i. 503

faith. The sacred melody of bells was again heard among the mountains, calling to early matins, or sounding the angelus at the solemn hour of evening." "After the defeat of the French," says an ancient historian, "when the storm of war seemed to be passed from Italy, every one hoped that she would at length enjoy the long-desired peace; so in sure hope of quiet, with minds full of confidence, men offered up their prayers at every altar. I also, as if emerged from a common danger, or as if escaped from shipwreck, resolved to fear no more, and to bring my writing to an end."*

Thus again, in 1358, when universal peace was made in Italy, in the city of Milan, there were processions, we read, and litanies by clergy and laity, and games of all kinds, and infinite joy.† And again, in 1293, when, by the grace of God, as another historian says, "the kings of Hungary and Bohemia, with the dukes of Austria and Bavaria, were brought to concord, the earth rejoiced at the peace. The duke of Austria, invited by the king of Bohemia, entered his dominions to visit the queen his sister, and similarly the king of Bohemia visited Vienna, when he was solemnly entertained, all men praising the clemency of our Saviour for the tranquillity of peace."‡

"See what are the temporal fruits of peace," says St. Bernardine of Sienna; "all things are filled with joy; agriculture flourishes when martial fury interrupts not the process of nature; men travel securely,—no robber is feared by the way; domestic virtues reign; cities are adorned by the arts; the flocks and herds are led to pasture to the sound of flutes and pipes; the woods are made tame; houses are built; families are multiplied; merchants go and return in safety; the tranquillity of monks is preserved; the offices of the Church are celebrated without interruption; literary studies flourish; exercises of piety are performed; the word of God is honored and fructified amidst the multitude of people; every one has his rights; no one complains of injustice."§ The ancient writers bear witness to the truth of this statement. "No sooner did the Cisalpine nations breathe from war," says an historian, "than the cities of Italy assumed a pacific aspect. Immediately the citizens of Parma conspired to raise a grand church under the invocation of the mother of God, and persons of all ages and conditions engaged in this undertaking with one heart and soul; fathers and sons, beardless boys and married men, from the lowest to the highest rank; and it did not shame noble matrons in purple and precious robes to toil under the weight of vile burdens. Offerings were daily brought with festive rights and music, and to the music of sacred bells; not through ostentation, or as a spectacle of vanity, but to express the overflowings of a true piety. Towns and villages contended with each other in these gifts, and even from other states numbers came with offerings. This was in 1521, and for some months the whole city had but one object in view, nor any

* Carpesani Comment. srorum Temporum, Lib. x. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

† Chronic. Mutinense ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xv.

‡ Chronicon Claustro-Neoburgense, ap. Pez Script. Rer Aust. tom. i. § Serm. xi. 1.

day was void of ceremonies. Already the august walls of the temple rose with admirable beauty, and showed the distinct chapels and the spherical termination, which by a certain new device, was to rise into an arched vault; when suddenly, warlike fury announced with the din of trumpets dispelled our joy, and gave signal of wide and enduring desolation."*

"At this time," says Albert de Ripalta, in his annals of Placentia, "peace was proclaimed between all the powers of Italy, so that the prophetic sentences seemed fulfilled—behold the days of desired felicity succeed: it is a time of delight for us. Let all that flourish rejoice with me. Wars cease; love reigns, every one crowned with flowers exults: and then the joy of the people of Plaçentia corresponded to the peace; and the Lord looked down benignly from heaven upon our city, and we began to construct a new church, and the bishop came in procession with all the clergy and people, and solemnly laid the foundations: and the next day there was a woundrous office for the souls of the dead who had been buried under the old church, and such was the multitude of persons bearing tapers in their hands, that from the fragments which remained after the office, five hundred pounds of wax were collected."†

Similarly as soon as Milan found herself at peace under Azo Visconti, the historians of that city are filled with admiration at the beautiful churches, towers, and cloisters, which were immediately commenced.‡ How remarkable is it to observe whole nations actuated like one man by the spirit of the wise king, who said, "Now Jehovah gave peace, therefore, I thought to build a house to his name."§ Thus was verified the sentence of Richard of St. Victor, that, "by prosperity, which dissolves evil men into themselves, and deprives them of God, the good are nourished to good things, and protected from evil."‖

Some modern authors would make us believe that the French sophists of the last century, "were the first to advocate those profound and permanent interests of the human race, which are inseparably connected with a love of peace; that they, above all the earlier teachers, stripped the image of war of the delusive glory, which it took in the primitive ages of society, and turned our contemplation from the fame of the individual hero to the wrongs of the slaughtered millions."

It is to be lamented, that men of ability should thus fall into the style of those writers, who possess no other qualification than a deplorable facility of making vague and sonorous sentences. We shall know how to estimate the justice of such accusations, before arriving at the end of this book; but even already we can discern the imprudence of the zeal which prompts them, regardless of the terrible field for recrimination, supplied in the tendency of modern opinions, and in the facts which attest their power. For if the guides of men, in ages of faith,

* Carpesani Comment. suorum Temporum, Lib. vii. ap. Martene vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.

† Annales Placentini, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.

‡ Gaulvanei de la Flamma de Reb. Gest. ap. II. xii.

§ 1 Reg. v.

‖ De Contemplatione, ii. c. 19.

were to ask in the words of Æschylus to his rival, those who now direct the public mind, on what account they consider that a poet should be admired? they might indeed reply, like the pedantic moralist, "on account of his making men better citizens," but assuredly the former with the strictest justice could then repeat the great tragedian's words, and say, "this you have not done, but on the contrary, being good and generous, you have made them unholy, adulterers, fond of glory and of war, and of insurrection. You did not receive them from us such. Unlike what they are now, they were then breathing piety and love, and less qualified for war than for peace."*

"We were at all times," they might continue, "for peace: you began with insurrection; the very hymns of your chiefs sounded like a war-song under the vaults of Worms. The old cathedral trembled at the new sounds of that Lutheran tumult, which terrified the birds in their obscure nests at the top of the towers. We founded and maintained, you have divided kingdoms; and upon the heights encircling towns, where we placed churches and monasteries of brethren, who were to pray for peace, you have mounted your artillery, turning into batteries the walls that were for abbeys reared. Are mountain valleys under your government? They present nothing but fortresses and citadels—magazines and men of arms. Are ancient cities? Their venerable sanctuaries of peace, adorned with all the precious works of contemplative art, are converted into barracks for your legions. We knew the calamities of war from the invasion of barbarians, and from the local quarrels of petty tyrants openly wicked, who waged it on a small scale, not for glory or for empire, but, like the Ursinis and Colonnas, for life.† You inflicted them through system, as the result of national and honorable struggles, though your victories were not the solid joy of happy men, as St. Augustin says, 'but the vain solace of the miserable, incitements to the restless, to perpetuate other evils.'‡ Our wars, when not necessary and just, were the result of passion, and denounced, stigmatized as evil. Your wars are systematic. You make war by system upon distant countries, for some frivolous pretext, in order to preserve your own citizens from rebellion; you wage wars by system, to maintain an equilibrium of nations, which would otherwise, thanks to the effects of your revolutions, prey upon each other. Truly our neighbors, since you have taught them your philosophy, can help us to a comment on the text. What a contrast is there between the genius which presides over these palaces, in which the battles of every age are represented in order, as an inscription on their front declares, to proclaim all the glories of France, and the mind which imagined and admired that poor coin of the middle ages, containing the figure of St. Elizabeth, holding a church in her hand with this motto, 'Sancta Elizabeth, gloria reipublicæ?' Alas, I doubt if the warlike fame of these sons would now rejoice the dead, according to the Homeric notion."§

* Aristoph. Ranæ.

§ De Civ. Dei, iii. 17.

* Carpesani Comment. suor. Temp. iii.

‡ Od. xi. 450.

How vain is modern rhetoric before the reality of things! Europe was then covered over with pacific, as it is now with military institutions. "Whither have fled the sounds that soothed life then—the mystery and the majesty of religion, the joy, the exaltation, and the peace?" We have seen by what forms the youthful mind was then moulded. Images or symbols of peace, the festival of the boy bishop, or of the prince of youth, with his processions sanctioned by the clergy, or the decoration of little altars on certain days of universal joy, seemed not opposed to the cultivation of that heavenly childhood to which Christ has promised the kingdom of heaven; but rude men scorned the Church for accepting with love whatever puerile decorum prompts; and now the child, "ere he can lisp his mother's sacred name," as Cowper says, "swells with an unnatural pride, and lifts his baby-sword. This infant arm becomes the bloodiest scourge of devastated earth; whilst specious names, learnt in soft childhood's unsuspecting hour, serve as the sophisms with which manhood dims bright reason's ray, and sanctifies the sword upraised to shed the blood of hapless men." Trugæus, who could not hear a boy make use of the word spear, without crying out

Ἀσπίδας; οὐ παύσει μεμνημένον ἀσπίδας ἡμῖν;

and who quarrelled with him when he heard that his father's name was Lamachus, because it resembled in sound

Ἀνδρὸς Βουλομάχου καὶ κλάυσιμάχου τινὸς υἱὸς,

could seldom have a respite from irritation now.* Our public spectacles—our palaces—our museums—our paintings, would all seem to announce war either present or impending. The *τεχνῖται τῶν πολεμικῶν*, and the arts which minister to the vilest luxuries, are alone in great repute. A nation may thus appear, like the Athenians of old, as described by the Corinthians, "bold and daring beyond their power, and full of hope in dreadful emergencies;"† but Christians, in ages of faith, desired not such renown. Curious it is to find the heathen poet representing Minerva, as exhorting the Furies to refrain from infusing the martial spirit, like the heart of cocks, into her chosen citizen—

Μηδ' ἐξελοῦσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων,
Ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρυ'σῃς Ἄρη
Ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν,‡

when we behold the image of that bird that most delights itself in war, now chosen to supplant the lily, which betokened peace, as the emblem of nations. Assuredly it is difficult to believe those pacific, who so proclaim themselves. Their guides often resemble men described by Peter of Blois in these terms: "They pretend peace, and nourish hatreds: they speak of fraternity, and excite enmities: they are full of anger, contention, envy, detraction: they say peace,

* Aristoph. Pax, 1291. † Thucyd. i. 71. ‡ Æsch. Eumen. 861.

peace, and there is no peace."* And are we to believe that these are the men who first stripped the image of war of delusive glory? What skills their protestations or the panegyrics of their admirers, when we see them every day verifying what the prophet long ago announced of them? "Mordent dentibus et prædicant pacem." When we see the fruits of their sowing to be injuries, suspicions, enmities, treasons; when, if they ever desire peace, it is only with the powerful, as when Abimelech came to Isaac on seeing him prosperous, when if they can triumph they make a solitude and call it peace.

It is in modern times that man, after perfecting the arts of destruction, has learnt to name all hurtful things, as formerly while continuing in charity, he had imposed names on all the innocent creatures of the sanctified muse, and had taught the office of each choir of angels whom he knew familiarly by their titles, their employments, and their beauty. That Great Britain always gains by war is a maxim that we have not inherited from Catholic times, when the desire of every people was that expressed in the old line—

"Pacem, felicitatem, sanitatem per omnia sæcula tribuat Deus."†

But we need not leave modern literature to find proof of what I advance here. For who has not remarked the scorn, and the bitter taunts with which Catholic nations were spoken of by men of the new discipline, for the very reason that they were not trained to war! Such travellers in their descriptions of them adopted the very words of Satan in disdain of the angels, of whom he said in mockery—

"Whose easier business 'twere to serve their Lord,
High up in Heaven, with songs to hymn His throne,
And practised distances to cringe, not fight."‡

Truly the heroes of their predilection are not exactly imitators of an angelic type. Daniel Heinsius can hardly find words adequate to express his sense of the warlike glory of Gustavus Adolphus. He says, "that Mars shines in his countenance; that he is the offspring of Mars, and Augustus, greater and better than Alexander; that he was never a child, never a youth, but always a king; and that he is an object of admiration, like the sun."§ Indeed, the men who teach philosophy to kings of the new religions, formally eulogize Alexander, whom Dante placed with Dionysius, where the souls of tyrants given to blood and rapine wail aloud their wrongs. Fichte defends him from what he terms "the misrepresentations of sentimental pigmies," and declares that "it was a generous and glorious idea, which gave birth to the enterprise and made it successful." "Tell me not," he continues, "of the thousands who fell on his expedition, tell me not of his own early death: what greater deed was now left for him after he had re-

* Tract. Quales sunt.
† Ap. Goldast. Alemannican. Antiq. tom. iii. præfat.
‡ Par. Lost. iv.
§ Orat. vii.

alized his idea than to die? How a student conversant with the scholastic philosophers would start if he came to such a sentence as this, on the pages of St. Thomas, or of any other Catholic writer of the middle ages! Truly the highest praise that could be elicited for such heroes, from the lips of the schoolmen, would not exceed that of the poet—

"He is gone whom the world preferred to peace."*

Oh, with what solemn earnestness, with what majesty did they admonish kings! "That man carried with him to his grave," says the English Chronicler, William of Newbridge, speaking of his contemporary Henry II., "no part of those Irish spoils he had coveted so eagerly in life, risking his eternal salvation to amass them. He left to unthankful heirs all that he had acquired with such toil and danger, and thus afforded a salutary lesson to many."† Ratherius of Verona cites the words of our Lord, "By this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one for the other," and then adds, "I love God, each one will now reply, even the worst of all, even a tyrant, for, alas! hatred so much abounds, that no one has more glory than, O horrible to say it, a murderer; but no murderer or hater of his brother, however glorious in the eyes of the world, hath any part in the kingdom of Christ and of God."‡ He calls murderers men who made war through avarice or pride. St. Aldhelm, of Sherburn, denounced in solemn verse vain glory, and all the vices which lead to horrid war.§ But, in general, men who instructed kings in the middle ages, after they had sung their Litanies, in some of which was added, "Ab appetitu inanis gloriæ,"‖ never supposed it necessary to say that wars for glory were sinful; but, appealing to the conscience in general terms, they asked, with Alcuin, "where will be the proud ambition of secular pomp when the spirit returns to the Lord who gave it?"¶

"O, wondrous and miserable condition of men," exclaims Bartholomew de Neo Castro, "O, wondrous prodigy of divine power! Those whom we so lately beheld in glory are now prostrated. O ye, therefore, who glory in the world, learn that the turnings of this earth are in the hands of the Most High, and that beside the law of the Lord there is nothing durable. What profit is there in the favor and pomp of the sons of men, if laying aside the fear of Christ, you begin to rage against the innocent, and afterwards are struck and removed by the hand of the Lord? Learn whom you ought to fear in heaven, and whom to love on earth, that you may dread the Lord of heaven, and never rise up against your brethren."**

The school, however, had its formal decisions, following the holy fathers, which

* Lucan, ix.
† Rer. Angl. ii. 26.
‡ Ratherius Ver. Epist. ad Omnes Fideles, ap. Martene vet. Script. ix.
§ S. Ald. de Octo Princip. Vitiis. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i.
‖ Ritus Vet. Senensis Ec. ap. Baluze Mis
¶ Epist. lviii. ap. Canisii Lectionis Antiq. ii.
** Historia Siciliæ, c. 36. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiii.

it adduced in all treatises on government. "To wage war upon neighboring countries," it said with St. Augustin, "and then to proceed against others, like Ninus, who was the first to wage such wars, and to attack and subdue nations through the desire of empire, is nothing but robbery on a great scale. Kingdoms so extended are great robberies, just as robberies are little kingdoms. Only when the evil gains such increase that places are seized, cities occupied, and people subdued, the name of kingdom is applied to them, which changes nothing, for the cupidity is the same, only in this case there is added impunity."* "If with the wish of killing another," says St. Bernard, addressing the Templars, and alluding to secular warfare, "you should happen to be slain, you will die guilty of homicide. If you prevail, and with the will of conquering, or of punishing, should slay a man, you will live guilty of homicide: but it is not expedient for you, whether dead or alive, conqueror or conquered, to be guilty of homicide." The church knew the evils consequent on peace, but her voice was that of St. Augustin, who said that "it was better to pay the penalty of indolence than to seek the glory of arms, and afford the impious spectacle of nation warring against nation."†

Writing to king Æthelred, and to the princes and people of Northumberland, Alcuin says, "The sweetness of holy love often compels me to admonish you to maintain that peace which ought to be between you." To the former he says, "Amongst the good works, by which you can ascend to heaven, are the charity of God, the love of men, and mercy to men, and patience and benignity to all men. Let no secular ambition, no desire of vengeance upon enemies impede your course, but run while you have light, work while it is day, that you may come to eternal light, and with Christ and his saints to everlasting glory. A king must not desire to seize the inheritance of others, for the rapacious shall never possess the kingdom of God. See how your predecessors perished on account of their rapines. Alas! how miserably will they be tormented in eternal pains! Have peace with each other, and benignity, and mercy, and justice; and by concord let your kingdom be maintained."‡

The sermon of John Gerson, chancellor of Paris, before the king of France and his nobles in 1408, beginning with the words of Isaiah, "Veniat pax," will show with what eloquence the scholastic and mystic wisdom of peace was announced to monarchs down to the close of the middle ages.§ Indeed, many of the ancient laws and ordinances commenced with declaring that nothing better than peace can be obtained in this life.‖ But let us hear what was taught by laymen respecting this beatitude. "War," says Sevedra, "is a violence opposed to the nature and end of man, whom God has formed in His own image, and to whom He has imparted a share of His power over all things for their preservation, but not for

* De Civ. Dei, iv. 6. Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, i. 2.
† De Civ. Dei, iii. 14.
‡ Ap. de Civ. Dei, iii. 14.
§ Gersonii Op. tom. iv.
‖ Carol. v. in Præm. Leg. Reg. Capit.

their destruction."* That kings must prefer an honest peace to a useful war was the maxim of every writer who touched upon the subject.†

Petrarch, in a letter to Andrew Dandolo, doge of Venice, after reminding him that he had from the first exhorted him to preserve Italy from war, continues thus: Beware, lest when nature has made you mild and pacific, and not you only, but all your people, whose happiness depends, not on the success of wars, but on the maintenance of peace and justice, you should seem to be of the herd of those who, as the psalmist says, 'thought iniquity in their hearts, and all day long urged battles.' For nothing, I think, is more odious to God than when He has adorned you with some especial gift, or virtue, of your own accord, to endeavor to become evil. Follow, then, not the fury of the vulgar, but your own nature, withdraw your foot while there is time, while, as yet, between the bitter and horrible threats of war, one can still hear pronounced the sweetest name of peace, that you may be called the peace-maker of Italy, and transmit that glorious title to posterity. I beseech and implore you; I conjure you, by the love of virtue, by the love of your country, by the five wounds of Christ, through which issued that most sacred and innocent blood which has redeemed us, not to despise this counsel."‡

In another letter to the same duke, he says, "Though armed, think of peace, love peace, and be assured that you can win no more brilliant triumph, and endow your country with no richer spoil than peace. When it is a question of war, I would use the words of Hannibal, who, though of all men the most warlike, said, as if the words were extorted from his lips by Truth, that 'a certain peace is better and safer than a hoped-for victory.' And if he, who burned with such a desire of conquering, and who disturbed peace throughout the whole world, said this, what will be urged by the friend of peace? Will he not say, better and holier is a certain peace than a certain victory; because the one is replete with calm, and brightness, and grace, and the other with labor, and crime, and insolence? What is pleasanter than peace? what sweeter? what happier? Never can I understand what pleasure there can be in making war upon men, who under other circumstances, would expose their breasts for your safety as for their own. They can tell this who feel an effeminate delight in the revenge of injuries. But it is better to forget than to punish, to appease than to destroy an enemy. Gentleness is the part of men, rage of wild animals, and of those only the most ignoble. If my voice can be heard in your grave deliberations, not only you will not reject peace when it approaches, but you will go forth to meet, and, with a close embrace, to welcome it, that it may remain with you for ever."§

That the new law of forgiveness was binding even upon states, and that public measures opposed to it were the evil deeds of worldly men, was a lesson taught

* Christian Prince, ii. 321.

‡ Epist. ix. 15.

† Joan. Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, x. 2.

§ Id. Var. Epist. i.

by the great Dominican who filled the see of Genoa: "It would be long," he says, "to tell of the victorious deeds of our state; therefore, we shall only speak of four of these; for every city has duties to fulfil towards God, towards itself, towards its friends, and towards its enemies. It is bound to evince honor to God, to procure common benefits for itself, to give consolation to its friends, and, according to the evangelic rule, to show love to its enemies; but as worldly men desire rather to have victories over enemies than to show them charity, after relating how well our city has fulfilled the three first of these obligations, we shall have to speak of its victories by arms in ancient and modern times."* In fact, novel as the assertion may seem to those who only read Froissart, the historians of the middle ages speak in general with regret of all warlike deeds. It is not in their volumes that we should find a parallel to the seventh book of Cæsar's Commentaries, where he describes, in the polished easy style of Madam de Sevigné, the terrible wars of conquest in Gaul, which led to such immense results, so smoothly relating the numbers of the slain, and the shocking amounts of amputated limbs. In relation to such events they might have chosen for their motto the verse referring to a battle in Ireland, cited by "the Four Masters," which says, "the poet sung not the slaughter of that field, for he came away from it with sadness in his heart;" or these lines of Fulbert of Chartres:—

"Salve summe pater, fer et omnibus integram salutem,
Quicumque pacis diligunt quietem
Et qui bella volunt, hos contere dextra potenti
Trudens gehennæ filios maligni."

Hear how Angelbertus speaks of the battle of Fontanet, at which he assisted as a combatant:—

"De fraterna rupta pace
Gaudet Demon impius.
Gramen illud ros et imber
Nec humectet pluvia
In quo fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi.
Laude pugna non est digna
Ne canatur melode:
Oriens, meridianus,
Occidens vel Aquilo
Plangent illos qui fuerunt
Illic casu mortui.
Maledicta dies illa
Nec in anni circulis
Numeretur, sed radatur
Ab omni memoria;
Jubar solis illi desit;
Aurora crepusculo.

* Jacobi de Voragine Chronic. Januens. ap. Mur. Rer. Ital. Script. ix.

Noxque illa nox amara
Noxque dura nimium,
In qua fortes ceciderunt
Prælio doctissimi,
Pater, mater, soror, frater,
Quos amici fleverant."*

The chronicles of St. Denis might justly praise the French for defending their country against merciless invaders; and yet, speaking of the wars between Philip of Valois and the king of England, they only say, "This was a year of misery and confusion; for, between the two kings, there was nothing done which deserves praise: but the churches and the poor common people were aggrieved, to the dishonor of all Christendom, which these princes ought to have sustained."†

When James de Voragine speaks of the victory of his countrymen, the Genoese, over the Pisans, in 1245, which was in his day, he exclaims, "But it would move compassion to mention what was the slaughter of the Pisans."‡ Relating how the Genoese and Venetians were about to engage, Raphagni Caresini, chancellor of Venice, says, "It would have softened the hardest hearts of stone to see two of the most notable and powerful communities of the world intent upon destroying each other by sea and land."§

Speaking of the wars of the Normans and others, another ancient writer says, "What tongue would suffice to describe all the desolations, and slaughter, and horror of every kind which followed! Alas! it would shame me to tell of what happened during that time in the Church of Christ: but these are the Divine judgments, which, though hidden to mortals, are yet, in the providence of God, never unjust.‖ Otho of Frisingen, in this respect laudable, says, in his Prologue to the emperor Frederic I., that he esteems happy those who are now to write history, since there is a return of peace, and that the virtues of the reigning Cæsar promise a long and happy rest to the people of the empire. It is in consequence of the encouragement he draws from the cessation of war that he undertakes to record the deeds of Frederic."¶

Francis Carpensari of Parma begins his history of Italy, in his own times, with pathetic lamentations, on account of the wars of the French, under Louis XII., and Francis I., which had afflicted his country so long. "Reflecting," he says, "as to the cause of these evils, which have disturbed my days since my boyhood, I concluded that it was nothing else but the ambition of a few, than which no pestilence is more fatal; for this it is which subverts both public and private tranquillity, as in the days of Marius, Sylla, Julius Cæsar, and Pompey, Always it has

* From a MS. of the eleventh century in the ancient Abbey of St. Martial at Limoges.
† Ad. an. 1340. ‡ Jac. Vorag. Chronic. Januens. Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.
§ Raph. Car. Continuat. Chronic. And. Danduli, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xii.
‖ Hist. Monast. S. Florentii, Salmar. ap. Martene Vet. Script. Collect. t. v. 1084.
¶ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi.

been the same study, the same insatiable rage, agitating the minds of men."* After relating the advice of Louis XII., on his death-bed, to Francis I., to carry on the war in Italy, he adds this terrible sentence: "For as he thirsted after warlike deeds while living, so going down to the dead, he had still the same solicitude, as if his bones would rest more softly when his ghost was appeased with human blood."†

Speaking of the war of two years between the kings of France and England, caused by the Castle of Gisors, in 1109, the chroniclers of St. Denis say, "They came back to former love; but before this could be, there were many innocent people slain and destroyed."‡ And Suger calls that war "an execrable perdition of men." Let us hear the preface of another historian. "I know not, venerable father, why you should have committed to me what you could execute better than any one else. You have commissioned me to write histories who are yourself full of histories, old and new. What I have written, therefore, is all to be ascribed to your command; and if you should order my whole work to be thrown into the flames, I shall not be troubled. Four things, especially, seem to have excited the ancients to write histories:—the glory of praise, the hope of gain, the love of eloquence, and a desire of imitation, of which I approve only of the last, and not even of that wholly, for will it profit you, or rather, how fatal will it not be to the salvation of your soul to emulate either Hector the brave, fighting for Troy, or direful Achilles, for the Greeks, or the beautiful Turnus, or the pious Æneas, waging war against each other, or, to go farther back still, the giants, as they say, sons of earth, taking up arms against God? These things, however grand, are, in imitation, most vain. What shall I say of the glory of praise, what of gain, what of inflated style? Nevertheless, such imitators have not been wholly frustrated in their aim. They found what they sought. Their praise has ever been, and ever will be heard while the world lasts: but, oh, wretched men, who made war, and triumphed thus! Here is all your recompense, all the reward of your labor. You have nothing more to receive; but to a Christian man, who has a better hope, who not in this world alone expects to live, there should be a more reasonable ground and motive of action."§

Honoré Bonnor begins his celebrated manual, the "Tree of Battles," saying, "But since I have chosen this matter, it has come into my imagination to make a tree of mourning at the commencement of my book, to signify the state of tribulation in which the holy church is at present from the wars between princes, and the disputes between the nobles and the communes." Walafried Strabo contrasts the historians of wars with those of the saints:—

"Si tantam meruere suo pro carmine famam
Qui scelerosorum mores et facta tulerunt

* Carpensari Comment. suorum temp. Lib. i. ap. id. tom. v. † Id. vi.

‡ Chroniques de St. Denis.

§ Joan. Legatii Chronic. Crenobii. S. Godehardi in Hildesheim Prol. ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. illustrant. ii.

Laudibus in cœlum perfusi dæmonis arte,
Frivola nectentes hominum monimenta malorum,
Cur non liberius sanctorum facta canamus,
Quos placuisse Deo nobis miracula produnt,
Quæ fidei virtute gerunt per munera Christi."*

A curious contrast with later writers occurs also in the desire of the old Catholic historians to avoid the least word that can possibly occasion animosities between the living. The annalist of Modena speaks as follows: "In 1266 the Modenese besieged the Castle of Monte Valerio, in which were the Grasulfi and many nobles, who had been expelled by the Argones from Modena. One thousand persons were in the castle, many of whom were put to death by the besiegers, whose names, I think, it is more honest to pass over for the sake of peace."†

Finally, these historians generally take occasion to express their own earnest desire of peace. Thus William Ventura, in his history of Asti, says, "Though I have suffered many injuries, yet He, who knoweth all things, can witness that I have set down naught in malice. Only may he grant peace in our days;" a prayer to which we would, with a pure heart respond, Amen. "Fiat pax, Domine, fiat pax."‡ Roderic Santius concludes his history of Spain by praying that the Most High may teach the reigning monarch, Henry IV., to direct himself and his subjects in the way of peace.§ Lanckmann of Valckenstein, in the conclusion of his narrative, after stating that the empress Leonora has left a son, Maximilian, and a daughter, Cunegond, adds, "to whom may Almighty God grant pacific times. Amen."‖ And the benediction of God on the Emperor Lewis is thus invoked by Walafried Strabo:—

"Pacem consilio faciat retinere salubri
Quem paci æternæ muneribusque parat."

On the other hand, the horror with which every idea of war was associated is often expressed in a very striking manner by the ancient writers. John de Monsterolio, secretary to Charles VI. of France, writes as follows to Benedict XI., who is celebrated, he says, throughout the world for his love of peace, which, in one word, expresses all good. "It is now about sixty years, as I have heard from my elders, since this war between kings commenced, the thought of which fills me with bitterness. If I wished to relate the evils following from this war, I should not know where to begin. Who could describe the slaughter, robbery, burning of sacred places, and inhuman ferocities? O pious Jesus, who can relate with dry eyes how children were torn from their parents, and butchered before their eyes? O cruel deeds! O execrable barbarities! O heavens, to what times have we been re-

* De B. Blaithmaic ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.
† Annal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
‡ Chronic. Astense, c. 157, ap. id. xi.
§ Ap. Hispania Illustrata, tom. i.
‖ Ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

served, when Christians thus persecute Christians? If the just can scarcely be saved, O what becomes of those multitudes living and dying thus?"*

Radulf Coggeshale describing the devastations caused by the wars of the kings of France and England in Richard's time, and the desolation of provinces which ensued from their dissensions, adds, "the divine wrath was not slow to avenge such great impiety, visiting the territories of both princes with pestilence and intemperate seasons during seven years."† "What then," exclaims St. Bernard, "is the end of this, I do not say warfare, but malice—non dico militiæ, sed malitiæ—if the slayer sins mortally and the slain perishes eternally? Nothing causes wars between you, or dissensions, but either a movement of irrational anger, or a vain appetite of glory, or the cupidity of some earthly possession. Truly for such causes it is not safe either to slay or to be slain."‡

Man may dismiss compassion from his heart, but God will never. That the blossoms of each generation should be destroyed, that war should leave once happy parents destitute ere the cheek of him be clothed with down, who is now rocked with lullaby asleep,§ that the blood-stained sword destructive of young breasts, as the Greek poet says, σπλάγχνων βλάβας νέων, furious with rage not caused by wine, should leave them to deplore a comfortless old age, these were reflections which inspired with an infinite horror of war, the vast multitude who sought to imitate Him, whose thoughts, as is declared, are of peace and not of affliction. On one occasion the duke of Burgundy having ordered that no quarter should be given to the Liegois, the body of the sire de Perwez who commanded them was found on the field of battle, still holding by the hand that of his son slain at his side. These were the spectacles, the bare mention of which disarmed the eloquence of vain orators, when they magnified the advantages of war. The mind's eye of those who heard them, was fixed on the father's agony; they wept not, they were silent; but not all the decorations of a conqueror, though like another Siccius Dentatus, he might wear fourteen civic, three mural, one obsidional, and eight golden crowns to mark his success in a hundred and twenty battles,‖ could ever make such glory appear enviable again. An Irish synod in the eighth century, enumerating the evils of war, as consequent on a wicked king, notices even the sufferings of animals, which are so multiplied in such times,¶ not overlooking those groans of the expecting creature, of which the apostle so beautifully speaks.** The hatred of war diffused throughout the people, is indicated strongly in these old national proverbs, one of which requires for an enemy who turns a silver bridge. The line of Prudentius was a popular axiom:

"Nil placitum sine pace Deo, non munus ad aram."

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. ii. p. 1315.
† Chronicon Anglicarum a. MCXCVIII. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. v.
‡ Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, c. 2. § Dante, Purg. 23. ‖ Aul. Gell. xi. 11.
¶ Capit. Canonum Hiber. xxiv. 3. Ap. Dacher. Spicileg. ix. ** Ad Rom. viii. 19.

The collection of these sentences by Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, which was printed by Martene from a manuscript found in the abbey of S. Mathew at Treves,* bears proof of the preponderance of the pacific desire: as in the lines

> "Pacis donum omnibus est bonum.
> Qui in pace fundantur non eradicantur.
> Incendium bellorum corruptio est morum.
> Bene credit qui neminem lædit."

Even artists conspired to the same end. Spanish writers say that Aurelius, son of Alfonso the Catholic, is always painted with his face turned back, as if through shame not showing it, but, like another Cain, for having killed his brother.†

It is very important to remark that Lucifer, the first-born of the demons, was chiefly known in the middle ages under the title of "the enemy of peace." Such he is called in the chronicles of St. Denis, as where we read, relative to Louis-le-Débonnaire, "the enemy of peace did not suffer the holy devotion of the good man to be without battle, but endeavored by himself and his members to trouble him in every manner." So also Ottobonus, the continuator of Caffari, speaking of the civil feuds in Genoa, in 1183, occasioned by the murder of Ingo de Frexia, says, "the seed of Satan fell and took root in the city."‡ And in the book of the deeds of the Mareschal de Bouicaut, the parties of Guelph and Ghibelline are described as "the diabolic custom sown amongst the Italians by the enemy of hell."§ The holy Scriptures dictated such titles, for Solomon makes the absence of Satan synonymous with peace. "Requiem dedit mihi Dominus per circuitum, et non est Satan." "The demons," says Vincent of Beauvais, "fallen from the state of peace, endeavor multifariously to disturb our peace."‖ Now observe how this idea was ever present upon suitable occasions. "In the second year of his reign," says a chronicle, "the emperor Henry III. celebrated Pentecost at Mayence. Shortly before mass, while seats were preparing in the church, a quarrel arose between the men of the archbishop and those of the two abbots of St. Gall and Fulda, both of whom by usage were to sit with the emperor. The two parties came to blows; the bishops and princes hastened to appease the tumult; the combatants were reconciled; the church was cleansed and purged, and the holy mass began. At the words of the sequence 'Hunc diem gloriosum fecisti,' a voice was heard saying, 'hunc diem bellicosum ego feci.' A shuddering ran through the crowd: but the emperor understanding the joy of the demon, said aloud, 'thou inventor of all malice, thou hast made this day warlike and sorrowful to the proud, but we by the grace of God, who has made it glorious, will make it benign to the poor. Then the sequence being resumed with great weeping, he

* Vet. Script. Collect. ix.

† Alfons. Carthag. Reg Hisp. Anacephalæosis, ap. Hisp. illustrata, 1.

‡ Annal, Genuens. Lib. iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vi. § P. 11. c. 1. ‖ Spec. Mor. 1. iv.

implored the grace of the Holy Spirit, and perceived by the tears of all present, and the striking of breasts, with sighs and groans, that his invocation was heard. Mass being over, he sent heralds to assemble all the poor, and then ordered to be given to them the banquet which had been prepared for himself and the princes."* Such were the convictions which taught men that "even were there rightful cause of difference, yet it were better fayre it to accord than with blood-guiltinesse to heape offence and mortal vengeaunce joyne to crime abhord."† The principle of Greek, and especially Spartan humanity, which forbade all rejoicings for victory,‡ entered essentially into the manners of Catholic nations in ages of faith, who, as we observed before, had no triumphal arches or permanent memorials of successful war. St. Clement of Alexandria remarks that Numa, being a Pythagorean, was the first who erected a temple to faith and peace,§ and we must remember that all temples, being erected in ages of faith by Catholics, were so many memorials of the love of peace. Sometimes even formally so, as when the people of Brescia built the church of St. Francis for brethren of that order, in pursuance of a vow by which they engaged to build it, if God would deign to make peace between their contending factions.‖ Many things in ancient manners, are to be referred even to a wish like that expressed in the Virgilian line,

"Ne, pueri, ne tanta animis assuescite bella."¶

Thus hunting was condemned by holy men, as by Ambrose, Gilbert, and Rupert, expressly on the ground of its being calculated to make men love war.** While the vain and giddy, and profligate part of society desired troubles, who could doubt but that the vast majority were represented by the grave, thoughtful barons, and the holy communities of monks, who so often reflected in the silence of their halls or cloisters on the miseries which follow war? Those innumerable poetic men too who so deeply sympathized with the loveliness of nature had peculiar grounds of their own for abhorring military operations.

Hear how Hugo Falcando speaks to Peter, treasurer of the church of Palermo, in the preface to his history of Sicily. "I was intending, dearest Peter, after the asperity of winter had been mitigated, to write something joyous and agreeable, that I might dedicate it to you as certain first-fruits of the reviving spring, but hearing of the death of the king of Sicily, understanding and considering within myself what a change of things that calamity will bring about, and how this most peaceful state of the kingdom will now be shaken either by a hostile invasion or a popular sedition, through consternation of mind I abandoned the thought, and I prefer turning to grief my harp and changing my song to mourning, although the bland serenity of the clear heavens, and the beauteous aspect of the

* Hermanni Corneri Chronicon. Ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.
† Spenser, ii. 2. ‡ Plut. Ages. 33. § Stromat. v. 1.
‖ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum. viii. 65. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.
¶ vi. 832. ** Andr. Cirino de Venatione, Lib. i. c. 25.

groves and gardens infusing an incongruous joy into my mind, endeavor to turn me aside from that resolution: for what place is there for lamentations, or who would not be offended at the unseasonable tears which flow at such a moment as this, when the year throwing off the white hairs of decrepit age, becomes adolescent again in the flower of youth, and the vernal temperature succeeding to the winter's cold, invites the birds to revive the sweetness of their long intermitted song? Yet I cannot refrain my tears when I think of the woes approaching Sicily, which, like a tender nurse, has with such devoted love cherished and nourished me in her bosom: for now I already behold the turbulent host of the barbarians rushing onwards, opulent cities that had so long enjoyed peace, devastated, and all the horrors which must ensue from the Teutonic violence agitated by an innate fury, stimulated by rapacity, deaf to pity, insensible to religion." This prediction was written on the death of King William II. in 1189, and verified in 1191 by Henry VI., who married Constantia of Sicily.* How affecting are these lamentations! They remind one of these ancient lines, so beautiful and sad:

Εἰρήνη βαθύπλουτε, καὶ
Καλλίστα μακάρων θεῶν,
Ζηλός μοι σέθεν, ὡς χρονίζεις
Δέδοικα δὲ μὴ πρὶν πόνοις
Ὑπερβάλῃ με γῆρας,
Πρίν περ χαρίεσσαν προϊδεῖν ὥραν
Καὶ καλλιχόρους ἀοιδάς,
Φιλοστεφάνους τε κώμους·
Ἴθι μοι, πότνια, πόλιν
Τάνδ', ἐχθρὰν στάσιν εἶργ' ἀπ' οἴκων,
Τὰν μαινομέναν τ' ἔριν.†

"O Peace, fruitful Peace, the fairest of the happy, I am wearied waiting for thee! I fear lest old age may overwhelm me with sorrow before I can behold thy gracious countenance, and hear thy love-crowned choirs and thy dulcet strains. Come to me, beloved, and ward off from this city hostile rage and mad contention." If the lovers of the beauties of nature had thus peculiar reasons for detesting war, those who were devoted to learning had also theirs. Indeed, the consequences of war to men of studious and philosophic life seem to be regarded by Plato as the most calamitous of all, as depriving men of the leisure which is necessary for contemplation;‡ and in the same light they appeared to the learned of the middle ages. Let us hear the lamentations of Richard of Bury, bishop of Durham and chancellor of England, in the time of Edward III. "O Almighty Author and Lover of peace," he exclaims, "dissipate the nations wishing wars, which more than all kinds of pestilence are injurious to books. For wars wanting the judgment of reason, make furious aggressions, and not using the moderation of reason without any discernment or distinction destroy the vessels of reason. Then

* Hist. de Regno Siciliæ, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. vii. † Stobœi, ii. 401 ‡ Phædo.

Apollo is subject to Pluto; then wisdom is reduced under the power of frenzy. Then winged Pegasus is shut up in the stable of Corydon, and Mercury perishes. Then Minerva is slain with the sword of error, and the sweet muses are seen oppressed under a morose tyranny. O cruel spectacle, when Aristotle, to whom the Lord of dominion has committed dominion, bound by wicked hands, is beheld carried out from Socratic houses; and he who deserves to obtain empire over emperors, by the unjust right of war is subjected to a vile scoffer. O iniquitous power of darkness, which fears not to cast under foot the divinity of Plato, who alone was worthy in the sight of the Creator, before he had appeased the chaos of war and strife, and had induced continuity to propose ideal species, to demonstrate the world's archetype, and to trace the sensible world from the supernal example. O tearful sight, when moral Socrates, whose acts were virtue and words doctrine; who from the principles of nature produced the justice of policy, is beheld enslaved by a vicious wretch. Then we weep for Pythagoras, the parent of harmony; then we pity Zeno, the prince of the stoics, who rather than betray counsel, bit off his tongue and spat it in a tyrant's face. Alas! we cannot sufficiently lament with adequate mourning each of the books which, in different parts of the world have perished by the calamity of wars. Who would not shudder at the thought of such holocausts as have been offered, when devouring flames have consumed so many innocents in whose mouth was found no guile, and so many treasuries of eternal truth? We are scattered abroad through foreign countries; we are torn and horribly mutilated; we are buried under the earth; we are cast into the sea, and destroyed by every mode of destruction. How many of us, by Theodoric, during the exile of Boëthius, were dispersed through different climates like sheep without a shepherd! Truly infinite are the losses of books which have ensued from wars. Therefore, since we cannot adequately deplore them, here let us cease, and only beseech the Ruler of the world to establish firm peace and to remove wars, that the times by his protection may be tranquil."*

Let us hear another of these men, who, on similar grounds, detested war. "If I were all tongue, holy father," says Marsilius Ficinus, writing to Pope Sixtus, "I could not express with what joy I heard of God having appointed you for our pastor; for I hoped that when the highest power was joined to the highest wisdom, that golden age predicted by Plato would return. Alas! my joy is changed into sorrow. Who would have thought that under so wise a pontiff, not a golden, but an iron age, would succeed? An iron age has returned. I see nothing but arms fabricated for destruction; I hear of nothing but the sound of arms, the sound of horses, the thunder of bombardments. I observe nothing but weeping and rapine, and flames and slaughter."†

Pericles said that for those who have a choice, and who can prosper otherwise,

* Richardi de Buri Philobiblion, c. vii.

† Epist. Lib. vi.

it is a great folly to make war.* Christian teachers in ages of faith went farther; and, heedless of the promised gain, they pronounced it to be a crime. Hereafter we shall see what were their distinctions. At present I shall only remark that penance was formerly imposed on all who had been in battle, even though it were just.† "By the ancient canons," says Chardon, "those who had borne arms in a just war were irregular, as well as those who occasioned the death of a criminal, whether as parties or judges; for, though there was no crime, there was something contrary to the gentleness of the church, which abhors blood.‡ Grotius remarks that with the Greeks the canon was long observed which excluded for three years from communion those who had slain an enemy in any war whatever.§ Even in the west, in the Penitential of Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, we read, "If any one should kill a man in a public war, let him do penance during one year."‖ By a council held in 923, in the diocese of Rheims, a penance was imposed on all those who had fought in the battle of Soissons, between Charles the Simple and King Robert. The danger of rushing into a fixed eternal condition out of the very flames of rage and hate, explained such discipline to which the consciences of men, in ages of faith, gave many signs of responding, without the distinction which some moderns ascribe to them who think they calmly saw slaughtered the nameless people, the "multam sine nomine plebem."¶ The chronicles of St. Denis relate that Sisebode, the great warrior and king of Spain in the seventh century, who conquered Catalonia, used sometimes to evince marvellous great pity when his hosts hewed down knights and people. He used to call out to the enemy to put themselves under his protection, or to save their lives by flight; and then, with deep sighs and great lamentations, used to say, "Alas! how unfortunate I am that during my reign there should be such a slaughter of people and so great an effusion of human blood!"** Bauldry de Cambray relates that after the check at Soissons, when the emperor sent to Lothaire to ask him to fix a field for battle, Geoffroy, count of Anjou, vassal of Hugues Capet, cried out that the two kings might fight in single combat for the empire, in order to prevent so many men from slaying each other for their quarrel. Edward III., in his letter to King Philip of Valois, expresses his repugnance at the thought of the consequences of the contest between them, of the destruction of the people of the country, which he says, every good Christian should shun; and to avoid shedding the people's blood, as the quarrel is personal between them, he offers to meet him either in single combat or with only an hundred knights on each side.†† The terms of the treaty procured three years later by means of the cardinals, are, "that it is granted through reverence for the church, and in order to spare the subjects of the two kings." Even under the terrible dynasty of the Merovingians the same concern for the common danger breaks out; for when the armies of Chilperic and

* Thucid. ii. 61. † Thomassin. III. ii. 70. ‡ Hist. des Sacramens, tom. v. c. 4.
§ De Jure Belli ac Pacis, ii. 24. ‖ Fulberti Carnot. Opera, p. 167. ¶ Æneid. ix. 343.
** Liv. v. c. 7. †† Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 1340.

Goutran were abou to engage. we read that it was some good men who had compassion at the perdition of the people who labored to make peace between the two kings.*

In the Romances of Chivalry these scruples are ascribed to the most warlike. Thus in the book of Baldwin, count of Flanders, the chiefs challenge each other to single combat: "In order," say they, "that no more of our people may be slain on either side, let us fight singly."† And again, when the Count de St. Pol challenges Ferrant, count of Flanders, we read that they agreed to fight together, "in order that the people on neither side should be any longer butchered."‡

Edward III., before making war with Philippe de Valois, caused to be read in the churches a circular stating what efforts he had made in vain for the sake of peace.§ He might well be alarmed at the doubts around him, though it was easy to make his cause appear just or plausible. Gerson, in a dialogue between a French and an English knight, has shown how well they were founded. To the question, indeed, of the former, "are you contrite and penitent for the impieties and execrable homicides committed by you against the French?" he makes the latter reply "no," and defend his negative by the assertion that it was a just war; but the proofs which he then adduces to the contrary, could not have been unremarked at the time. But must I not obey the king? asks the English knight, to whom the other replies; it is an unjust war, founded, instigante diabolo, in the lust of rule and in the pleasure of subduing Christians: it is against the counsels and against the beatitudes written by the finger of God. All your people should protest against such wars, and because they do not, they are guilty of obeying man rather than their Creator." "But you say this," continues the other, "because you are a Frenchman, and wish to discourage the English." "I say this," concludes his adviser, "because I fear God, who is truth, and not the persecutors of my country."‖

Towards the close of their lives, these doubts and scruples became really troublesome to the authors of such tragedies. Lucan represents Cæsar after his victories feasting with oriental luxury, and spending half the night in proposing questions of philosophy. "O sage devoted to sacred things, tell us," he says, "the origin of the Pharian nature, the site of its territory, the manners of its people, the rites and forms of the gods, and whatever is inscribed on ancient temples. Always in the midst of battles I have had leisure to contemplate the stars and the heavens; and such is my love for truth, that there is nothing I so much wish to discover, as the source of the Nile so long concealed."

The questions which occupied the minds of warriors in the middle ages after their victories, were not exactly of this kind. Such tranquillity after causing the

* Id. Liv. iii. 17. † Le Livre de Baudoyn, c. 6. ‡ Id. 78.
§ Michelet, Hist. de France, iii. 298. ‖ Dialog inter Francum et. Angl. Opera. tom. iv.

death of men was no longer pos-ible. It was not the difficulty of discovering the source of the Nile that troubled them, but that of finding oceans that could wash out the spot—the damned spot that mocked and tortured them in their glory.

What a sense of the criminality of wars was evinced by William the Conqueror on his death-bed, when he made that long discourse on his own life from childhood, to the friends who stood around him in the abbey of St. Gervais !· As the noise of a populous city incommoded him, he had caused himself to be carried without the walls of Rouen to his convent, on a hill towards the west, which duke Richard his ancestor had given to the church of Fecamp, and it was here that, attended by Gislibert, bishop of Lisieux and Gontard, abbot of Jumiège, with some physicians, he breathed his last.*

> " ———Seros, et non nisi tantum
> Ut doleant, oculos aperit Fortuna tyrannis."

At the siege of Brionne, Gilbert du Pin commanding the assailants, was mortally wounded in the head by an arrow. Recovering for a moment from his swoon, he cried out terribly to those who stood round him, " Wretched, wretched men, what is it you do? Why waste your time? Why attach yourselves to the vanities of the world, and forget the things which are truly salutary and durable? If you knew the miseries and torments that you deserve for living ill—if you were to see the horrors of which I have been a spectator during the last hour, certainly you would esteem as worthless all the goods of this perishable world." With these words, and while endeavoring to add others, speech failed him, and this illustrious knight expired.† Doubtless too, the impression was profound and often productive of great effect, with which men heard related the visions granted to different persons revealing the doom of warriors who had desolated the earth through avarice, or the love of glory. Such was that recounted of the fiery torments inflicted on Lewis the Landgrave, when after death he was seen emitting from his eyes and nostrils sulphureous flames on drinking from a cup presented to him by demons, and, finally, with an ironical welcome made to descend into the bottomless pit which was uncovered for his reception‡

Such, again, was the terrible account which Peter the Venerable gives. A gentleman named Humbert, son of a Seigneur named Guichard de Belioc, in the diocese of Macon, who had become a monk in Cluny, having made war against other Seigneurs in the neighborhood, Geofroi d'Iden was slain in battle. Two months after this, Geofroi appeared to Milon d'Ansa, and prayed him to tell Humbert de Belioc, in whose service he had lost his life, that he was in torments for having assisted him in an unjust war, and that he begged him to have masses and alms offered for him. Milon performed the commission; Humbert was

* Orderic Vitalis, Hist. Norm. Lib. vii. † Id. Lib. viii.
Cæsar Heisterbach. illus'. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. Lib. xii. 2.

terrified; but he continued to make a bad use of the fortune which his father had left him. After some time, in broad day-light, Geofroi appeared to him, armed cap-à-pie, showed him his mortal wound, reproached him for his neglect, and warned him not to go to the war with Count Amedée. Humbert from that day changed his conduct, and made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Peter the Venerable heard this history in great detail, as having occurred the year in which he went to Spain.*

"About the time," says an old writer, "when king Philip was at enmity with Cologne on account of Otho, a certain John the Dane laid waste the province. When he came to die, he cried out to those who stood near him, 'Give me a sword, that I may drive off that black Moor.' 'We see no one,' said they, 'invoke God.' The despairing wretch replied, 'What could He do for me if I did?' 'Much,' they answered. 'Then,' said he, 'if you can, O God, help me;' and with these words he expired. I fear such a weak and extorted invocation profited him but little."† Remorse for having taken part in wars was a fruitful source of conversions to a religious life, as is attested by all monastic history. Many a successful warrior wished, like the Homeric hero, that he had never gained such victories:

ὡς δὴ μὴ ὄφελον νικᾶν τοιῷδ' ἐπ' ἀέθλῳ.
Od. x. 548.

Adolphus and Everhard, brothers, and counts of Castro Abzena, in 1133 were in the expedition of the duke of Limburgh against the duke of Brabant, in which so many fell on both sides. Everhard, though he had slain no one with his own hand, was yet touched with extreme grief; so that on returning to his castle with his knights and soldiers, being full of compunction for the perpetrated sins, in order to satisfy God, he made a holy resolution, changed his clothes, and in the dead of night escaped unseen, and set out for Rome: after visiting which he went as far as St. James, in Gallicia; whence returning he came to Deildorf, belonging to Morimond, where for a long time he lived as a hired swineherd, till he was at length discovered by two of his old companions in arms, who recognized him by a scar on his face. After becoming a monk at Morimond, his brother Adolphus gave him his castle of Aldenberg, in the diocese of Cologne, where he founded an abbey, which was supplied with monks from Morimond.‡ It was a similar conviction that caused Simon, Comte de Crépi, in 1077 to embrace the monastic life. Young, rich, and powerful, his conscience was alarmed at the act of his father Rudulf, who had unjustly seized the city of Mondidier, where he was buried. Having consulted the pope, he was told

* Bibliothec. Cluniac. i. c. 7. Dom. Calmet Tratité sur les Apparitions, tom. ii. 171.
† Cæsar. Heisterbach, Lib. xi. 52.
‡ Notitiæ Abbat. ord. Cistertiensis per universum orbem, Lib. ii.

to remove his father's body elsewhere, and to have mass said for his soul. In complying with this injunction, the sight of his father's body struck him with horror. "What, is this my father who has subdued so many castles?" He removed it to the monastery of St. Arnoux, at Crépi, where he then took the habit. Of him an old Romance testifies,

"Ains vous veuil amantoivre de Simon de Crespi
Qui le Comte Raoul son pere defoui,
Et trouva en sa bouche un froit plus que demi
Qui li rougoit la langue, dont jura et menti.
Li cuens vit la merveille, moult en fut ébahi,
Est-ce donc mon père qui tant châteaux brouis,
Ja n'avoit il en France nul Prince si hardi,
Qui osa vers li fere ne guerre ne Estre.
Dedans une forêt en essil s'enfoui,
Là devint charbonners : y tel ordre choisi."*

In 1266, when Paganinus de la Turre was slain, the party of the Turriani, in revenge put to death their prisoners of the party who had slain him. Napus de la Turre, who was then lord of Milan, not being able to prevent that cruelty, after all his efforts to oppose it, fled from Milan, weeping and exclaiming, "Woe, woe, I fear that the blood which has been shed this day, will be on my head, and on my children."†

When the Lord Canis the great of Verona came to die, he consigned to the Venetians 100,000 florins, as restitution for whatever he had unjustly seized in war.‡ In synodial statutes of the year 1247 we read that no alms can be given from rapine; but that with a view to restitution, soldiers must be advised to make great and spontaneous alms, clothing the poor, and endowing churches, "and what is still holier," say these fathers, "giving, or rather returning, to such persons as have been injured."§ Down to very late times the Catholic instruction relative to war produced memorable effects. Many years before his death, the Prince de Conti sold his possessions, in order to repair the injuries caused by his army.‖

Thus did the Catholic religion revive and strengthen those sentiments implanted in the human heart, or those unextinguishable traditions of the divine law, to which Homer was not insensible, when, at the close of the Odyssey, he seems to evince a certain melancholy, not without remorse, for having so often sung of war; since he makes Minerva himself thus address Ulysses;

* Longueval, Hist. de l'Eglise Gal. vii. 451.

† Annales Mediolanens. c. 38. ap. Muratori, tom. xvi.

‡ Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, vii. 10. ap. id. tom. xii.

§ Statut. Eccles. ap. Martene, vet. Script. vii.

‖ Testament du Prince de Conti, Paris. 1666. Réparations des dommages causés par la guerre, ap. Monteil, Hist. des Français, viii.

Ἴσχε, παῦε δὲ νεῖκος ὁμοιΐου πολέμοιο,
Μήπως τοι Κρονίδης κεχολώσεται εὐρύοπα Ζεύς.
xxiv. 541.

In those solemn verses which were to express his last desire, the poet represents Heaven as wearied with human wars, and anxious to confer peace on men. "Let us consign to oblivion," says the highest voice he had learned to invoke, "the slaughter of sons and brethren, and let there be the abundance of wealth and peace."

CHAPTER III.

WE had occasion to remark in relation to the thirst for justice, that the love evinced by men in ages of faith for the offices of the church was an indication of their desire of peace. Here we must observe more direct proof of what we then inferred, and at this turn, let him who would conceive what history can never adequately tell, imagine that he enters that dunnest gloom or night unlustrous, through which journeyed Dante; and that straight he hears voices, and each one seems to pray for peace, and for compassion to the Lamb of God that taketh sins away; their prelude still is, "Agnus Dei," and through all the choir one voice, one measure runs, that perfect seems the concord of their song.*

This supplication of the suffering was that also of the militant church, which daily offered it as now with sighs and tears, and by the light which this reflection casts on history, we can catch a glimpse for an instant at the immense multitude of the pacific men who in the middle ages were existing upon earth; for as many as were joined in spirit to the church, were united with her in this ardent and insatiable desire of peace. How do we know that the Catholic church, which the holy fathers call the house of peace, was so profoundly attached to peace? From a simple review of her liturgy: for in the first place, her great daily sacrifice itself was nothing else but the mystery of peace, the pledge of future and eternal, the diffusion of present peace to man. At this holy and tremendous celebration in which God hath given peace reconciling the lowest with the highest in Himself, the good of temporal peace was also formally invoked, at the Gloria, at the Te igitur, at the spreading of the hands before the consecration, at the Libera

* Purg. xvi.

nos, at the salutation of the people, at the Agnus Dei, at the three prayers which follow it, and in the prayer for the king; for, as the apostle assigns the reason for the latter, "that we may lead a secure and peaceable life," so with that intention the holy church prays for all rulers, even for such as are transgressors of the Divine law;* which intention is formally expressed in her solemn litany where she prays that kings and Christian princes may have peace and true concord, and all the people peace and unity. The innumerable priests, who celebrated throughout the earth, knew that the inestimable price of the world, and the great Victim for the salvation of men, could only be immolated in a spirit of peace, and with a contrite heart; and that, as Peter of Blois says, it is never lawful to offer it without that preparation.† Ought a man to approach the altar who is excited against another, not so as to wish to injure him, but so as to be glad that he may be injured by another? Ought he to wait, you ask, until the excitement be passed? "Never may it happen to me," replies St. Bernard, "to approach the sacrifice of peace when disturbed, or with danger to participate in the sacrament in which God reconciles the world to Himself."‡

St. John Chrysostom, being unable to reconcile two persons at variance with each other, was somewhat vexed at their obstinacy. This was only an effect of his zeal and charity; yet he did not attempt to celebrate the Divine mysteries, or communicate on that day. In order to teach men always to possess their hearts in peace, and bear in mind this mystery, it was the custom to wear an image, called the Pax, next the bosom. In the office of the regular Hours the same desire is expressed; for, at matins, at that "most sacred time of quiet hours," the lips are opened to the voice of psalmody, which is to finish with the day; and, as St. Augustin says, "the psalm is the tranquillity of souls, the harbinger of peace, restraining the perturbations and the flood of thoughts, repressing anger, reducing to concord the dissentient, reconciling enemies; for who would ever count him an enemy with whom he had sung to God that one great voice of the psalm?"§ At Lauds the church sings of that oath to Abraham, "a pledge that, delivered from the hand of our enemies we may serve God without fear, and have our feet directed in the way of peace;" at the sweet hymn of Prime, she prays to have the angry tongue restrained, lest there should be heard the horror of contention. "Pacem et veritatem diligite," is then her lesson, and "Dies et actus nostros in sua pace disponat Dominus Omnipotens," her prayer: at Tierce she prays for that charity which is synonymous with peace: and at Sext she sings:

'Extingue flammas litium,
Aufer calorem noxium,
Confer salutem corporum
Veramque pacem cordium."

* Hugonis Floriacensis de Regia Potestate, Lib. i. 4. ap. Baluze Miscell. ii.
† Petr. Blesens. Epist. lxxxvi. ‡ De Præcepto et Dispensat. 19. § In Psal. En. Prol.

At the ninth hour she announces that great peace which is for those who love the Divine law; and her vesper office closes with that commemoration of peace which is so familiar to all her children, praying that peace may be in their day; and that God, from whom are all holy desires, right counsels, and just works, may grant to his servants that peace which the world cannot give; that their hearts, being given to his commandments, and the fear of enemies removed, the times, by his protection, may be tranquil through Christ their Lord. At the complin office she prays for a quiet night and a perfect end, beseeches God to visit the habitation of her children, and send His holy angels to dwell in it, and guard them in peace; and then, in the words of holy David, commits them to Him, into His hands commends their spirit, places them under the shadow of His wings, and thus sweetly and divinely dismisses them to their rest.

"According to Plato," as St. Clemens of Alexandria remarks, "the greatest prayer is that for peace."* We may conceive then from this one observation alone, what would have been his judgment of the Catholic liturgy, and of our hallowed domes wherein such orisons ascend. But every thing in the church was intended to express the desire of peace. The mere ceremonial to a mind susceptible of the beauty of order imparted a solemn and delicious calm. John the Deacon, in his life of St. Gregory, says that the Gregorian chant was substituted in Gaul for the Gallican, because the latter, so far from inspiring in the hearers a religious serenity, only excited violent and disordered sentiments. That the object in making this substitution was attained, is attested by innumerable witnesses. Some declare that the mere intonation of the preface can often make their tears flow. Others, like the painters of the middle ages, repair to the assemblies of the faithful to find countenances breathing a divine peace. In effect, there we still find them. One time it is the angel, as in the painting of Guido, offering, with an innocent smile, the chalice to the Saviour; at another it is the deacon, as in that by Domenichino, of the last communion of St. Jerome. The very structures announced the good of peace; for, as St. Augustin says, "If these stones and beams did not cohere together in a certain order, and pacifically unite into each other, and, as it were, love each other, no one would enter them."† How many, in fact, might say with Chateaubriand, "I have often experienced, on entering a church, a certain appeasement of the troubles of the heart." Factus est in pace locus ejus."

But who can worthily extol the language of those numerous collects, in which we pray that God would grant us to rejoice in a peaceful life in time, and to find the bliss of life eternal. On the second Sunday after the Epiphany, the words are "that the almighty and eternal God, who rules celestial and terrestrial things, would hear with clemency the supplications of His people, and grant them peace during their times;" and towards the close of the year the same words are re-

* Stromat. ii. 5.

† Serm. 336. in Dedic.

peated. May the Lord open your heart to His law and to His precepts, and may He make peace in your days. Creator of all things, God, terrible and mighty, just and merciful, grant us peace."

Traces of a sense of danger from present or impending wars occur repeatedly in the liturgy of the church, and I know of nothing more affecting than these indications of alarm associated with festivals of peaceful joy. A sense of the contrast between the internal kingdom of God, established in such multitudes of men, and the external world in which they found themselves, dictates many of the prayers. Thus, on the first Sunday of Advent, the Church prays that God would not permit them to be subject to human dangers, to whom He gave to rejoice in the participation of Divine mysteries; on the second Sunday after the Epiphany, she beseeches God, who moderates things, both celestial and earthly, that He would grant His peace in our times; and, on the twenty-third after Pentecost, that those whom He admits to rejoice in Divine participation, He would not suffer to succumb to human perils. On the day of the Invention of the Cross the Church beseeches God, that the sacrifice, which she immolates to Him, "may deliver us from all the iniquity of wars." In her solemn invocation of the Holy Spirit, which she repeats so often, she prays, "Hostem repellas longius pacemque dones protinus." She prepares for festivals by supplicating the peace which is requisite for their celebration. Thus, on the eve of the Assumption, she prays for protection, in order that she may assist at the coming festival with joy: and, on the vigil of St. Peter and St. Paul, "that God may not permit us, who are consolidated on the rock of apostolical confession, to be shaken by any perturbations." Indeed, the ancient preachers remind men, that "they must, on the approach of every festival, purify their minds from all anger and ill-will."* Hence, in 1211, after the burial of the Abbot John, when the community of Monte Sereno met on the Friday of the week Lætare Jerusalem, it was the advice of the prior, that the election of his successor should be deferred till after Easter, "lest, by chance, any discord should ensue that might trouble them in that holy time."† Hardly a day of high festival occurs without her seeming to cast a look of terror at the citizens of Babylon and their wars. Witness the hymn of St. Michael:—

"Angelus pacis Michaël in ædes
Cœlitus nostras veniat, serenæ
Auctor ut pacis lacrymosa in Orcum
Bella releget."

And that for All Saints, which alludes to one invasion of the Northmen

"Auferte gentem perfidam
Credentium de finibus,

* Sermo S. Maximi, ap. Baluze, Miscellan. ii

† Chronic. Montis Sereni, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ tom. ii.

Ut unus omnes unicum
Ovile nos Pastor regat."

At the Nativity of the Blessed Virgin, there is the prayer, that "On whom her birth was a beginning of Salvation, the votive solemnity of her nativity may confer an increase of peace." On the feasts of her Conception and of her Visitation the same words nearly are repeated. When about to leave her temples to celebrate the procession of Palm Sunday, the deacons say, "Procedamus in pace." To whom her choirs answer, "In nomine Christi."

The first of the prayers on Good Friday is for the Holy Church of God. That God our Lord may deign to pacify, unite, and protect it throughout the entire world; subjecting to it principalities and powers: and that he may grant to us, leading a quiet and tranquil life, to glorify God the Father Almighty. Then follows the prayer for the most Christian Emperor, that God may render all barbarous nations subject to Him, to our perpetual peace; and that He would look down benignant on the Christian empire, that the nations which trust in their ferocity may be repressed by the right hand of His power.

In the office of Holy Saturday, when she lays aside her penitential vestments, and prepares to celebrate, with all the beauty of holiness, the glorious mystery of the Resurrection, still vigilant and forethoughtful in that hour of triumph, she prays Almighty God to grant her peace for the season of the Paschal joy; "Quiete temporum concessa, in his Paschalibus gaudiis." She prays that He would deign to grant to kings and Christian princes peace and true concord. At the Consecration of the Candle, she prays that all the clergy and most devout people, with the blessed pope, and each bishop, may be granted quiet times in the Paschal joy; that God would please to vouchsafe the king a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people.

The vesper hymn, which closes the Paschal solemnities, indicates the same apprehensions:—

"Quæsumus, Autor omnium,
In hoc Paschali gaudio
Ab omni mortis impetu
Tuum defende populum."

At Pentecost again, in the vesper hymn, she prays that God may repel far from us the enemy, and grant us peace; that by such protection we may avoid all injury: and in that for Lauds of the same day she sings,

'Dimitte nostra crimina
Et da quieta tempora."

On the second day of Pentecost her words are "ut quibus dedisti fidem, largiaris et pacem;" and again, "Be present with thy people, Lord, and those whom thou hast imbued with heavenly mysteries, defend from hostile fury." Finally, when four Sundays have succeeded, and the summer season reigns, she prays,

"that the course of the world may be directed by Divine ordinance pacifically for us; and that his church may rejoice in tranquil devotion." What must have been the feelings of men in the middle ages, since, as each thing to more perfection grows, it feels more sensibly both good and pain, when they repeated such prayers! and what echoes must they have found in the pacific hearts which only God and angels heard! History and the experience of all ages can attest how grounded were these fears. "The Norman army," says Orderic Vitalis, "passed the sea from the port of St. Valeri to conquer England during the very night when the Catholic church celebrates the festival of St. Michael the archangel."* Rigaud observes, that it was in the holy week of our Lord's passion that Richard, king of England, besieged the castle of Chalus-chabrol, for the sake of a treasure found there, which he, through avarice and ambition, desired to possess; at which siege he was slain.†

We find it related in old annals, as a remarkable felicity, that in 1038 the emperor Conrad, in the castle of Stella, pacifically, and without any molestation, celebrated Easter;‡ and that in 1099, the lord pope celebrated Christmas in great peace.§ The great Gerbert was not so happy always; for, writing to Arnulph, bishop of Orleans, whom he styles the guardian of his soul, to whom God has given both faith and science, he says, after thanking God for having given him such a constant friend, who refuses to believe the probable but false things reported of him by his enemies, "This is thy gift, O good Jesus, who makest men to dwell with one mind in a house. Far from hence," he continues, "be all deceit: let peace and fraternity come hither, so that he who injures one may injure both. Under the protection of the power of Christ no tyrannic force shall deter me from this resolution: no, not the threats of kings, which in this Paschal festival we have so grievously endured."‖ In remonstrating with the enemies of order, the clergy used expressly to avow that they desired tranquillity for the solemn rites of religion. Thus St. Hilary of Poictiers said to an oppressive government, "Suffer the people to follow their own pastors, that they may celebrate in peace the divine mysteries, and offer for your safety free prayers."¶ The church, however, in the middle ages, never thought of permanently suppressing her solemnities in consequence of persons wishing to disturb them; a danger to which they were always exposed. In general the civil authority lent its aid, as when King Henry II. wrote to the seneschal of Lyons, to remind him that the procession of the approaching festival of Corpus Christi rendered precautions necessary to prevent the heretics from interrupting it.** We may remark, too, that the joy with which a restoration of peace was received left traces in the liturgy. Pope Gregory the Great, having procured a peace on the festival of SS. Gervaise and Protasius,

* Hist. Nor. Lib. iii. De Gest. Phil. August. ap. Recueil des Hist. de France, xviii.
‡ Annales Hildeshemenses ap. Leibnitz Script. Bruns. illustrant. § Baronius.
‖ Epist. 26. ¶ Epist. ad Constant. ** Paradin. Hist. de Lyon. iii. 32.

decreed, that the Introit on that day should be, "Loquetur Dominus pacem."*

But it is not alone in the regular offices of the universal church that we find the desire of peace so fervently and religiously expressed, with indications of the difficulties of maintaining it. We find many ancient local liturgical monuments which convey a similar testimony. The Litanee of Hartmann, that used to be sung in the monastery of St. Gall, contains these lines:

"Pacem perpetuam rogitamus, prospice, Christe,
Et sanæ vitæ gaudia longa diu."

In another, used by the same monks, we read:

"Ætheris blandos facilesque motus
Frugis et largos remeare quæstus,
Regibus vitam, populisque pacem
Da Pater orbis."

And in the hymn for the festival of St. Gall,

"Temporum pacem, fidei tenorem,
Languidis curam, veniamque lapsis,
Omnibus præsta pariter beatæ
Munera vitæ."

In some ancient collections we find the ritual of a mass for peace.‡ In a sacramentary which Martene found in the abbey of Vauclair, at the prayer "Hanc igitur oblationem," there was added, "which we offer to thee for peace and charity, and the unity of the holy church, and for all the Catholic people, for those who are in dissension and discord, that all may be recalled to charity and concord:"§ and in the archives of the canons at Modena there is a sacramentary of Gregory the Great, written in the ninth century, in which is found "Missa contra tyrannos," from which we may infer what was the ferocity of many feudal lords.‖ Celebrated in the middle ages was the antiphon Media Vita, which was sung to invoke the protection of God against the enemies of the church who disturbed the public peace.¶ "Media vita in morte sumus; quem quærimus adjutorem nisi te Domine, qui pro peccatis nostris juste irasceris. Sancte Deus, sancte fortis, sancte et misericors Salvator amaræ morti ne tradas nos." Such were the words of this hymn, of which the origin and history are remarkable. It was composed by Notker Balbulus, who, born of a noble family in Zurich, became a monk of St. Gall, where he attained to eminence by his learning, his skill in music and poetry, and his knowledge of the holy Scriptures. "No one," says the historian of that abbey, "ever saw him unless either reading, writing, or praying: he wrote many spiritual songs: he was the most humble and meek of men,

* Andreæ Danduli Chronic. vi. 2. p. 13 ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xii.
† Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. ii.
‡ Mansi append. ad Baluze Miscell. ii.
§ Voyage Lit. de deux Bénédict, 40.
‖ Murat. Antiq. It. diss. 46.
¶ Gerbert de Cantu Sacar.

and most holy. The faint sound of a mill-wheel near the abbey induced him to compose a beautiful air applicable to some pious verses; and the looking down into the deep gulph at Martistobel, and the danger incurred by some laborers in building a bridge, whom he saw working over the abyss, suggested to him the celebrated song of Media Vita."*

So far this old writer respecting the monk who composed it, who died in 912, and whose name was inscribed in the calendar of the saints by Pope Innocent III. So profound were the emotions inspired by this antiphon, that, in the thirteenth century, it was necessary to caution men against attaching to it a superstitious importance; for there was a disposition in some profane men to regard it in the light of a charm that could avert death, or cause the destruction of an enemy; so that in war it used to be sung by both sides with this intention, until the synod of Cologne, in 1316,† declared that no one should sing it without the bishop's permission.‡ Down to very late times it used to be sung at St. Gall every year on the Monday in Rogation week during a procession to an awful spot in a valley between lofty mountains, where the river was crossed by a bridge; and the people were still inclined to credit a wild legend respecting its origin, which was deemed mysterious. The devotion of the forty hours prayer instituted by a poor Capuchin friar, Joseph of Milan, was another exercise especially designed for times of public danger or calamity. This exercise was in memory of the interval during which the body of our Lord rested in the sepulchre.§

Besides these general and local supplications at all times, history mentions many particular occasions when God was solemnly invoked to grant peace. In 472, Sidonius Apollinaris celebrated the Rogations round the walls of Clermont, to obtain peace from the assaults of Euric. In a letter to St. Mamertus, he says, "It is reported that the Goths are in motion to invade the Roman territory, and it is always our unfortunate country which is the gate through which they pass. What gives us confidence in such peril is not our calcined ramparts, our worm-eaten machines of war, our battlements worn down by our breasts; but it is the holy institution of the Rogations which sustains us against the surrounding horrors."‖ Charlemagne, after taking counsel with his spiritual and temporal faithful, orders a fast of three days with abstinence from food and wine, till nones, at which hour all are to repair to the churches and sing the litanies; and among the causes which call for this is the continuance of war upon the borders of the pagans.¶ Charlemagne, in a letter to his wife Fastrada, relating his victory over the Huns, says, "During three days we made litanies supplicating the mercy of God, that He would deign to grant us peace."**

Let us hear the old historians speak. In 1260, on occasion of great cruelties,

* Eckehard Min. in vita. † Can. 21. Albert. Concil German
‡ Ildefons von Arx Geschicht. des S. Gallen. i. 93. § Annales Capucinorum, an 1556.
‖ Epist. vii 1. ¶ Ap. Martene, vet. Script. coll. tom. vii. 23.
** Ap. Duchesne, Script. Franc. ii. 187.

men began to lash themselves at Perugia, and thence successively on the way to Rome. Peace was then made between many at Bologna; and twenty thousand men came from thence to Modena, and lashed themselves, and peace was then made between all the Modenese, that is, between those of Gorzano, Rodilia, and Gomola; and from all discords and wars they universally ceased; and more than twenty thousand of the Modenese went to Reggio and Parma; and those two cities made peace with each other.* In 1260, says another, "The devotion of the flagellants prevailed in Lombardy. Then hermits came forth from their caves, and entering cities, preached the gospel. The citizens of Asti, with the bishop and clergy, went in procession, and, kneeling down in the public places, cried with a loud voice, 'Misericordia et pax nobis fiant.' In those days many discords were appeased."† "All the people of Parma," says another, "great and small, with the consuls and the Lord Podesta, went in these processions, and peace was made between those who were at war."‡ In 1261, says another, "by means of the devotion of the flagellants, who went about crying, 'Pax, pax!' many enmities and wars both new and old, in the city of Genoa, and throughout all Italy, were appeased, and exchanged for peace. Many who had committed homicide when they went against enemies, placed now their naked swords in the hands of their enemies, in order that they might take vengeance on them if they chose; but these foes threw the swords on the ground and prostrated themselves at the feet of their enemies, weeping, so as to move all who beheld them to piety and exultation of heart."§

Another writer says, that "the tyrants of cities, by edicts and fines, put a stop to this devotion of the people."‖ Philip de Valois opposed it, in 1349, in France, where according to the chronicles of St. Denis, there were as many as eight hundred thousand who practised it, amongst whom were many great men and gentlemen.

But there are still more admirable examples. Dante seems to have had a soul prophetic when he says, "I marked a tribe that walked as if attendant on their leaders, clothed with raiment of such whiteness as on earth was never:"¶ for let us hear what Italy beheld seventy-seven years after his death. In 1398, says an ancient writer, "there was in Italy and other Christian nations, a certain wondrous movement of religion and ceremonies called 'the whites.' This began in the kingdom of Grenada, where a number of men and women clad in white linen went processionally through cities and towns, singing canticles and praying to God for the safety of the human race, and at intervals kneeling down vociferating, 'Misericordia Dio, misericordia.' This devotion spread through all Spain, thence into Gaul, and England, and Germany, and to other most distant regions,

* Annal. vet. Mutinensium, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xi.
† Chronic. Astense, c. i. ap. id. tom. xi. ‡ Chronic. Parmense, ap. id. tom. ix
§ Jacob. de Voragine Chronic. Januens. p. xii. c. 6. ap. id. tom. ix.
‖ Chronic. Francesci Pipini, Lib. iii. c. 36. ap. id. tom. ix. ¶ Purg 29.

with an incredible similarity of ceremonies. It was on the 1st of September that four of the company of the whites, in that habit, came to Ferrara, who were received with admiration and devotion, because the fame had arrived before them; and on the 2d, which was Sunday, one of them preached in the great church, and explained the cause and manner of the institution, and related the miracles which had occurred in Spain. There were more than four thousand persons at the sermon; after which a procession was made through the city, with all the clergy, and a multitude of the people of both sexes, and even of children, all clad in white. On the 8th of September, which was the feast of St. Mary, the illustrious lord marquis of Est, with his consort, the Lady Ziliola, and all the courtiers and nobles, with the bishops of Ferrara and Modena, and the patriarch of Jerusalem, and many other prelates, and all the clergy, assisted in the procession, clad in white. Going out of the town, they went in order to the suburb of Belflora, followed by an immense multitude; and there, in an open meadow, the bishop of Modena preached, and the numbers were about thirteen thousand. On the following days there were similar processions within and without the city to different churches. After which the said four persons departed to Padua and into the marshes of Trevisa, and to the province of Friuli, instituting everywhere the same ceremonies; and by these means many reconciliations were made, and all kinds of enemies brought to concord and peace."*

Another ancient writer thinks that this devotion first began in Ireland and Scotland.† It is curious to hear how the learned Leonardus Aretinus speaks while lamenting the cause which led to these processions. "At this time there was no rest from war. All works were martial. Louis of Anjou now came into Italy, and at his coming the Florentines and people of Arezzo were alarmed. In the dreadful night when our city was taken, that most cruel of all the nights I can remember, my father was cast into prison with John, bishop of Arezzo, and other great men of the side opposed to the conquerors; but because I was a boy, they placed me, not with the other captives, but in a more decent chamber, in which there was a picture of Francis Petrarch, which I daily gazed upon; and I was inflamed with an incredible ardor for his studies. Shortly after the departure of the French there was a wonderful movement of the people, for all the multitude put on white, and with certain penitential exercises proceeded to the neighboring cities, crying peace and mercy. Truly it was an admirable and incredible thing. The peregrination lasted generally ten days, and the fast was on bread and water. No one was seen in the cities otherwise clad. There was free access to all towns, though but lately hostile. No one then attempted any kind of deceit or oppression. There was a tacit understanding between enemies to keep peace. The movement lasted about two months. Wonderful was the hospitality

* Jacob. de Delayto Annales Estenses ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xviii.

† Annales Forolivienses, ap. id. tom. xxii

and benign entertainment then exercised by all cities one with the other. Whence this began is obscure. From the Alps it came into Cisalpine Gaul; and the people of Lucca were the first to come to Florence. At the sight of their procession the Florentines were seized with ardor, and they who before derided what they heard, were the first to put on white; and, as if impelled by God, joined the processions. An innumerable multitude of the Florentines proceeded then to Arezzo, and others went to other places; and wherever they came, the people of the place did the same."*

Let us hear a Dominican friar speak of this devotion. "In 1400, in the month of September, there was a wonderful event in Italy, for at that time multitudes of men and women clothed themselves in white, and went about carrying the cross or the standard of some saint; and when the body of Christ was raised at the altar, they used to cry often, 'Misericordia, misericordia.' And I remember, while celebrating at the altar of St. James, that I was terrified at the novel kind of clamor. But they went processionally like brothers, some singing 'Misericordia, Signor' Iddio, non guardate al nostro errore,' and others sung, 'Stabat Mater dolorosa;' and thus each society had its song: and they fasted nine days, and some went barefoot. Some bishops and some monks went with them to lords of states and castles too, and preached to them; and many were reconciled to each other, who had before been mortal enemies, and some bore candles in their hands; and they went thus, singing day and night: and coming from the mountains and other adjacent places, there were about twenty thousand persons in the great square of Friuli. And the same occurred in all other cities, excepting in the wise Venice."†

Let us hear another account. In 1399, on a Saturday, a company of men and women from Soncino Galerano, Anteriate, Fontenella, Covo, and Rumano, in number about 1300, clad all in white, came to Coloniola, singing litanies, and crying peace and mercy; and in that place the Lord John, lately a knight of Lord Baldinus, gave them abundant wine; and at the hour of vespers they came to the gates of the outskirts of Bergamo, and the citizens carried out to them meat and drink in abundance: and on the Sunday the priests who were among them celebrated an infinite number of masses without the gate of Oxio; and then an eloquent priest preached about the duty of making peace between Christians; and more than six thousand of the Bergomese came to this sermon; and he said that they ought to observe nine days, and then, being truly penitent and confessed, they should be absolved. He said that six thousand English and French had lately gone to Rome clad in white, with the same object. After hearing him, all the clergy of Bergamo, with the nobles, judges, physicians, and other good men, in great numbers, and with an infinite multitude of women, made a pro-

* Leonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. id. tom. xix.

† Fra. Hieron. Chronicon Forolivieuse, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Scipt. tom. xix.

cession on Sunday to the church of St. Alexander the Greater, and there after mass brother James de Urio, a Dominican friar, preached, and on the Monday they made a procession to the village of St. Andrea to the church of St. Vincent, where another friar of the same order preached, and on the Tuesday there was a similar procession, and many masses were celebrated in the church of great St. Mary, and there preached brother Aloysius de Scalve of the order of Minors; and on the Wednesday the procession was to the villages of St. Stephano and of Oxio, and returning through Coloniola they entered the church of St. Stephen, and there, after many masses, brother James de Urio, the Dominican, preached. In the name of the eternal God, and of the blessed Virgin mother Mary, amen; and to their praise, and the glory of the blessed martyrs, Alexander and Vincent, I record and write that on this Wednesday, the 27th of August, a vast multitude of men and women of the cities and villages and district of Bergamo, assembled on the mountain of Fara in number ten thousand and more; and all unanimously cried out, "Peace and mercy." On that mountain many masses were said by the bishop of Milan and brothers James de Urio, Oprandinus de Cene, Petrus de St. Pelegrino, and Aloysius de Scalve, with certain brothers of the order of Hermits, and all the canons and clergy of the churches of St. Vincent and Alexander, and all the clergy of Bergamo; and there was a solemn sermon devoutly preached by the venerable brother John de Rumano, of the order of Hermits; and there were present John de Urio, Panteleon de Roxiate, and Antonio de Barillis, judges, besides procurators and other good men and many noble women of the city, as the ladies Clement de Gronago, Franceschina de Lancis, Bona de la Sale, and others.

Then they went in great order two by two to the village of St. Laurence, where they halted; and the Lord John de Castiliono seeing them, made proclamation by the public crier of Bergamo, that they must depart from that village, and move elsewhere for lodging; whereupon the company decreed to proceed to the Ponte S. Pietro, and there they rested; and that night they all spent in the territory of Ponte, and Curno, and Maragolda; and then the Lord John de Castiliono made proclamation that all banished persons might come securely to the said processions; and they came on this safe conduct; and the people of each village and parish carried its banner, of which there were more than forty; and then, on that mountain of Fara, peace was made between many citizens. On the Thursday the procession was made through St. Gervaise, and Capriate, and Brembato, and Gridignano; and peace was made between infinite numbers of the men of Bergamo and others: and on the Friday they passed the night at Pontita and the places about; and again many durable reconciliations were effected; and on the Saturday they remained in the same region, and made peace between great numbers, as for instance, between Salvinum, of the castle of St. Gallo, in the name of his sons, who had slain Mazola of the valley of St. Pelegrino, and John of that valley, and other relations of the said Mazola: and on the Sunday the blessed company, which by

this time was estimated at sixteen thousand persons, all clad in white, came to Lemen; where it remained also on the Monday and the Tuesday, making peace between an infinite number of persons; only that on the Monday two hundred of the company went to Zonio to make peace between the men of Ultra Agugia and those of Cornello, of St. John, and certain others of the communes of the valley of Brembana; and on the Wednesday the blessed company came to the mountain of Fara; and celebrated peace between many; and one most remarkable was that between Bertosolo and the brother of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the one hand, and John de Bosellis and his sons, and Patasellus and Lotta of Bosellis, and their adherents, on the other; and about nones on Wednesday they left the mountain, and went to pass the night in the territory of upper and lower Alzano and of Nimbo, making peace between multitudes; and on the Thursday the said company, which now amounted to twenty thousand persons and more, remained there and in the adjoining districts; and peace was made between those of Cumenduno and of Desinzano and their adherents, and of upper Albino on the one hand, and those of lower Albino with their adherents on the other; and on that day about one thousand of the blessed brigade went to Gazanica and Vertua, and made peace between many Guelphs and Ghibellines. On the Friday, the blessed company, all clad in white, came back to the mountain of Fara; and it was about the eighteenth hour; and then peace was made between innumerable persons, and forgiveness was passed for all homicides, robberies, and injuries of every kind; and the sermon was preached by brother Aloysius de Scalve, of the order of St. Francis; and he dismissed the multitude with benedictions, and all returned to their habitations; and the said brother, in his sermon, said that every one of them ought to say a Pater and an Ave ever afterwards, in memory of the said blessed company, and in order that the Lord God might preserve a good and tranquil peace.*

George Stella, who describes as an eye-witness the processions of the whites in Genoa in 1388, says that they began in Provence. He cites the "Stabat Mater" as a hymn then sung for the first time, and with stanzas which had especial reference to the desire of peace and order which then moved the people. Thus they sung:

"Alma salus advocata
Morte Christi desolata
Miserere populi,
Virgo dulcis, virgo pia,
Virgo clemens, O Maria,
Audi preces servuli."

Children of twelve years sung the alternate verses, the rest being chanted in full chorus, and at the end of every three stanzas all joined in singing 'Stabat Mater dolorosa,' often falling on the ground, and with a loud voice crying thrice,

* Chronicon Bergomense, ap. id. tom. xvi.

'Misericordia,' and thrice 'Peace,' afterwards repeating the Pater, and some short prayers in Latin. This devotion was practised all through the Genoese territory. In Pulcifera there had been most odious enmities, which were then suddenly appeased. In Genoa, goods which had been seized in times of war, were now restored to their rightful owners, and many miracles occurred in and near the city.

At Vulturo, a boy, who had been laid out dead for three hours, only without the paleness of death, whose mother then interceded, rose up sound and well, while the multitude were crying thrice 'Misericordia;' seeing which, many of the Genoese who had before derided the holy processions, were moved with zeal and the fear of God. It was on Saturday, the 5th of July, that they first entered Genoa from the valley of Pulcifera, being about five thousand persons. Some nobles who were then residing in their country villas, took leave of their families and joined the crowd, putting on white. Each church sent its clergy and its cross to the procession; thus they moved in order two by two. The citizens of Genoa stood still, looking on in great sweetness of spirit and contrition; and on hearing them cry out 'Peace and mercy,' many burst into tears. Passing through the city, they proceeded as far as the Basilica of St. Mary de Monte Bisanno, and afterwards returned home. On Monday, 7th of July, the archbishop having convoked the clergy in the cathedral, sung solemnly the mass of the Holy Ghost, in order to prepare the minds of the citizens for the salutary gift of peace. That vast church could not contain the multitude. It is said that lights were seen in the air over the Basilica of St. Maria Coronata, and of St. Lorenza. On that day a vast crowd from the valley of Vulturo came to the city about nones, and the boy who had been dead was with them, whom they carried on their shoulders, as the people pressed too close in order to touch him. That night a boy who had been lame for six years, so that he could not walk without crutches, prayed to God that he might be healed as the other boy, and that night he recovered the use of his limbs. The citizens of Genoa went to confession, and demanded forgiveness one from the other. On Thursday the 10th of July, many received the Eucharist at the mass of the Aurora; after which, all the citizens, the nobles, the delegates of the people, the matrons, the virgins the widows, the boys, and children, and servants, all in white, proceeded following the clergy to the cathedral, where was the archbishop of Genoa, James de Flisco, on a horse, because through old age he could not walk, but the horse was covered with white; and then bearing the sacred relics, the whole procession moved on to the gate of the monastery of St. Thomas, and to that of St. John de Pavairano: the number may be estimated, since the whole population of Genoa was present; and, between many, peace was made; and as they passed along, the villages sent forth their inhabitants, girt with a cord. This was done by the people during nine days, exclusive of the Sunday, walking for a great part of the night; and during the whole time all labor was suspended as on Sundays. On one of these days the brothers of the order of Minors bore the relics of their church, and on another,

the Dominicans carried theirs; and on the Sunday the laymen of the city, who were of the fraternity in memory of the flagellation of Jesus, made their procession. This devotion of the city spread along the eastern shore, so that in Clavari and Rapalli, where were most acute hatreds, that spiritual rite restored sincere peace to Ghibelline and Guelph. These ceremonies ended on Saturday, and on the Monday following, the people resumed their works. From Genoa this devotion extended to Pisa and to Rome. At Savona, the townsmen refused to admit the procession, until every one laid aside the white, for they feared some design against their town. At Venice, the jealousy was stronger, so that the Dominicans, who wished to establish it, were even fined. At first, John Galeazo, duke of Milan, refused to allow it in some of his cities, through fear of a sedition; but when he fell sick, he permitted it, and the processions were made with great devotion of the people.*

The anonymous author of a Paduan chronicle says,"This devotion so pleased the people, that many on their death-beds used to desire themselves to be clothed after their decease in the white habit, and carried to their graves by men similarly clad, which used to cause great compassion in the beholders;" and Muratori remarks, that "this was the origin of the custom still prevalent in Italy, of clothing the dead in white."† I can find but one contemporary writer who speaks of it with disrespect, and his whole style is pagan. He calls it "the new superstition which descended from the Alps into Italy." He expressses disgust at every one wearing white without distinction, of rustics and citizens, servants and masters, and at their sleeping in the open air like cattle; yet he does not charge them with a single fault.‡ After what we have seen, methinks the reader may be left to form his own judgment of the modern historians who have dwelt upon these events with a view to expose the barbarism and ignorance of the middle ages.

The speedy effects of this supplication have led us to details, of which we shall see more hereafter. Let us retrace our steps, and inquire what was the kind of peace that the children of beatitude expected and obtained on earth.

* Georgii Stellæ Annales Genuenses ap. Murator. Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xvii.

† Antiq. It. lxxv. ‡ Platinnæ. Hist. Mantuanæ, Lib. iv. ap. id. tom. xx.

CHAPTER IV.

"THE peace which is invoked for us by bishops, as the successors of the Apostles, in celebrating the sacred mysteries, when they say 'Pax vobis,' is not the worldly and uncertain, but the divine and eternal peace which our Lord bequeathed to his disciples, when he announced to them, that 'in the world they should have tribulations.'" So writes Florus, in the year 840, in the reign of Charles the Bald, in his beautiful exposition of the mass.*

The sole good, according to the school, which the Prince of Peace has promised in this life to his disciples and to his elect, is peace, not of the body, but of the breast,† peace of heart—tranquillity! the sovereign object vainly sought in heathen schools of philosophic lore. With magic incantations Pythagoras of old was said to tranquillize the mind of mourners, and restore distempered bosoms to apparent peace.‡ Cicero speaks of certain chants and precepts which the adepts of that school used to deliver secretly in order to impart tranquillity;§ to which Horace also makes allusion.‖ These are the pomps of orators. What they sought is here, in the hearts of men in ages of faith—Peace. 'A peace unsung by poets, and by senators unpraised, which monarchs could not grant, nor all the powers of earth and hell confederate take away."

"Adversity," says one of them, "is to every man according to his interior. The wickedness of one man cannot hurt another who remains innocent. If you are good, and simple, and devout, no one can take away your peace, unless you voluntarily resign it."¶

"Although horrible thunder and lightning came from the throne," says another, "yet the seven lamps continued to burn tranquilly before it, and in the midst of the tempest were not extinguished. Soon difficulty or terror can disturb the peace of holy men."**

The world, in the middle ages, was filled, as we have seen, with war and misery, while were fulfilling, as St. Thomas shows, the words of the prophet, who said that of peace there would be no end; for he spoke of that interior tranquil-

* Flori Magistri opus de exposit. Missæ, ap Martene vet. Script. Collect.
† St. Thom. de Reg. Princ. iii. 16. ‡ Porphyr. de Vita Pyth. 65. § Tuscul. iv.
‖ Ep. i. ¶ Thom. à Kempis Epist. ** Nieremberg. Doct. Ascet. Lib. iv. iii. 26.

lity which those enjoyed who all the while sat, unappalled, in calm and sinless peace.

Let us hear how they explain this mystery. In a two-fold manner, according to Nicolas de Lyra, there can be peace in the mind—by human affection, and by divine affection, or by beatitude, which was a gift, creating a state of peace, and bearing its fruits. "Peace of beatitude," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "is when the mind, by charity, rests in the true good."* "In the love of God," says St. Augustin, "alone is rest, such as eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, nor the heart of man conceived."† "It is God alone," says St. Thomas, "who can give quiet to the desires of man, and make him happy."‡ Without an union with the sacred heart of Jesus never can peace and human nature meet. "This is the true rest of the heart," says Hugo of St. Victor, "when it is fixed by desire in the love of God; when it seeks nothing else, but is delighted with a certain happy security in Him."§ Then cease the toils of the imagination, those wide-wandering errors which drove it round the world: the floods of passion, swollen with horrid woes, are calmed, love divine heals man's distraction, and with gentle hand soothes him to peace.

"Think that God and you are alone in the world," says another, "and you will have great rest in your heart."‖ He to whom all things are one, and who refers all things to one, and sees all in one, can have a firm heart, and remain at peace in God."¶

"A man will have no rest," says the Abbot Allois, "until he can say from his heart, I and God are alone in this world."** As St. Augustin says, "God cares for each of us as if He cared for him alone; and for all as for each."†† Or, as St. Gregory says, "God has regard to each man as if He had no thought for all: and He has regard for all as if He had no thought for each."‡‡ "With a certain simplicity of purity," says Albert the Great, "imagine that you are alone with God, out of the world, as if your soul were already separated from the body in eternity, and, therefore, no longer concerned about secular things, nor caring for the state of the world, neither for peace nor war, nor fine weather, nor rain, nor for anything, but adhering only to God, and totally fixed on Him."§§ "Cease to think many things," says an ascetic: "join yourself to one: let others seek many and external things. Do you seek one internal good, and it will suffice to you. Behold, one man seeks a villa, another goes to his merchandize, another heaps up gold and silver, another desires pleasure and honor, another friends and relations, another delights in visiting his neighbors, another repairs to cities and castles, and, led by the desire of the eyes, traverses various parts of the world: another labors for wisdom, power, authority. Thus they are few who seek one thing

* De Pace Interna, i. † De Catechiz. Rudibus ‡ De Regim. Princep. 8.
§ Erudit. Theol. Miscell. Lib. i. tit. 171. ‖ Thom à Kempis de Discip. Claust. c. vi.
¶ Imit. ** Doroth. Doct. 7. †† Conf. iii. 2. ‡‡ Mor. xxv. 19. §§ De adhærendo Deo, c. 8.

purely and simply, therefore, few there are who find peace."* Again, he says, "Between the hope of good and the fear of evil the secular and carnal heart continually fluctuates: because the anchor of hope is not fixed in a celestial desire, where all goods abound and perpetually endure;" "while others," as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "find that nothing is sweeter in the present life than to adhere, with a tranquil mind, to the Omnipotent God, the fountain of all excellence,"† not praying for what they wish, but for what He may choose to send, according to the sublime answer of Thymarida, of whom old philosophy so justly boasts,‡ "You speak of what may happen," Marsilius Ficinus, "approve of whatever may follow, as done by God." Cardan says, "Whatever happened to me through life I knew would happen, yet saving free-will; and I never wished any thing to happen otherwise than it did. This alone grieves me, if I offend God in any manner, for he is the Author of all good, and this thought alone sometimes distresses me."§ Thus one perceives that the lay philosophers of the middle ages held the same language. "There are two causes," says Cardan, "of the great misery of man; for when all things are vain and empty, man seeks something which is full and solid, and every one thinks that he wants that solid; and while he seeks, and does not find it, he is tormented; but much more, when having found what he sought, for he then knows that he has been deceived, and something else must be sought; for always there is something wanting, and so Augustus complained that he wanted friends."‖ "He alone has peace whose heart rests in God: all other men," he says, "float on a tempestuous sea, with their cargoes of riches, honors, magistracies, and acquaintance with princes."¶ "When the worldly mind," says Petrarch, "does attain to the object of its desire, still it cannot rest." So exclaims the modern bard:—

> 'Alas, that love should be a blight and snare
> To those who seek all sympathies in one!
> Such once I sought in vain; then black despair,
> The shadow of a starless night, was thrown
> Over the world, in which I moved alone."

How unlike the Catholic poet, whom God, with secret vision, leads on to peace! "No," exclaims Michael Angelo, to one whom he loved, "it was not a mortal object which presented itself to my view when the serene splendor of thine eyes first shone upon me, and my soul hoped to find in them the peace of heaven, which is always its sole end."†† "Detached from the world, to seek a sweet calm in thee, O Lord, I come like a frail bark, long tempest-tossed. Thy thorny crown, thy wounded hands, thy benign, humble countenance, are a pledge to my troubled soul of an immense atonement, and of its fruit, salvation."‡‡ "No one,"

* Thom. à Kempis, Soliloq. † De arcta Via Sal. ‡ Jamb. de Pyth, Vita, 28.
§ De Libris propriis. ‖ De Vita propria, Lib. ii. 49. ¶ De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. i. 4.
** Epist. ii. 12. †† Sonnet ii. ‡‡ Son, xxviii.

says Hugo Victorinus again, "can be hurt or afflicted unless in that thing which he loves; therefore, he who loves Him only, who can never be taken away, cannot in any way be injured."* The one remains; the many change and pass: cities and palaces are transitory—high temples fade like vapor—God alone remains, whose will has power when all beside is gone.

"Worldly men," says St. Thomas, "who are not joined to God by love, have tribulations without peace; but holy men, who have God in their hearts by love, although they have tribulations from the world, in Christ they have peace."† All others only seek to blunt the keenness of their spiritual sense with narrow schemings and unworthy cares, or 'madly rush through all violent crime to move the deep stagnation of their souls.'" St. Augustin speaks of one, who, being asked why he wished to become a Christian, replied, "On account of the future rest." To whom he answered, "Thanks be to God. Brother, I congratulate you: that, amidst the tempests and perils of this world, you have thought about some true and certain security; for in this life men, with great labors, seek for rest and security, but do not find them; for they wish to rest in unquiet things, which remain not; and because these pass, and are withdrawn, they are agitated with fears and sorrows, which prevent them from having rest."‡ "Believe me," says St. Augustin, "it is good for us to adhere to God, to be attached to the Divine will. This is heaven out of heaven." "Peace," says St. Bonaventura, "is the state in which there is delectation in God, without efficacious contradictions from the flesh, the world, or the Devil; therefore, peace is the state of the most purified souls, and, consequently, above all, the pacific are said to be sons of God; for though mercy makes man most resemble God, as far as external works, yet peace more assimilates him, as far as internal works."§

What new sounds are these to men conversant only with the words of the philosopher, and what concord! "One voice comes forth from many a mighty spirit, recalling the echo of primeval years, and the tumultuous world stands mute to hear it, as some lone man who in a desert hears the music of his home. Truth's deathless voice is heard among mankind; and though from multitudes there were no responses to her cry, though there were men to rise and stamp with blind fury on their pure names who loved them, still there were many who, at the summons, yielded up their hearts, and found peace."

After reading Cicero's Tusculan Disputations, or any other ancient treatise relating to the art of tranquillizing minds, if one takes up the Catholic works on the same subject, one experiences a most singular impression. The twentieth chapter of the third book of the Imitation, for instance, will then give rise to other reflections besides such as are merely pious: for it will be clear at once from the contrast, that some great change has been accomplished in the world of thought

* Exposit. in Cœlest. Hierarch. † Lect. viii. in. Joan. xvi. ‡ De Catech. Rudibus.
§ Compend. Theol. Veritatis, Lib. v. c. 54.

We should never think then of saying, that this is a writer of a superior school, and of a higher philosophy ; for a conviction immediately ensues that some extraordinary fact has occurred in the intellectual world, like those revolutions which we find to have taken place in the physical structure of the globe. The transition is so sudden, the intervening space so immense, that one can only sink upon one's knees, as if one heard " the angel who came down to earth with tidings of the peace so many years wept for in vain, that opened the heavenly gates from their long interdict."* The Angel of the School in few words relates this fact. " At the opening of the side of Christ, there has been opened the gates of Paradise : his blood being shed, the stains are washed out. God is appeased, weakness is removed, sin is expiated, exiles are recalled to the kingdom."† Thus then according to the holy martyr Boniface, the blessed were pacific first by having peace established between themselves and God, observing what He prescribes, and flying from what He hates.‡ " Conformity with Him," says St. Bonaventura, " is the first fountain of peace,"§ " without the dignity of which peace," as St. Leo says, " there are only similarities of wicked desires and treaties of vices." " This peace," says Peter of Blois, " is followed by eternal peace, and the Lord gives both, as is written, Peace upon peace the Lord will give."‖ To the preservation of this actual peace between the mind and God, all other kinds of peace were directed ; for hear what St. Bonaventura says, " It is a high degree of concord to agree with all men as far as one can, in order that all perturbations may be avoided. It is a still higher to agree with all men, for the sake of one's own quiet, lest one should be afflicted in one's self. It is the highest to agree with all men, lest on account of disquietude of heart, God should be for a long or short time alienated from the man, or he from God. In all these degrees was Christ."¶ Here might be long delay to mark what peace resulted to the intelligence from the submission of the will to God. With what a tranquil heart does St. Bonaventura treat upon the awful mysteries of predestination and reprobation, and how clearly does he perceive that necessity is excluded !** Be at rest, is his conclusion, the present is thine own, and love and joy can make the poor heart become paradise, where peace will for ever dwell. Rest from superstition was another fruit of being at peace with God. The letter of Peter of Blois to the friend who asked whether the fall of a certain master into a ditch of water, was not foreshown by his having met the monk William of Blois that morning on first leaving his house, is an excellent reply to those who imagine that men of the middle ages were unacquainted with this rest. He shows how Satan only attempts to destroy the peace of the heart by vain curiosity, and concludes with these words : " It is my opinion that Master G. would have incurred the danger of submersion,

* Dante, Purg. x.
† S. Thom. opusc. vi. 6.
‡ S. Bonifacii Mart. Serm. iv. de Octo Beat. ap. Martene, vet. Script. ix.
§ Dietæ Salut. vii. 6.
‖ Epist. xlviii.
¶ De Gradibus Virtutum, c. 19.
** Compend. Theol. Lib. i. 29- 31

although he had met with no monk on his way."* "The Christian law having forbidden us to observe omens, they have rightly grown obsolete," says Cardan.† Peace with the evils of life in general, was a grand result from this restored harmony between the soul and its Creator. "Verum tamen in imagine pertransit homo, sed et frustra conturbatur;" "for his trouble," adds John of the Cross, "can be of no use to him, so that a spiritual man is preserved from the misery of the world: for if the whole world were reversed, it would be in vain that man would vex himself, and the soul would receive more harm than good; whereas if it supported patiently all these disorders, it would learn to judge more justly of its adversaries, and to apply the remedy with more facility and success."‡ "Yes," says S. Gregory Nazianzen, "all that has occurred requires on our part courage, a great courage; who can doubt it, my dear Theodore? We have seen our altars profaned; our mysteries troubled; placed ourselves between the most sacred objects of our worship and those who assailed us with stones, we have found the only remedy for our wounds in prayer. The chaste shame of virgins, the modesty of monks, the misfortunes of the poor, nothing has been respected. Notwithstanding all this, what can we do better than have recourse to patience and gentleness, than give to our brethren a striking example of endurance and of peace?" Thus effective in Christians was the speculation of the ancient poet, who says that all is for the best, adding,

Μάτην γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀξίωμα δαιμόνων ἔχω φράσαι.§

In no approved work of the middle ages, do we find any trace of the disposition to cavil at or "sadly blame the jarring and inexplicable frame of this wrong world." Illustrious lord and complaining constable, is the salutation which Don Antonio de Guevara addresses to Don Diego de Velasques, constable of Castille, rallying him on his habit of filling his letters with complaints. There was always a stern monitor for the Catholic hero, if at any time like Achilles, he horribly groaned *σμερδαλέον δὲ ὤμωξεν*. "Why should we in our peevish opposition take it to heart?" was the reply. Fie! 'tis a fault to heaven, a fault to nature, to reason most absurd, whose common voice proclaims this must be so. Accordingly he is at peace with whatever God sends, and finds even "sweet the uses of adversity." He knows, as Dionysius the Carthusian says, "that there arises a beauty even from the evils and defects of nature in its present state;"‖ and as St. Thomas says, "that God would not permit evils in the world, unless good resulted from them, to the utility and beauty of the universe."¶ "Malos pro Deo tolerare est superare," says Wipo to the son of the emperor Conrad, adding, "what will you not tolerate for Christ for you crucified?"** "Not the death of sinners

* Epist. lxv. † De Utilitate ex Advers. cap. ii. 5. ‡ Ascent of Mt. Carmel.
§ Soph. Œd. Col. 1451. ‖ Dionys. C. de Venustate Mundi, 22. ¶ De Regim. Princip. i. 9.
** Ap. Martene Vet. Script. t. ix.

is wished by the Most High, who wished to die himself for them," says Richard of Bury, "but that we should raise the fallen and correct the perverse in a spirit of gentleness."* "Whoever does not tolerate evil men," says St. Gregory, "bears witness against himself by his intolerance, that he is not good." "When we have not the power to correct," says St. Augustin, "we must tolerate." "Have a meek pacific heart for all men, whatever may be their offences," says St. Bonaventura, "for if you ought not to seek familiarity with a man on account of the deformity of his life, let not the evil which he has from himself so displease you, as to make you hate the good which he has now from nature, and which he will perhaps soon have from grace, for the vicious are often converted."†

But it was not alone the just who were tranquil under the hand that inflicted injury, we find in the middle ages that there was provision made for inspiring guilty men with a disposition to regard the sufferings which they underwent, as the earnest of a blessed peace which was for them as if personally prepared. By crime they were not so destroyed, but that the eternal love might turn while hope retained her verdant blossom. The rite of public penance for homicide in the thirteenth century, or the form of sending penitents to prison, shows that men who had committed crimes were at peace with the evils which were their punishment, and that the prison itself became a holy place, designed for spirits going on to blessedness. Let us hear the formula which was composed in 1220. "On the fourth feria in the beginning of Lent the penitent who for homicide is to undergo imprisonment, ought first to receive penance for all his other sins from his parish priest. After this he is to come to the church with his confessor before the penitentiary, who is to ask him whether he has been to confession, and whether for that homicide he wishes to enter the prison; and then on his answering rightly, the penance is imposed in this manner. Through the whole of Lent, except on Sundays, he fasts on bread and water, and makes one hundred genuflections, and says one hundred paternosters by day and one hundred and ten by night. To no one he must speak till the hour of tierce, nor after complin; nor must he wash his hands: the priest alone must give him food each day. He must sleep in his clothes, and upon straw. The prison being chosen, the penitentiary goes with him to the place, and on arriving before it the penitent lays aside his former dress, and all linen, and puts on a rough tunic and cap. Then the penitentiary asks him whether he is truly penitent for all his sins; and if he rightly answers, he tells him to cast himself prostrate on the earth before the prison, and say thrice 'Mea culpa peccavi, Domine, miserere mei.' After the third time the priest begins 'Deus, in adjutorium meum intende,' and says the seven penitential psalms, with the litanies and prayers. After this the priest sprinkles the prison with holy water, and incenses the whole place in every part with blessed incense. Then coming to the penitent, who still lies on the earth, he gives him

* Philobiblion, c. 6.

† De Institut. Novitiorum, c. xi.

holy water and incense, and then taking him by the hand he leads him into the prison, and repeats this prayer, 'Commendamus tibi, Domine, famulum tuum in vita præsenti, ut ab omni malo eum eripias, et intercedente beata Maria semper virgine, cum omnibus sanctis ipsum ad vitam perducas æternam.' Then he admonishes him to give alms thrice of the bread brought to him, and let one loaf alone be of such quantity that with the residue he may be able to support himself."* Alas! those who now endeavor to discover the best discipline for prisons, when disappointed of their aim, might learn somewhat from this passage, if they could be brought to believe that Heaven's supreme decree can ever bend to supplication, and that love's flame in a short moment all fulfils. "In times of unreflecting violence," says Michelet, "of crime without depravity, pity was all on the side of the guilty. The old laws style him paternally 'the poor sinner.'"† The very word for him in old French signified the unhappy.‡ "Great care must be taken," says St. Gregory, "lest the inordinate defence of justice should pass into pride, and so while rectitude is incautiously loved, humility, the mistress of rectitude, be lost."§ But to return to those of whom peace with God was the uninterrupted state. Of such men we may truly say that with the evils of this mortal life, in general, they were at peace—at peace with evil men, at peace with whatever Providence permitted. With the same tranquillity of heart, Sir Thomas More regarded the tyrant who condemned him to death, and the destruction of his property by the fire, in 1529, which he describes in his letter from Woodstock; so that the poet unconsciously does but express the Catholic mind, when saying,

"Gentleness, virtue, wisdom, and endurance,
These are the seals of that most firm assurance,
Which bars the pit over Destruction's strength.
These are the spells by which to re-assume
An empire o'er the disentangled doom.
To suffer woes which Hope thinks infinite;
To forgive wrongs darker than death or night;
To love and bear, to hope, this is to be
Good, great, and joyous, beautiful and free:
This is alone life, joy, empire, and victory."

With regard to the judgment of the middle ages, there can be no exaggeration here. St. Bernard has peace with abuses, and prescribes it to all superiors. "Some abuses," he says, "may exist without involving men in censure: for some use all these things as not using them, and, therefore, with no offence, or as little as possible; and some do this through simplicity, some through charity, some through necessity, some simply hold this because it is prescribed to them, being

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. Dissert. lxviii. † Origines du Droit, xl.

‡ Méchant, in the chronicles of St. Denis, is used for mal chanceux. Racine was the first to say, "le bonheur des méchans." Paulin Paris. Note ad an. 1340.

§ Lib. Mor. 25.

ready to act otherwise if it were otherwise prescribed; and some do so lest they should live discordantly with those with whom they dwell, following in these things not their own desire, but the peace of others; and others do so because they are not able to resist the multitude of contradictors who defend these things."* Had the apostate of Erfurt followed the advice given him by Staupitius, who used to say when he complained of others, "Abi in cellam et ora," he would not have had to say at the close of his life, "I am the enemy of the world, I know nothing in all life in which I have pleasure. I am quite weary of living." But as St. Augustin says, the heretics have not peace. "For peace," he adds, "forbids us to judge of things uncertain, like the hearts of others. Peace is more prone to believe well of men, than to suspect them. Peace orders us to believe well even of the evil; whereas heresy judges and condemns;"† "they hate peace," he says again, "who separate themselves, saying that they wish not to mix with the unjust; but this is not our doctrine. They who humbly bear with the evil for a time, will come themselves to eternal rest; this is the Catholic voice. They say, Touch not the unclean,—be separate; and we say, Love peace, love unity. You know not those from whom you separate yourselves. Love peace: Christ is love, Christ who is our peace, and has made both one: how can you then be pacific, if when Christ has made one of two, you should make two of one?"‡ Peace with the changes that occur in all human things was also formally inculcated. "It is a sign of the divine spirit," says Cardinal Bona, "to follow those works, which are peculiarly accommodated to the age in which we live. For it is clear that a different mode of leading men to salvation is observed by God in different ages. Thus to go no further back than the Christian æra, at first it is by the visible descent of the Holy Ghost, then by martyrdom, then by the writings of doctors confuting heresy."§

As with the changes of the world, so with those of their own life, the silent work of years, men were then sweetly and unostentatiously at peace. We find no allusion to it in any solemn discourse of senators, as imparting a sad privilege. What a picture does Petrarch give of the last years of Garcius, who closed a holy life of one hundred and four years on his birth-day in the same bed in which he was born, in the midst of a sweet crowd of children and grandchildren, speaking of God, and with his last breath saying, "In pace, in idipsum dormiam et requiescam! O with what delight," he exclaims, "have I lived with these old men! Who will feel displeasure at the thought of becoming old, when he remembers that such men were old, or rather who would not rejoice to resemble them even in their age! Let us struggle no longer against nature, but resign ourselves gladly to age and death."‖ In fact, he invokes no impossibility, for with sickness and death, as we before incidentally observed, men in ages of faith showed

* De Præcepto et Dispensatione, c. 8. † In Ps. cxlvii. ‡ In. Ps. cxix.
§ De Discretione Spirituum, c. viii. ‖ Epist. Lib. vi. 3.

themselves to be unfeignedly at peace. The chronicles of St. Denis after describing the anguish and distress occasioned to Louis le Gros in his last days, from the quantity of medicine ordered for him, add, "that all the time he was sweet and gentle, and amiable and kind, and that he received all as if he felt no ill."* The memory of their own meekness as evidence of their conformity, conduced to peace with death, for they could then truly say of themselves, "Memento, Domine, David; et omnis mansuetudinis ejus." "Compare, I beseech you," says St. Ailred, "with all the riches, delights, and honors of the world, this one privilege of Christ's servants, they fear not death."† The men in ages of faith who lived so much in temples, who received daily Christ as if in their arms, "who thus," as St. Ambrose says, "saw life, could not, as he argues, have seen death." "The death of Christ," as St. Bernard reminds the Knights Templars, "was the death of their death, because he died that we might live."‡ "Death," says Marsilius Ficinus, "is the end of dying." When John Bonvisia of Lucca, a Minor, was dying in 1472 in the convent of St. Mary of the Angels at Assisium, to the physician asking, "if he wished for any thing?" he replied, "nothing but death and God."§ Thus was realized what the ancient poet fancifully said,

'Pax illis cum morte data est."‖

Therefore, we read upon an ancient tomb.

"Parcite vos lacrimis dulces cum conjuge natæ
Viventemque Deo credite flere nefas."¶

But we may go farther still, for as with death so with the grave itself, the pacific were at peace. There was peace with the tomb, because Christ had hallowed it by resting in it. O wondrous power of faith, to sweeten so that grim dwelling for the soul's poor partner! St. Bernard says, "that, among spots dear and venerable, the sepulchre holds a principle place;" and St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, citing Isaia, "erit in pace sepultura ejus," adds, "for by his sepulture he made peace between heaven and earth."** In a garden he was placed in the earth, that the malediction on Adam might be eradicated, and hence, perhaps, the cemeteries of the ages of faith were often spots of natural beauty. In the catacombs, the imagery is all designed to inspire cheerfulness,—we see only paintings of flowers and fruits: the tomb was made to wear an engaging and almost smiling aspect. "St. Denis, the church of tombs, is not," says Michelet, "a sombre and sad pagan necropolis, but glorious and triumphant, brilliant with faith and hope, vast and without shade, like the soul of the saint who built it; light and airy, as if not to weigh upon the dead, or hinder their spring upward to the starry

* Ad an. 1137. † Spec. Charitatis. ‡ Exhort. ad Mil. Templi, 2.
§ Wad. an Minor. tom. xiv. Lucan ix. ¶ Aringhi Rom. Subter. 193.
** Catech 14 de Resur. 3.

spheres."* The fact that a remembrance of the holy sepulchre reconciled men in ages of faith to their fleshly vesture resting in the tomb, is indicated by that intense interest inspired by it, which appears in the writings of St. Augustin,† St. Cyrill of Jerusalem, and Bede ;‡ and in the popular opinion that the object of the crusades was to recover it, as when Gregory the monk of Cassino and bishop of Terracina, entitled his poem, written in 1100, "De transitu Peregrinorum ad Sepulchrum Domini."§ In order that so holy a monitor of peace with the grave might be every where present, sepulchres were erected in churches in imitation of it. Thus we read that on the return of the Milanese from the holy land, they built in Milan a church resembling that of the holy sepulchre.

Peter Adornes is said to have made three journeys from Flanders to Jerusalem, in order to give an exact copy of it, to serve as a model for the church of the holy sepulchre to be erected in Bruges. At Abbeville, on the spot where Godfrey of Bouillon and the crusaders assembled before going to Palestine, the beautiful church of the holy sepulchre was erected, in which was one of those tombs where the solemn office of the holy sepulchre used to be celebrated on the Sunday nearest to the 15th of July ; and such crowds of pilgrims used to attend, that tents were generally pitched in the cemetery to shelter them at their prayers. Similarly in the church of the holy cross in Torgau, was a holy sepulchre erected by the elector Frederic the Wise, in 1493, after the model which he had brought with him from Palestine.‖ Sometimes, as we before observed, the very soil of the holy city was added to show more palpably the sanctity of graves. In Sicily, as at Pisa, were cemeteries filled with the earth of Jerusalem.¶ Generally lights were burning, to denote the immortal hope of those who slept in peace, and each grave was incensed as an altar, on which was laid the last offering of Christians. Who would feel horror at the tomb in which Christ had reposed ? No, each grave was a holy place, representing the end not of life and its enjoyments, but of death and of all dead, dreary things. Thus solemnized and softened, death and the grave were mild and terrorless, and as the serenest sky, redolent of joy and peace.

Such were the fruits of reconciliation between the soul and God ; from which divine and present source followed immediately the second kind of peace expected and enjoyed by men in ages of faith ; namely, peace with themselves within their breasts, for they found there nothing selfish opposed to the order of charity, having as the author of the Imitation counselled, "relinquished themselves, resigned themselves, and reaped in consequence a great internal peace."** How sweet were the effects of such tranquillity is shown by Dante in these bright words :

"As when to harbinger the dawn, springs up
On freshen'd wing the air, of May, and breathes
Of fragrance, all impregn'd with herb and flower ;

* Hist. de France, 11.
† De Civ. Dei. xxii. 8.
‡ Exposit. in Marc. iv. 16.
§ Italia Sacra, i. 1292.
‖ Chronic. Torgaviæ ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.
¶ Sicilia Sacra, ii. 813.
** iii. 32.

E'en such a wind I felt upon my front
Blow gently, and the moving of a wing
Perceiv'd that, moving, shed ambrosial smell;
And then a voice, 'Blessed are they, whom grace
Doth so illume, that appetite in them
Exhaleth no inordinate desire,
Still hung'ring as the rule of temperance wills.' "*

The maintenance of this interior peace was reduced to a science in ages of faith. Tasso speaks of the science of peace as a true science, by means of which men can pacify their minds and overcome the passions which lead to war.† This art was taught by many of the Carthusian order; as by Dionysius, who wrote de Gaudio spiritali et Pace interna, and by Apselius of Breda, who wrote de vera Pace,‡ as also by other great mystics, as by Richard of St. Victor, who wrote de Eruditione interioris hominis. Its necessity was recognized even by the physicians or empirics of the middle ages, who were also ministers of peace; not by merely inculcating the repression of angry passions, as in the address of the school of Salerno to an English king; but practically, by always looking first to the restoration of the moral health, and by insisting on having the soul treated before the body: for they began by requiring the patient to confess and receive the communion; that is, they replaced him in harmony with God and man, an immense result to commence with! and accordingly the fact is, that with all their inferiority of skill, and their deplorable want of material remedies, with every thing physical against them, they succeeded; they cured. The state of nature without this supernatural peace, was regarded by all as involved in a disease incurable, in an eternal tempest never to be calmed. The Gentile philosophers knew that the mind by evil habits was broken and lacerated: and as Cicero says, "that with such evils afflicted, not only we could not be happy, but not even sound."§

St. Augustin says, "that God permitted man to seek himself, and find his own misery; and then he exclaims, "O malum liberum arbitrium sine Deo!"

In human nature was the triple evil which Vincent of Beauvais ascribes to the fallen angels—irrational fury, concupiscence, and a perverted fantasy.‖ "Who is able to relate in how many ways the vanity of affections disturbs peace of mind? Therefore there is need of constant vigilance over the passions; and as the father of a family examines his house, and every door and window and cornor, to be his guard against robbers or fire, or dishonest and unlawful things, so a just man, sedulous explorer of his conscience, examines all the ways, and turns of his heart, and subjects them to the rule of reason, and finds peace."¶

Of this state we find mention even in old historical monuments, as that which contains the words of the rector and university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI. of Austria in the year 1462, when complaining of the wounds of the country. "By

* Purg. xxiv. † Dialoghi overo della Pace. ‡ Bostius de Viris illust. S. Cartus. Ord.
§ Tusc. iv. 84. ‖ Spec. Historiale, i. 10. ¶ Tusc. Spec. Mor. 1. p. iv.

the disobedience of our first parents," said they, citing St. Augustin's words in his xivth and xvith books on Genesis, "the whole human race has been involved in a triple war—that of sensuality against reason, of reason against the will, and of both against the observance of the divine precepts."* "As the knights of Charlemagne," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "employed their arms against the enemy, so must we use our arms, which are virtues against vices, faith against heresy, charity against envy, liberality against avarice, humility against pride, chastity against luxury, poverty against the influence of prosperity, silence against talkativeness, obedience against carnal courage. No one will be crowned unless he fights loyally against these sins, and thus as the knights died in battle, so should we die to vices."† The calm which succeeds by grace is what St. Anselm terms, "the peace between flesh and spirit, or between our corruptible nature, and that which is incorruptible;"‡ the grounds of which St. Bonaventura exposes, saying, "quis restitit ei et pacem habuit?"§ and St. Bernard saying, "it is impossible that any thing should be contrary to God, and coherent in itself; but whatever is opposed by God is opposed by itself."‖ "By the just judgment of God," says Peter of Blois, "he who has not peace with Christ, cannot have peace with himself."¶ "Look on your mind," says the school, "it is the book of fate, ah! it is dark with many a blazoned name of misery." Vincent of Beauvais thus speaks of it.** "Peace of heart must be preserved in purity of conscience, in fervor of love, in brightness of wisdom, in sweetness of devotion. Peace and sanctity are joined together. Pacem sequimini et sanctimoniam. Love secures peace—'Pax multa diligentibus legem tuam;' and wisdom gives peace, for that which is from above is pacific, and we read 'corona sapientiæ timor Domini, replens pacem et salutis fructum;' and that devotion gives peace is also evident, 'creavi fructum labiorum pacem.' The fruit of the lips is confession of sin, instruction of our neighbor, exhortation of virtue, abjuration of vice, frequent and fervent prayer, thanksgiving, and the voice of praise. Than this peace nothing is more useful, nothing more sweet, nothing more secure. Useful because by this is acquired riches of merits, as when there is peace in any land, men trade, and cultivate the ground, and gather their fruits. 'Fiat pax, in virtute tua et abundantia in turribus tuis.' Nothing sweeter for the kingdom of God, is peace and joy in the Holy Ghost, and nothing more secure as when Jesus stood in the midst, and after saying; 'pax vobis,' added, 'ego sum, nolite timere.' Have peace, and the God of peace and of love will be with you."††

Let us hear John Picus of Mirandula, speaking of being crowned with theologic felicity by Him who makes peace in the highest. "A multifarious discord, a grievous intestine and more than civil war we have to wage within us, which

* Evendorff Haselbach. Chronic. Austriacum ap. Pez. Script. Iter. Aust. tom. ii.
† Les Grande Chron. Lib. iv. 3. ‡ De Similitud. § Dietæ Salut.
‖ De Consideratione, v. 12. ¶ Epist. cii. ** Spec. Mor. i. iv. 22. †† Ibid.

philosophy can appease and set at rest; first, moral, by repressing the violence of brutal passions which seek like lions to slay and devour us; secondly, dialectic, by assuaging the contending hosts of reason, anxiously warring with syllogism and treachery; thirdly, natural, by appeasing the disputes and dissensions of opinion, which distract, wound, and lacerate the unquiet mind; but in so appeasing us, philosophy will remind us that nature, according to Heraclitus, is born of war, and on that account by Homer called contention; therefore, it can never place us in that true, quiet, and solid peace which can be imparted only by its queen; that is, only the gift and privilege of most holy theology. To her, therefore, it will point the way and be our guide, hastening our steps when we shall espy her from afar. 'Come to me,' she will cry, 'all ye who labor, come to me, and I will refresh you: I will give you peace, that peace which the world and nature cannot give.' So gently called, so benignantly invited, with winged feet, as if terrestrial Mercuries flying to the embraces of our most blessed mother, we shall enjoy the long-desired peace—that most holy peace, that individual conjunction, unanimous friendship, in which all minds do not in one mind, which is above all minds, concord, but in an ineffable manner evanesce and pass, into one. This is that friendship which the Pythagorean said was the end of all philosophy: this is that peace which God made on high, which the angels descending upon earth, announced to men of good-will, that by which men themselves ascending to Heaven might become angels. Let us wish this peace to our friends, to the age in which we live; let us wish it to every house that we enter; let us wish it to our own souls, that by that it may become the house of God,—that after by morals and dialectics, it shall have cast off its defilements, it may adorn itself with a multiplex philosophy as if with a courtly apparel; may crown the summits of its gates with theology; so that when the King of Glory shall descend, coming with the Father, he may take up his abode with her."*

"This perfect peace," says a writer in 1144, whose judgment is that of the middle ages, "is the same thing as the spirit of wisdom."† "To peace," says Vincent of Beauvais, "answers the gift of wisdom; for unless man be wholly at peace in himself and with his neighbor, he cannot contemplate celestial things; but when there is peace between the mind and the flesh, then the spirit of wisdom elevates the mind to contemplation, and subjects the flesh to the spirit; for, as Gregory says, 'Gustato spiritu, desipit omnis caro.'"‡ "Without peace of mind," says St. Bonaventura, "no one comes to the view of contemplation." The Church in her office during the octave of All Saints, cites St. Augustin, who says, "The seventh beatitude is wisdom, or the contemplation of truth, pacifying the whole man, and assimilating him to God: and the Angel of the School shows also

* De Hominum Dignitate.

† Serm. Hieronymi Episc. Aretini, ap. Baluze, Miscel. append.

‡ Vicent Bel. Spec. Hist. Lib. vii. c. 14.

that the gift of wisdom belongs to the pacific, in whom is no rebellious movement against reason."

Truth hath a quiet breast, which even heathens knew, who tried to make men believe that always in the mind of the philosopher there was placid peace.* "Let him that would live well attain to truth," says Plato, "and then, and not before, he will cease from sorrow."† And poets, too, proclaimed it, like him of later days who says, "At first my peace was marred by this strange stir; now I am calm as truth, its chosen minister." This the holy martyr, St. Thomas of Canterbury, felt when he began his letter, in 1165, to the King of England, with these solemn words, "Loqui de Deo valde quietæ et liberæ mentis est. Inde est quod loquar ad Dominum meum, et utinam ad omnes, pacificum."‡ This is expressly ascribed to another noble prelate, of whom we read: "This, above all, was remarkable in Wazo, bishop of Liege, that in every business, whatever was the controversy, he always took care to be fortified with inexpugnable reason; and this he did, because circumspect the animal of God before and behind directed his eyes with a good intention, and so fixed them with truth that neither by hate nor favor could he ever be moved."§ Of St. Hugo, bishop of Lincoln, similarly we read that, "No tumult, no importunity, no accumulation of business, no sudden and unforeseen event, could prevent him from having a heart at peace and prepared."‖ "Non dabit in æternam fluctuationem justos," said the Prophet, and the promise was verified in all living members of the Catholic Church, of whom St. Bernard says, "We, because we are of the church, shall not fear, while the earth is troubled, and the mountains moved into the depths of the sea."¶ This is that calm consciousness of possessing truth which forms the Catholic mind, and which, though unknown, was yet longed for at moments by all who were separated from her, who cried with the unhappy poet of our times,

> "————————Sacred peace!
> Oh visit me but once, and, pitying, shed
> One drop of balm upon my wither'd soul."

And yet he too could say, "There is one road to peace, and that is truth, which follow ye." Ah, if he had obeyed his own counsel, how joyfully would the Catholic Church have received back such a son, and how would he have been comforted in Jerusalem, which is the vision of peace, into which city of God, as St. Augustin says, all who have and love peace enter! "Qui habitant in Hierusalem non movebantur in æternum." Therefore, they who behold the vision of peace are immovable for ever. Peace is upon Israel.

To men who are separated from this city of peace, and who, perhaps, like the unhappy Jews, are forbidden so much as to look towards it from afar, these

* Cicero, Tuscul. v. † De Repub. vi. ‡ Epist. xlv.
§ Gesta Episc. Leod. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. iv. 885.
‖ Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. iii. 2. ¶ Epist. cxlii.

truths appear incredible. Having gone down from Jerusalem, like him mentioned in the gospel, and, consequently, subjected themselves, as St. Odo of Cluny remarks, to be stript of their intellectual goods,* they can, in fact, have no faith but that which is at the mercy of men ; and, accordingly, we perceive that they are ever thinking of some one individual or other, of extraordinary talents or information, who will be best able to defend them, and whose assistance they invoke with cries. But to use the words of one of their own poets, and ascribe them to a convertite, amongst their number, " In towers and huts are many like to me, who, had they seen the forms of that celestial city, or heard such lore as I have learnt from her, like me would fear no more." Such the peace that dwells from forth the fountain of all truth, and such the rest that to my wandering thoughts I found.

Here we must remark, how, while the temporal and spiritual powers exercised their just authority for the public good, the minds of private men were enabled to remain at peace with adversaries of truth. Modern writers, who come forward as historians, calumniating Catholics and the Church, seem to suppose each moment that they have dealt the death-blow to their faith ; but the Catholic, whom they accuse, is stronger than they imagine. He may address them in the words of Orestes to the Furies, who are triumphing over his admission and say,

Οὐ κειμένῳ πω τονδε κομπάζεις λόγον.†

Not to one already prostrated do you boast this ; in fact, against her in whom he believes, nought avails their utmost wisdom. She, with foresight, plans, judges, and carries on her reign. Armed by her Catholics in the middle ages, as at present, could meet unmoved the polished and high-finished foe to truth ; and all their confusion was to see such delusive hopes invite despair ; such mockery, such deception.

An old French writer complains of miserable productions being hatched over night, and sent to fly abroad, and be presented to heretics and Machiavelian politicians, who make great account of them ; and while reading them make signs with their heads and arms, like the Muderis of Constantinople, when they read the Coran of Mohamet.‡ Such boasters are, indeed, more numerous at present ; but I do not think there walks on earth, this day, Catholic so remorseless as not to yearn with pity at the sight. " As heresies that men do leave are hated most of those they did deceive," our convertites at first may wonder, and complain, and think it right to raise their voice at every instant against those who rage against the house of peace ; but this pugnacity does not last. " Amaze," says Dante, " is not long the inmate of a noble heart ;" and soon they learn to feel how alien from the spirit of that house had been these first impressions. They may still give a look in passing at the wretchedness of those who are left without, but they no longer feel amaze, or seek to answer words of passion and of vanity. The psalm-

* Bibliothec. Clun. Coll. i. † Eumen. 590. ‡ Advertisements des Cath. Angl. aux Francois.

ist's rule is found the best: "Nec memor ero nominum eorum per labia mea." One avoids mention of them, not through the motive of Metellus Numidicus, who says, "there are men unworthy even of reproach;"* nor with any view to the utility to be drawn from one's enemies, according to the Chæronean sage, whose treatise, under that title, indicates, after all, only a selfish morality; nor, again, from following the advice of Marsilius Ficinus, "in Letheum fluvium demergere, vilia ut preciosa retineas," but rather through fear of citing, as adversaries, those who may shortly become friends; for, as St. Augustin says, "the city of God is to be defended against many enemies; of whom many, the error of their impiety being corrected, become citizens in it, sufficiently worthy."† Their style is no longer labored and impassioned; the soul, in possession of truth, dictates language careless and secure.—

"Fix'd in the rolling flood of endless years
The pillar of the eternal plan appears;
The raving storm and dashing wave defies,
Built by that Architect who built the skies."

Where there is little of true zeal to promote the Church's sway, we find that men are ever apt to rail and cavil at her adversaries. Such ignoble thoughts are far removed from those who pass with the world for exaggeraters of her claims; for they are full of love and indulgence for all whom heresy deceives.

Writers of the middle ages remark that in the gospels there is no invective against Judas, or Pilate, or the crucifiers of Christ. During the early times of persecution we find, from examining the catacombs, that Christians, instead of giving vent to anger, by leaving memorials of their suffering, chose only to represent flowers, garlands, crowns, symbols of peace, or Christ performing works of mercy, or pastoral scenes, the vineyard and the groves of palm.‡ They were at peace with those who styled truth, "an execrable superstition." And what folly not to be at peace with them, since whatever they do must turn to the good of the church? The impiety of Justinian, in laying his hand to the censor, ordering the clergy not to observe the rubric which enjoins at mass the secret prayers, furnishes now a useful proof of the antiquity of the observance, which he vainly wished to abolish.§ Besides, there can be nothing novel to excite amaze. The opinions of Calvin and Luther had been judged and condemned ages before either of those unhappy men existed. Men who reject the authority of the church, are but as flies on the ocean to those who view them from her eminence. Lower, perchance, with various motion, changes the soil; but the rock on which she stands yet never trembled. When the formidable emperor Frederic Barbarossa and his son, Frederic II., rose against her, she uttered no cry of alarm: she knew that she had right on her side. The times may be threatening—the nations may im-

* Aul. Gel. vi. 11.
Raoul. Rochette, Tableau des Catacombes.

† De Civ. Dei, i. 1.

§ Bened. xiv. de Sacrif. Missæ, i. 381.

agine vain things: she loses not her peace: she waits. Patient because eternal. This is she,

> "So execrated, e'en by those whose debt
> To her is ever praise; they wrongfully
> With blame requite her; and with evil words,
> But she is blessed, and for that recks not;
> Amidst all primal works of the creation glad,
> Rolls on her sphere, and in her bliss exults."*

The spirit of forbearance, and of pity for unavailing foes, and of true magnanimous liberality, descended thus to all her well-instructed children. Mark the spirit of the following passages from works of the middle ages. Amorricus de Creo, seneschal of Anjou, who was honorably buried in the abbey of Rota, in Angers, is thus commemorated by one of the men whose order he had oppressed: "An admirable knight, who if he had not been seneschal, which office led him to oppress the churches, would have surpassed all men of his time in chivalry."†

"If I cannot avoid the accusations of severe men," says the chronicler of the Carthusians, "I care not, provided they permit me to speak to myself and to mine. Love conducted me to this work. I say love, which ought not to be accused by any good man. If then to man I should seem through the love of love to have incurred fault, I trust that from God, the remunerator of love, I may deserve to obtain glory."‡ These pacific friends of truth do not even wish to assume a legitimate authority in imparting it. William of Trahinac, prior of Grandmont, writing to King Henry II., uses these words: "Nullum jus, sed nec imperium teneo in voluntatem tuam; et licet haberem nullo modo cogerem te. Ingenuus est enim hominis animus; mavult duci quam trahi."§

There is still another reflection suggested here; for, from these observations, we can understand the comparative absence of insanity in ages of faith. The passions, in their first degree of intensity, having been thus regulated, madness, which is nothing else but the same passions in their second degree, as physicians of our time have shown, was warded off.‖ Van Helmont remarks, that presumption is the most ordinary form of insanity. "In almost all cases," says Alibert, "pride is the predominant sympton." It was not wonderful, therefore, that the hospitals of the sixteenth century should have been filled with men, who had lost their wits through enthusiasm for the new opinions. As a consequence of those opinions, self-conceit, egotism, restless ambition, avarice, and envy, were then let loose upon the intellectual world, and we reap now the fruits. The passions, uncontrolled, are true mental maladies. La Bruyère describes madness in its first, Esquirol in its more advanced stages. Physical disorders and oblitera-

* Dante, i. 7. † Chronic. Turoneuse, ad an. 1222. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.
‡ Petri Dorlandi Diestensis Chronic. Cartusiense Epist.
§ Ap. Martene, Thes. Anecdot. i. 561.
‖ Esquirol des Maladies Mentales. D'Alibert, Physiologie des Passions.

tions of intelligence augment as peace diminishes in the heart. The predominant causes of mental alienation were removed by the Catholic religion, while its manners were the best preventives; for no one becomes insane through temperance, disinterestedness, filial respect, charity, the sense of duty, humility, and trust in God; so that a return to Catholic manners would infallibly preserve society from the terrible spectacle to which it is now every day more and more exposed.

The pacific, who are thus at peace with God and with their own hearts, were then to be at peace externally with men, "whom," as St. Jerome remarks, "they could never have appeased if there had continued the war of vices within their own minds."* "They were then," as Peter of Blois observes, "prepared for following peace with all men,"† not boasting in the cry that now prevails of peace by resistance, but in that of the gospel, peace by concession, by forbearance, forgiveness, charity. "This celestial city," says St. Augustin, "while it sojourns on earth, calls to itself citizens from all nations, and collects a foreign society in all languages; not caring for whatever is different in manners, laws, and institutions, by which earthly peace may be either acquired or held; cutting off nothing from them, destroying nothing, but preserving and following whatever, though different in different nations, is yet intended to one and the same end of earthly peace, provided it does not hinder religion. The celestial city uses this peace in its peregrinations, and it guards and seeks the things pertaining to the mortal nature of man, which are not inconsistent with piety; and this earthly peace it refers to celestial, which is the true peace."‡ Such was the admirable spirit by which all Catholics were to be animated. They were to be pacific, not alone with the amiable and the kind, but with the froward, and with those who hated peace. This leads us, therefore, to the third source of peace, recognized in ages of faith; namely, as St. Bonaventura says, "humility towards men."§

Who is angry? "He who thinks himself wise," replied Cardan. "Humility, therefore, makes us pacific towards our neighbor, and by this peace," says St. Boniface, "we shall be the sons of God. Great is the goodness, ineffable the clemency of God," adds this holy martyr, "that we, who are not worthy to be the servants, should be called the sons of God."‖ St. Augustin even says, that "the pacific resemble God, as being perfectly wise, and formed in his image by the regeneration of the renewed man."¶

Without charity there is no peace; but in a former book we saw what charity reigned in ages of faith. The rule of assemblies was then conformable to the admonition of the church at the washing of the feet on Maunday Thursday. "Where there is charity, God is there; and, consequently, peace. The love of Christ hath collected us into one. Let us rejoice, and be glad in Him. Let us fear, and love the God-man. And from our hearts let us love one another sin-

* Comment. in Matt. v. † Epist. xlviii. ‡ De Civ. Dei, xix. 17.
§ Dietæ Salut. vii. 6. ‖ Serm. iv. de Octo Beat. ¶ Hom. de Serm. Dom. i. 4.

cerely. Therefore, when we meet together, let us beware of being divided in mind; let malignant quarrels cease, let contentions cease, and let Christ God be in the midst of us."

Hugo of St. Victor, after repeating the Divine announcement of the happiness of the pacific, exclaims, "O, how few are there who attend to these words with the eyes of their mind, and, according to their admonition, seek beatitude! How many are there who, for a trifling injury by words, would render stripes if they were able; or, in defect of strength, threaten greater things."* Nevertheless, the dream of the ancient poet was realized by Catholic instructors in ages of faith. There was no one so ferocious that he could not be tamed, and rendered meek :† and certainly the pacific training, the practical results which prevailed in those ages, form an astonishing fact of history. Innumerable are the affecting examples related by historians to show how the precept, "to live at peace, if possible, with all men," was actually reduced to practice.‡ We meet with similar, even in fables, which, often unintentionally, represent Catholic manners. Thus, in the tales of Cervantes, the young and noble Spanish gentlemen evince a most delicate conscience in regard to offences against peace. The thought of having inflicted an injury, even in their moments of triumph, leads to great contrition, and to solemn vows of pilgrimage and atonement.

As Venerable Bede says in the office of All Saints, "In the celestial hosts peace had its flowers, with which the soldiers of Christ were crowned." Many beautiful sentences of holy men in the cloisters of peace passed into the world as maxims for the general direction of manners. Such were those of St. Columban:

"Non tu, quæso, jocis lædas, nec carmine quenquam."

And again,

"Sint tibi pacifici magna dulcedine mores
Ne tua pœniteat, caveas, victoria temet.
Justitiæ et pacis placeant tibi verba loquendo,
Pax precor alma tuo placeat tibi semper in ore."§

Pope Innocent III. writes to the archbishop of Rheims and his suffragans, complaining that the French are frequently excited to anger, and sometimes, merely through levity, to use profane and horrible oaths; not fearing to utter what we should tremble to write. He sends, therefore, to charge the bishops to use diligence in correcting this evil.‖

It is curious to remark how the ancient guides, in stating the degrees of this virtue, adopted an order, the very inverse of what would now be proposed. They began where we finish, and they finished where we begin. Hear St. Bonaventura:

* Hugo St. Vict. in Matt. ii. c. 1. † Hor. Ep. i.

‡ See Wal. Strabo, de Vit. St. Othmari Abb. c. 5. ap. Goldast. Alemannic, Rer. Script. i. p. 11.

§ S. Columb. Carmen Monostichon, ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq. i. ‖ Inn. Epist. Lib. xvi. 3.

"It is a high degree of peace to spare inferiors if they are in fault; it is a still higher to converse benignly with equals; it is the highest of all to conform one's will, in all things, to that of superiors. Again, it is a high degree of peace to trouble no one by actions: it is a higher still to trouble no one by words, either to his face or behind his back: it is the highest of all to give no just occasion of offence to any one by signs or nods. In all these degrees was Christ, according to His words, 'Non veni facere voluntatem meam.' Again, he is in a high degree of peace who does not publish the evil of his neighbor: he is in a still higher who does not depreciate the good of his neighbor; neither blackening nor inverting it, but extolling it; he is in the highest who compassionates him in his defects, and rejoices with him in his heart at his advancement."* We see, then, how profoundly laid were the foundations of social peace by the schoolmen.

As the remainder of this book will be occupied with the historic view of this external peace, here break we off, and proceed to general reflections, respecting that interior peace, which was its source. How much of this was granted we have seen; but still we must remember that the attainment of the true and perfect peace, even in the interior world of the soul, during the present life, was known to be impossible, as all moralists of the middle ages showed.

The mistake of the philosophers was their supposing that the wise man could enjoy perfect peace in this life. But the Athenian policy, which Pericles praises, cannot be transferred to spiritual things, so as to be sure of conquering without the habit of struggles and endurance.†

On the text "God placed before the paradise of pleasure cherubim, with a flaming sword, to guard the way of the tree of life," an ancient writer says, "By the flaming sword, which is temporal tribulation, and by cherubim, which is plenitude of science, which is charity, we come to the tree of life, which is Christ, and live for ever: for no one can come to the tree of life unless by these two things: that is to say, the endurance of miseries, and plenitude of science, that is, of love."‡ "According, indeed, as grace is increased, the seeds of sin," says Duns Scotus, "have less power to disturb our peace; as when a pebble is tied to the wings of an eagle, if the moving power of the eagle increase, though the gravity of the pebble will not be diminished, yet its gravity, as to effect, will decrease; for, in proportion as the power is greater, the stone will be a less impediment to the flight upwards."§ "But never to feel any disturbance, or to suffer any sorrow of heart or body, is not the state of the present life," says the author of the Imitation, "but only that of the eternal rest."‖

You pretend to possess unalterable tranquillity. You are surprised at hearing "Bella premunt hostilia," when we invoke peace! Then return to the Porch, and leave the school of the middle ages, which can only thus far promise: "Es-

* De Gradibus Virtutum, xiii.

† Thucyd. ii. 39.

‡ Wieboldi Quæstiones in Octateuch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ix.

§ Duns Scoti Lib. iv. Sent. Lib. iv. 9. 7.

‖ iii. 25.

tote fortes in bello, et pugnate cum antiquo serpente, et accipieris regnum æternum." "Our Saviour," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "after, and not before his baptism suffered himself to be tempted, and the apostles suffered trials after the descent of the Holy Spirit. It is the religious only who are tempted; and others are, improperly, said to be tempted, for they resist not, but yield."* The religious find from experience, as a poet says, "that their thoughts struggle to take wildest flight, even at the moment when they should array themselves in pensive order." Here, therefore, we must attend to the distinctions, so often insisted upon by the guides of ages of faith, respecting peace in general, and the duties of those who love the true peace.

"All men love peace," says St. Bernard.; "few deserve it."† "As there is no one," says Augustin, "who is unwilling to rejoice, so there is no one who is unwilling to have peace; for when men wish for war, they only wish to conquer; that is, to have peace: so that it is for the sake of peace wars are carried on. Robbers even wish to have peace with each other, at least, at home, with their families. And if we conceive one of those fabulous monsters in a cave, as described by poets, we shall find that he wishes to be at peace with himself; for which end he slays, ravages, and devours; and, although cruel and furious, still it is for the peace of his own life that he cruelly and ferociously provides. Pride perversely imitates God. It hates equality with allies under Him. It hates, therefore, the just peace of God, and it loves its unjust peace; but not to love peace of some kind or other is impossible to it; for no vice is so contrary to nature as entirely to destroy the last vestiges of nature. The wicked, therefore, desire peace; but in comparison with that of the just, theirs does not deserve to be called peace."‡ Tacitus says that "Tiberius was most of all anxious to prevent things at peace from being disturbed."§ Alexander, too, said that the object of his wars was to secure an universal peace; and the last tyrant who imitated him, amidst all his conquests was directed, we are now told, by a pacific idea. The gentile authors recognized the love of peace as belonging to all men. Hesiod says that "No mortal loves war, but by necessity men endure that heavy contention." ‖ Cæsar himself, according to one of his poets, proposes battle as the means of peace, saying, "This victory will establish peace for us. The whole world will be disarmed after this contest"¶ It is to express abhorrence that the Jupiter of Homer exclaims,

Αἰεὶ γὰρ τοι ἔρις τε φίλη, πόλεμοί τε, μάχαι τε.

"Even in gladiators," says Cicero, "we often see a certain image of peace. They confer together; they seem rather pacific than angry. We see Ajax and Hector, in Homer, speaking to each other before the fight gently and quietly."** Of

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. iv. 1. † Epist. cccl viii. ‡ De Civ. Dei, xix. 12.
§ An. ii. 65. ‖ Op. et. Dies, 5. ¶ Lucan. vi. ** Tuscul. iv.

peace, he says elsewhere, that the name itself is sweet.* And every one knows the lines of the Roman poet, which ascribe to soldiers, and to all engaged in arduous labors, the desire of ultimate tranquillity.† Finally, no temple in Rome, in the days of her false and lying gods, was more sumptuous or beautiful than that of Peace. "But," say the philosophers of the ages of faith, "all peace is not the peace of the Lord."‡ "There is a three-fold evil peace," says St. Bonaventura, "a wicked, a pretended, and an inordinate peace. "The first had Pilate with Herod, who was made his friend, in the death of Christ. Of this we read, 'Zelavi super iniquos pacem peccatorum videns.' The second is that of Judas, who betrayed Christ with a kiss. The third is when a greater obeys a less, a prelate an inferior, or reason sensuality. Such peace is worse than war; such peace Adam had with Eve; for he was unwilling to trouble her delights. Of such peace the Saviour says, 'Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium.'"§ St. Anslem only says, in general, "there is a carnal peace when infidels, or false Christians agree to sin, and thence obtain the same peace."‖ "Not all peace, therefore, makes man blessed," says a bishop of the twelfth century; but only that which Christ bequeathed to His disciples."¶ Of other kinds the world, indeed, hears frequent mention. With the ancient poet, Pothinus speaks of desiring peace and perpetual quiet, and of removing the crime of wars, and all the while is proposing to assassinate Pompey.** But "if you do not love justice," says St. Augustin, "you will not have peace; for they love each other. They are two friends. Perhaps you wish for one of them, but not the other. There is no one who does not wish for peace; but not all practice justice. Ask all men, even the wicked, Do you wish for peace? With one mouth the whole human race will answer, I wish it, I love it. Then love justice, for they kiss each other; and if you do not love her friend, peace will not love you, nor come to you. If you are her friend's enemy, she will say to you, Why do you seek me? Therefore, if you wish for peace, be just."†† The church, in her evening prayer for peace, each day indicates that it can only be vouchsafed in conjunction with right counsels and just works.

Some desire peace through avarice, as in the comedy of Aristophanes, when the scythe-maker exults in the profit which peace has brought him.‡‡ Others desire it through sheer luxury. "Perhaps your feet are not swift to shed blood," says Peter of Blois, "but your affections run to acquiesce in flesh and blood, which shall never possess the kingdom of God."§§ The arms of temporal warfare may grow rusty through an evil peace, as when those of Ulysses during the luxurious repose of the suitors lay in a corner of his lofty chamber defiled with smoke, no longer like those he left behind him when he went to Troy. Such peace is in the tyrant's palace, where the crowd waste the triumphal hours in festival and song;

* Phil. 13. † Sat. i. ‡ Hugo de St Vict. Eruditiones Theol. Lib. iii.
§ Dietæ Salut. tit. vii. 6. ‖ De Similitud. c. 123. ¶ Hieronimi Aretini Serm.
** Lucan. viii. †† In Ps. lxxxiv. En. ‡‡ Pax, 1198. §§ Petr. Bles de Confessione.

though "what does he not endure from lusts and self-reproaching conscience, ere he can obtain the comfortless repose he seeks?" "Then," says Peter of Blois, "a man's enemies are those of his household, of whom Jeremiah speaks, saying, 'seduxerunt te viri pacifici : molliti sunt sermones ejus super oleum, et ipsi sunt jacula.'"* Then they say like the king Hezechiah, when Isaiah the prophet warned him of the desolation coming upon Babylon, "Sit tantum pax et veritas in diebus meis!" "Only may there be peace in my days!"

"This is a peace," says Peter of Blois, "which has neither merit nor reward, a peace which God hates, the peace of earthly pleasures which our Lord came to destroy."† Of this St. Augustin says, speaking to men who ascribed the horrors attending the fall of the Roman empire to the Christian religion, "querant tempora quibus non sit quieta vita, sed potius secura nequitia."‡ "For why," he says, "afflicted with adversity, do you complain of Christian times, unless because you wish to have your luxury secure, that it may flow on in the midst of depraved manners removed from all asperity of disquietude." "For you do not desire peace and all abundance, in order that you may use them honestly, modestly, soberly, temperately, piously, but that an infinite variety of pleasures may be derived from insane effusions."§ Such peace was so far from being considered as the criterion of spiritual advance, that it is even denounced by guides of the middle ages as the presage of desolation. "The sixth sign of the coming of Antichrist, and of the end of the world," says one of them, "will be peace. In those days men will be eating and drinking in security, without affection and without mercy. The seventh sign is not only security, but the preaching of security. They will say, Peace and security." So writes in the reign of King Charles the Fifth, Nicolas Oremius, bishop of Lisieux, whose curious work on Antichrist found in the abbey of St. Victor, can never suggest the idea that it was a picture of the manners of his own times.‖

Again we find denounced as most evil, that internal tranquillity which is based on indifference to truth. One of the rules given to Charlemagne by Alcuin is directed against this; for he says, "the preaching of peace is so to be exercised, that under the name of piety, there may be no assertion of falsehood. For as it is most detestable to break peace, so is it blasphemy to deny truth. There is a great agreement, moreover, between true unity and pacific truth."¶ Here we must admire the provisions which existed in the middle ages, to guard the faithful from contracting a peace of this description. There were comparatively but few then, of whom it might be said, "commixti sunt inter gentes, et didicerunt opera illorum."** No where then would have been allowed to pass the maxim of Epictetus, which advises every man to make his sacrifices according to the custom of the country in which he lives. It was heresy which brought back this

* Epist. iii. † Serm. xlix. ‡ De Civ. Dei, ii. 29. § Id. i. 30.
‖ Lib. de Antich. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
¶ Alcuini Capit. Admonitiones ad Car. XI. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i. ** P. 105.

kind of peace. Arius assured Constantine that he was a Catholic; the Calvinist Count Palatine said at the diet of Augsburg, "that he was not opposed to the confession of Augsburg;" Beze, at the colloquy of Poissy, declared himself in accordance with the Lutherans; and the Vaudois, who were Pelagians, professing a narrow rationalism, in one day united with the Calvinists, who held a doctrine exactly opposite, sacrificing their creed for the sake of a political analogy. Such peace was inadmissible by Catholics, whose pretended intolerance consisted in a resolution not to unite with error.

They acted as if guided by that oracular answer of Æschylus, "Nourish not a lion's whelp in the city; but if you will nourish it, be ready to conform to its manners."* They saw nothing in those who professed to establish a purer creed, to justify a wish that posterity should conform to their manners; and they very wisely, therefore, barred all gates against the progeny of their brains. To follow foolish precedents, and wink with both their eyes, is found by the descendants of men who first received error into their city easier than to think. The peace they resolve on maintaining is with the prejudices arising from their birth and education, to renounce which, they would deem shameful, heedless of what St. Augustin tells them.† Hence, very often follows a peace with all deadly, all forbidden things: hence follow "reasonings made to compose a spirit well inclined to live on terms of amity with vice and sin without disturbance." "This itself is a grievous sin, and the sign of an obstinate mind," says Peter of Blois, "that you feel yourself oppressed by no sin, as a limb that has lost all feeling is far from soundness."‡ "Do you think," he asks another, "that in peace and quiet of body there is peace of mind? You will, perhaps, have peace, but it will be most bitter."§ "Pastoral images and still retreats, umbrageous and solitary seats, sweet birds in concert with harmonious strains, are then all enchantments which conspire against thy peace, soothing thee to make thee but a surer prey. Indifference with respect to religious truth, to which such peace leads, ascends at length to men in highest office, and the result is, that which took place at Geneva, in 1535, when the council abandoned the reins of authority, imagining, as De Haller says, like modern politicians, that there could be no repose until the disturbers of peace were the masters, and that profanations would only cease when there was nothing more left to profane."‖

Such peace was denounced, in ages of faith, as belonging to men loving but themselves, and who have no charity: "for though in charity alone is peace," as Peter of Blois says, who adds that "the battles of temptation cease, when the heart begins to exercise it,"¶ yet this pacific quiet, this delicious sabbath, this sweetness of charity, which alone gives rest to the soul of man, will never suffer a surrender of vital interests · it requires courage and heroic resistance; love of

* Aristoph. Ranæ, 1431. † Epist. 57. ‡ Epist. cxviii. § Epist. 1.
‖ Hist. de la Réforme en Suisse, 186. ¶ De Amicitia Christ.

fire. "I have come to send fire on the earth," says our Lord. "Fire always feeds upon external objects, and by kindling them, increases within."* Arnulf, bishop of Lisieux, says accordingly to St. Thomas of Canterbury, "If you prefer human to divine favor, and consent to abuses of profane novelty, you cannot only live with the utmost tranquillity, but you can even more than before reign with the king."† It is no great discovery, therefore, when a modern author tells us, that the archbishop by reasoning in a different manner, might have enjoyed the king's friendship. True, if like many of his contemporary prelates, who have yet descendants, he to base fear yielding had abjured his high estate; but that man lived not for himself only, he was kindled with the fire which Christ came to send amongst us, and consequently the result, instead of being what some deem wisdom, the friendship of kings and the repose of the rich and a blind life meanly passing, was the usual lot of heroic virtue, succeeded, indeed, in his case, by the martyr's crown glorious throughout the universal world.

Here we pass beyond our present limits. Reserving then for the last book all further observations on such peace, let us hear in conclusion, what Vincent of Beauvais says of evil peace in general. "There is a multiplex evil peace, for there is a fantastic, a sophistic, and a diabolic peace. A fantastic as when worldly men say that they are rich, and are at ease and prosperous; for there is no true peace in such things, as the Lord saith, 'in mundo pressuram habebitis; in me autem pacem.' Sooth it was a fantastic peace which the city of Jerusalem enjoyed when he wept over it, saying 'quia si cognovisses et tu,' and that there is no earthly peace in earthly riches is evident, for that peace derived from them, always contends with the conscience and harasses the interior, and if it hath not an exterior enemy, it makes one within for itself.

"Neither is there true solid peace in pleasures, for when the men who follow them say peace and security, suddenly ruin cometh on them. Solomon had abundance of delights, and he had peace on all sides, but the Lord raised against him his servant. A voluptuous life induces sorrow and labor, shame and death. Nor is there true peace in honors, for ambition ever creeps like a cancer, and the farther it leads man in honors, the greater distance is he removed from peace. The way of peace such men know not, when the fear of God is not before their eyes, and all such persons have but a fantastic peace. There is also a sophistic peace, as in vulgar and worldly friendships, since amongst them we daily see enmities arise which cause inexpressible bitterness. 'Homo pacis meæ in quo sperabam, magnificabit super me supplantationem;' and often with such men it is, 'in ore suo pacem cum amico suo loquitur, et occulte ponit ei insidias. Loquuntur pacem cum proximo suo, mala autem in cordibus eorum.' In these, therefore, there is not true peace, but fear and the suspicion of deception and fraud. There is, in fine, a diabolic peace which sinners have, 'qui lætantur cum malefecerint et exultant in re-

* De Charitate Dei et prox. 32.

† Epist. S. Thom. xxi.

bus pessimis: sed non est pax impiis, dicit Dominus.' For a mind corrupt suffers many and horrible pains. How can he have peace, who bears a sword in his heart, who lies on thorns, whose bed is full of venomous serpents, who dwells amidst lions and dragons, who has robbers in his house, who perceives his cruel enemies raging against him, and plotting to devour him every hour, and sees the sword of vengeance vibrating over him, and the horrible abyss of fire and sulphur yawning beneath ready to swallow him up? How should he have peace, who resists the Author of peace? Truly there is also a diabolic peace, when sinners who dissent from each other, agree together in the oppression of the poor, or in attacking the church of God."*

To this peace the Count de Maistre alludes in a passage of fearful eloquence, where he says, "Never have I read the anti-religious works of Hume, without a kind of terror. It has always seemed to me that the hardened character of Hume, and his insolent calm, must have been the last penalty for that certain revolt of the intelligence which excludes mercy, and which God chastises no more except by retiring." From observations such as these, St. Theresa on one occasion exclaims, "May God deliver us from the many different kinds of peace which people of the world enjoy, and which cause them to live tranquilly amidst the most grievous sins, for these do not deserve the name of peace, but are real wars." We have already seen enough to awaken a suspicion in the most ignorant, that much real peace was internally enjoyed amidst all the external wars and disorders of the middle ages; and that, on the contrary, cruel internal wars and horrors sufficiently manifested indeed around us by the breath of heart-sick groans "rage amidst the external calm of modern society."

In truth, the portraits of the middle age and those of a later epoch, indicate the difference. Let us pause a moment to examine this proposition. We have before remarked how versed in physiognomy were men in ancient times: St. Bonaventura, in three chapters of his compendium, gives all the elements of a physiognomical and craniological system, "but the doctrine of mortification," as Ozanam remarks, "enabled them to escape from fatality in such discussions." "This very year," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "when our abbot was going to the general chapter at Vitriacum, he and the Abbot of Stymena were charitably received by a certain hostel-keeper who served the poor. Henry our cellarian sat by his side, who after supper said to the abbot, 'Is that man known to you?' who replied, 'that he was, and that he was a good man.' 'Trust me,' answered Henry, 'he is in a bad state, for as he sits now at table, there is something infernal in his countenance.' Early next morning, while Henry said mass, the abbot, as he told me, felt a certain strange influence, which left him power to pray only thus, 'Domine, da mihi bonum finem.' The same night this hostel-keeper went to the river side alone, took off his clothes and threw himself in; but as he could not sink, he came out, and

* Vincent. Bellov. Speculum. Mor. Lib. 1. par. iv. 22.

went higher up, looking for a deeper place; the watchmen from the castle saw him, and cried out, 'Good man, this is no season for bathing,' for it was Christmas night; but the miserable wretch plunged in and perished."* If we call to our aid this science in studying portraits, not shrinking from such a task through fear of the conclusions to which it may lead, and after all as Cervantes makes some one reply to an insidious question, what should we have been doing in the world so long, if we had not some little knowledge of the lines which nature has engraved on the face of all men, in order to reveal their dispositions ?† if I say we study these portraits of ages of faith, we shall be convinced that the men who resembled them, enjoyed this threefold peace of which we have spoken. That serene and beneficent expression of countenance ascribed to the young Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, that sweet placid look, indicative, as Lavater observes, of genius, which Buffon defines as only a greater aptitude for patience, is characteristic of them all. "Ecce homo sine querela," as the church sings to commemorate her confessors, is your involuntary exclamation on seeing them, without waiting to hear if they speak in that mild plain voice, grateful to the ear, which, according to Michael Scot, indicates a pacific heart.‡

"Look at the effigy of patience," says Tertullian, "that tranquil, placid countenance, that pure front contracted with no signs of grief or anger. This is the true Christian patience, not that false patience of the Gentiles, patient of rivals, impatient only of God. But this shows what we love—the patience of God, the patience of Christ, patience of the spirit, patience of the flesh as becomes those who believe in the resurrection of flesh and spirit."§ "Truly," says Peter of Blois, "I do not believe that it displeases God, when any one pleases men by the grace of meekness or the intuition of sanctity; for He himself who is the Maker and Redeemer of men, gives such serenity and sweetness of peaceful joy to the countenances of some, imparts such a celestial grace to all their words and deeds, that they conciliate the hearts of men to themselves at the first sight, so that they are revered by them as if they were angels." ?‖ Where will you find these looks among portraits of men that represent the spirit of any sinister epoch? Truly, if Shakespeare had in his mind these latter, whose smiles are only sneers, along with a bitter splenetic misanthropy, he would never have put such an exclamation in Miranda's mouth when she first sees the shipwrecked party,

'O wonder! How beauteous mankind is!"

Ah no! without the love of peace, men resemble not the sons of God, but him who hears these words from an angel,

"Think not, revolted spirit, thy shape the same,
Or undiminish'd brightness to be known,

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. xi. 61.
† The Egyptians.
‡ Lib. Physion. Magist. Michael Scot, p. 11. c. 68.
§ De Patientia.
‖ Serm. I.

As when thou stoodst in Heaven upright and pure ;
That glory then, when thou no more wast good,
Departed from thee ; and thou resemblest now
Thy sin and place of doom obscure and foul."

The martial look of the middle ages did not require that round face which painters shun as full of vulgarity, but which the influence of Mars was thought to form.* On the contrary, it indicated that even temper, that calm internal peace which is the sublimest expression of force. The type may be witnessed in the pacific countenance of St. James trampling upon the Moors in battle, in the picture by Don Juan Carreno de Miranda. Modern painters who have studied countenances among those whom the French extol as the heroes of July, of whom Tacitus would say, that, like the Catti, "ne in pace quidem vultu mitiore mansuescunt," are incapable of representing it. There was a mystic air of sweet sadness in the warlike figure which denoted men at peace with their own conscience, and in charity, performing a stern but necessary task. Mark in a curious chapel in the ancient cathedral of St. Omer, those four awful figures of knights on horseback, armed cap-à-pie, with lances in their hands: their countenance bespeaks serenity : they are doing their duty with purity of intention : all that St. Thomas and Denis the Carthusian wrote to soldiers is embodied here.

In the middle ages, the idea of manly worth was not that of a wild and angry animal, bespeaking fierce cruelty in look, like that represented for the model of soldiers in countries where martial glory holds the first place. Open the chronicles and the chivalrous romances, and you find the hero rather like what our gentle poet terms some Lord lack-beard, some tender juvenal. Curious as the fact may seem, the church deprecated the formidable mustachoes and long beards of the Longobards, and desired their tonsure. In a most ancient ritual in the monastery of the Minerva at Rome, there is the formula of benediction on cutting off the hair, "ad capillos tondendos." The prayer was as follows :

"O Christ, Almighty Saviour, innocent and lover of innocence ; humble and possessor of humility ; meek and pattern of meekness, who laying thy hands of benediction upon the little children coming to thee, didst say, 'that of such is the kingdom of heaven,' bless this thy servant whose superfluous hair we cut off in thy name : grant him understanding with the increase of age, that he may fear thee, know thee, and keep thy commandments, and that by thy assistance he may attain with the utmost soundness, to the years of old age, through thee, Saviour of the world."†

At Ravenna, before the door of the church of St. Vitalis, was the sepulchral stone of the Longobard Droctulfus, who was a great warrior, and owing to his long beard, formidable in aspect ; but the epitaph shows that the custom of his nation must not lead to a misconception of his character, for the words are

* See Agrip. de Occult. Phil. ii. 52.

† Murat. Antiq. It xxiii

"Terribilis visu facies, sed corda benigna."*

Reader, hast thou marked in journeying through impious lands, how even peasants and the people generally do gnarl upon thee, with a scowl that threatens torture, if their spite had power? In ages of faith such were not the faces of the simpler sort; for Michael Angelo says, "the countenances of the rustic people show what passes in their souls. One sees there a peace which neither weariness nor hate can trouble." Indeed, the artists of the middle ages had a perfect consciousness of the pacific character which they were called upon to express. We find them stating that the countenances in a picture to represent an assembly of legislators or holy doctors, ought to express "an imperturbable calm, a religious sadness, tempered by the dignity of apostolic peace." How wonderfully do they combine in their paintings of the Saviour, tranquillity with pain, serenity with sorrow: and this was the mould for all. Those who walk beneath the vaulted aisles of Noyon, see at their feet in long succession, figures of the dead, whose countenances express such peace, that none can doubt whose sons they should be called. Some of them, indeed, are expressly commemorated in ancient characters as having been pacific. Thus of one we read, "Vasserius imprimis pacis amans." In a word, kneel before a painting of Corregio, gaze upon the smiling face of his St. Francis of Assisi, dying in an ecstasy, as if of beholding the supreme peace, while you hear sung the "Agnus Dei," by a religious choir, and you will understand what was the state of hearts and minds in ages of faith, without having examined other testimony.

* Id. xxiii.

CHAPTER V.

"TRUTH having the government of the soul, I can never suppose," says Plato, "that the chorus of evils will follow it; but, on the contrary, that right manners and the chorus of the philosophic nature will be its train."* Peace, we may now say in like manner, being thus established in the hearts of men, one cannot believe that its action was unfelt in the family and in the state; that houses in the ages of faith witnessed that domestic confusion of which the wise Homer makes Telemachus say that it would be much better to die than to witness it;† and which made the poets call the winds brothers, as being always at strife with one another, and full of violence.‡ We have already more than once visited the interior of these houses, and we must now again return to view them hastily in reference to the beatitude of peace. The middle ages expressly distinguished, as may be seen in the address of the university of Vienna to Duke Albert VI., domestic harmony relative to the government of the family as one of the divisions of peace no less important than the political, which consisted in the mutual concord of the citizens.§ In the ninth part of his chronicle of Genoa, James de Voragine treats on the peace of domestic life, and the happiness of families united in conjugal and filial love; also on the duty of gentleness towards servants; all which part Muratori unfortunately omits as being written in a rude style; observing also, that Genoa in his time has better masters for such lessons.‖ All guides of the middle ages lay great stress upon the maintenance of this peace, St. Thomas ascribing to it a certain beauty which causes spiritual joy and almost ecstasy in the beholder.¶ "Domestic discord is the greatest of all evils," says Cardan, in the very treatise in which he shows the utility that may be drawn from adversity.**

The roots of such miseries were eradicated by the Catholic religion, which vivified and enforced all the provisions of nature; for humility had curbed ambition, and meekness the unruly tongue. We have before remarked what simple manners reigned. Our leaves must still resemble former. Life in the middle ages was not that ceaseless struggle for distinction which the Roman satirist describes, comparing it to the chariot-race, in which each one strives to get before the other: it was not so rare to find men contented with the present, and ready

* De Repub. vi. † xx. 316. ‡ Cardan. de Consolat. ii. § Ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‖ Rer. It. Script. tom. ix. ¶ De Regim. Prin. ii. 11. ** Lib. iii. c. 2

to say it is enough. *Φιλοκτεανώτατε πάντων*, the disdainful epithet applied to Agamemnon by Achilles, in his wrath, might have been used in the middle ages to express the same feeling. Therefore the poet represents a Jew boasting of his superiority in the art of making money. "They say we are a scattered nation. I cannot tell: but we have scrambled up more wealth by far than those that brag of faith."* The officers of Philippe-le-Bel are reproached by an old historian for having such magnificent gold and silver plate; but these were in fact men like the Jew-banking nobles, who then, as now, were such enemies of the Church. The Catholic nobles, on the contrary, often imitated monastic simplicity. Humbert II., dauphin of Vienne, made rules for his table in 1336, which Le Grand-D'Aussy says would be fit for that of a convent of monks.† In castles, in palaces, in huts and shops, was found the life of those delivered from miserable ambition. With peace of heart men beheld, without courting, the proud thresholds of the powerful. Secret ambition did not disturb the peace of friendships which were chosen without regard to it. "In their friends," says Peter of Blois, "men seek peace of mind, not profit."‡ The law of friendship requires that a friend must be received with so much the more reverence, as he is understood to be in a greater necessity."§ "Desire not the shadow of a greater name, or a particular acquaintance with many, for these things generate distractions and great obscurities in the heart." Such was the advice of religion. Accordingly, domestic retirement was a virtue of the middle ages.

Bernardine Scardeonio, speaking of the illustrious women of Padua, accounts for his not enumerating many by observing that they, being modest and virtuous, prefer remaining concealed and unknown to being seen in public.‖ Men of the greatest genius, so far from evincing a contrary disposition, were observed, like Michael Angelo, to shun society, and to love retreat, if not solitude. "What can conduce more to piety and justice, and to a freer life," says Cardan, "than to live in your house hidden and removed from the public scene?"¶ Cardan remarks that all ambitious persons are afflicted with anger, either open or concealed; for many things, he says, must happen to make them angry, since they never think that they are treated according to their just claim:** and thus the most irreconcilable enmities are those which have the least foundation. Such men, as Horace says, will hear nothing that can extenuate that which offends them. They will repel the physician; they will be angry with the friend. "They live all their life long," as Plato says, "friends to no one, but always either tyrannizing over some one, or else in a state of servile submission to some one; but of peace and true friendship they never taste."†† From such misery men, in ages of faith, were more free. Religion so triumphed over natural impossibilities that even persons prone to anger knew that their anger was unjust. The peace of all

* Marlowe. † Hist. de la Vie Privée des Français, iii. 266. ‡ De Amicitia Christiana, 15.
§ Id. 19. ‖ De Antiq. Petav. iii. 16. ¶ De Utilitate ex advers. Lib. iii. cap. 4.
** Id. Lib. iii. c. 11. †† De Repub. ix.

relationship was, therefore, less disturbed. The spirit of Charlemagne in this respect belonged to the middle ages, for like him men readily contracted friendships and retained them constantly, and worshipped them holily.* Men were not obliged to arm themselves with the same vanity as a defence against that of others. They were not angry if others were more proud than themselves. They had learned to estimate pride in themselves as well as in others. Their prayer was that of Fulbert of Chartres:

> "Da procul à nobis elatio sistat ut omnis,
> Quo tibi submissi placeamus pectore puro.
> Iræ compescens stimulos, fac nos patientes."

In their hospitality they sought concord, not rivalry. Their dinner, like that of the ancient philosopher, might have convinced the guest that the desire of money did not disturb their peace.† Their paleness was not that of men who arise from the ambiguous supper.‡ "I delight in a simple table, and I hate a luxurious one, either at home or with others," says an ancient Italian writer.§ In the fourteenth century the nobles of Pavia, when they invited friends, had a less sumptuous board than the trades-people and artisans.‖ Antiquity remarked that the poet Ennius, the friend of Scipio, lived so simply in his house on Mount Aventine, that he kept but one servant, and that a woman. The middle ages beheld the same absence of vanity and its train in families. Brunellesco lived with the first sculptor of his age, Donatello, as the workmen of our times hardly live.

> "Let gay and toilsome greatness others please,
> He loves of homely littleness the ease."

When a man had a house, and a wife in that house, and as Homer says, a boy such as every one would wish a son to be,

Καὶ παῖς οἱόν πού τις ἐέλδεται ἐμμεναι υἷα,

the order of the family was not so dependent upon servants. The prayer of St. Thomas Aquinas, "That he might with respect to the care of his own person be troublesome to no one," was a very general desire. Sons did not disdain to perform menial service; so that when Imogen puts on boy's clothes, she finds the life they indicate laborious; yet though tiresome, familiar acts were beautiful through love. In the charming picture of domestic peace given by an anonymous author of the fourteenth century, representing the manners of the Paduans, we find that youths of the noblest houses used to serve at table when their fathers entertained their friends.¶

To illustrate Cardan's remark that sweeter are all things which retain the appearance of their contraries, one might have noticed this frugality in the rich, and

* Chroniques de St. Denis. † Tusc. v. ‡ Hor. Sat. ii. 2.
§ Ant. Galatei, Descript. Callipolis in Thesaur. Antiq. It. ix.
‖ Anon. Ticiuens. de laudibus Papiæ, 13. ¶ Mur. Antiq. It. diss. xxiii.

the coarse simple dress and menial duties of their sons. The heir of the family played the part of the most amiable of the Homeric gods ; he was a sort of Mercury, a mere simple lad, heedless of the wet or dusty foot, to serve as a guide to strangers ἐπὶ τραφερήν τε καὶ ὑγρήν. When Pope Boniface VIII. granted the indulgence to all who visited Rome at the jubilee, which caused such immense multitudes of both sexes and of all ages to repair thither, we read that " many youths who had no horses or carriages carried their fathers and mothers on their shoulders and necks ; and there was such peace and quiet through all Italy that every one went securely."* In Catholic countries the same spectacle may still be seen on occasion of any great pilgrimage. Peace was with servants in each family, as St. Augustin said. Cervantes represents a lover and his expected bride, accompanied with their fathers and mothers, and many relatives, and with all their domestics enjoying a party of pleasure in common in a delicious garden on the sea-shore. Great importance was attached to this loving intercourse between all members of a house. Cardan, praising the Venetian patricians, particularly notices their gracious and liberal manners towards their servants.† He recommends the utmost gentleness and benignity in regard to them ; " for," says he, " in our times, on account of religion, since all men are men, domestics are used in place of servants."‡ Sidonius Apollinaries says of his contemporary, the noble warrior Vectius : " In the interior of his house he never speaks in a tone of scolding, and never receives counsel with a disdainful air ; and he is not severe to search out faults. He governs all who are subject to him less by authority than by reason. One would say he was rather the steward than the master of his house."§ Michael Angelo, when his servant Urbino was on his death-bed, watched day and night by his bed, notwithstanding his own infirmities. He writes of him as follows to Vasari : " My friend, I shall write ill, but I must reply to your letter. Urbino, you know, is dead. That has been both a favor to me from God and a subject of bitter grief—a favor because he who in this life took care of me, has taught me in dying, not alone to die without regret, but to desire death. He lived with me twenty-six years, always good, intelligent, and faithful. I had enriched him ; and the moment when I thought to find in him a staff for my old age, he escapes, leaving me only the hope of seeing him again in heaven. I dare reckon on it." Then, in a letter to Cornelia, his widow, he promises to adopt their son, and love him with more affection than the children of his nephew.

Marguerite of Louvain, the patron of servants, was a domestic in that city, whose attachment to her master and mistress was sufficiently attested by her resolution to embrace a religious life along with them. Let us hear Dionysius the Carthusian addressing married persons. " Act and speak to your servants as

* Amal. Veteres Mutinensium ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.

† De Util. ex. advers. iii. 2. ‡ Id. iv. 2. § Ap. Fauriel, i. 400.

you would wish others to do to you if you were a servant," says Pope St. Gregory the Great. "The master and mistress should show themselves towards all their servants loving, patient, humble, and pacific, while at the same time, just: they should treat them like brothers and sisters, and co-heirs of a celestial kingdom. Never should they speak proudly or severely to them; but if any fault should be committed in the family, they ought piously and patiently to bear it, or with charity to correct it, remembering how many faults are committed by servants, and yet how God has mercy on them. Moreover, servants must not be fatigued with immoderate labor, and they must be promptly paid; and St. Augustin says that the master should discharge an episcopal office in his house by instruction and example."* These remarks applied also to the life of apprentices in the middle ages. Of the amiable relation in which they stood to their superiors, and of the graceful manners required from them, some idea may be formed from the rules which they were to observe in order to ingratiate themselves with old and young.†

The ancient philosopners recognized the importance of exercising a pacific temper in the management of the family. The Pythagorean discipline required mildness and placability; and it used to be said that no one ever saw a disciple angry, or beat a servant.‡ Nevertheless, there is little reason to suppose that any thing like Christian peace, which reigned in houses during ages of faith, was ever obtained, before or since, where the same religion was not found.

"Patience," says Tertullian, "ornaments the woman, proves the man; it is loved in a boy; it is praised in a youth; it is revered in an old man; in every age it is beautiful."§

Our artisans have effectually contrived to prevent in houses a noise which Homer found inseparable from the opening of magnificent doors; the sound from the locks which he compares to the roaring of a bull.‖ It would be well if ours had arrived at less perfection, provided there was no other jarring sound more odious to the mind that loves tranquillity. But it is easier to regulate a piece of mechanism than the human heart; and so, while all is perfected in the material order beneath our roofs, the wrangling, and the contradiction, and the sharp retort, in which men are so valiant where angry conference is held, continue day by day. The Pythagorean precept, never to stir fire with a sword, is not a household maxim, where harsh words are deemed the best and only medicine for the passionate. In the middle ages, Catholics had their maxims not less quaint and expressive.

"It would be wise to forget much for quietness," says the Spanish proverb. "Lingua placabilis ligno vitæ est comparabilis," says another, in the collection of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad.¶ Don Antonio de

* De Laud. Vita conjugatorum, a. 15.
† Michelet, Introd. a l'Hist. Univ.
‡ Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, c. 31.
§ De Patientia.
‖ Od. xxi. 49.
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

Guevara, instructing a gentleman of Valencia in the duties of a husband, tells him that if he wishes to reply to every word of an angry person, neither the strength of Samson nor the wisdom of Solomon would suffice to him.* The manners consequent on faith had preserved families from the war of those whom anger could soon vanquish. None under the true discipline were, "sad, in the sweet air made gladsome by the sun, carrying a foul and lazy mist within, pining in their fierce ire as if some great wrong they had sustained."† Against what the ancient poet terms the loathsome disease of an unbridled tongue the Church had made express provision, so that in ages of faith the peace of domestic life was more secured. We have before seen what was the dignity which it imparted to servants. The simplicity of Catholic manners dispensed with services that are painful and humiliating; and when essential duties were neglected, the remedy was not of a kind to disturb peace.

Preaching before the emperor Charles V., Guevara, bishop of Mondonedo, demands, "May we be angry with servants when they do not perform what we command, and when they murmur? I answer, No. We should explain their fault to them, and if they do not correct themselves, dismiss them."‡ Passionate language was to be as alien from the family as from the school.

We read in the statutes of a synod, in the year 1247, that inquiry was to be made, whether any one was addicted to anger, and if any such were found, he was to be advised to lay aside his rancor.§ In the time of Charlemagne, a penance of three years was imposed on persons who cherished anger.‖ Against impatience in the conduct of a household many excellent books were provided.¶ No thunder of words was heard in religious families, in which it was a law to speak in a soft, gentle tone.**

"Lo, when on a journey," says St. Bonaventura, teaching the shame of anger, "the intemperance of the air sometimes afflicts us, and when we escape to shelter we are glad, and think of it no more. So should we forget the detractions and injuries of men."†† Domestic life, it must be remembered, was then in harmony with the scholastic, from which, if it exists any where, a boy now returning to his parents' house will often have occasion to repeat the exclamation of the lad bred with Plato, who, when he came home, and heard his father vociferating, cried, "I never witnessed this while I was with Plato." John Francis says of his uncle, John Picus of Mirandula, "He was always placid and mild; nothing could disturb him, and no one ever saw him angry."‡‡ Such was the type of the head of the Catholic family in ages of faith, and, in one respect, that of the son might be seen in Hector, of whom Helen says, in her lamentations at his funeral, that during the twenty

* Epist. 1. † Dante, i. 7. ‡ Epist. Liv. 11

§ Statuta Eccles. Cenomanens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. vii.

‖ De Remed. Peccat. tom. vii. ¶ Drexelius, Gymnas Patient. i. 6.

** Drexelii de Univ. Vitiis Linguæ, c. 35. †† De Profectu Religios. Lib. i. 31.

‡‡ Vita ejus.

years of her residence in his father's house, she never received from him an insulting word; and that though others might revile her, he was always to her like a father, gentle and mild.* Nevertheless, what may seem incredible to many, the servant sometimes sought to have a froward master, and courted sufferings from his bad temper. When Bourdoise was a youth, he used to leave a master if he found him kind, in order to seek one stern and difficult, from whom he would be sure to meet with ill-treatment.† Probably he had difficulty in finding such. Innumerable passages of ancient books enable us to perceive what were the delicious fruits of peace in the houses of Catholics in ages of faith. Virtue and knowledge, gentleness and love—all that could make this world a scene of delight—were all combined in them. Petrarch speaks of the sweet place where he had spent his days amidst his family. Such was the home to which the scholar sighed to return, and which the pilgrim loved to behold in passing; when, being called to tell his tale, like Ulysses, he used to come after sun-set to join in the conversation, sitting near the fire.‡ Such a home was the Castle of Capranica, among the mountains of Capræ, where Petrarch was received to hospitality, which presented such a picture of peace, and sweetness, and concord, with all the elegance of the muses, while wars and hatred desolated all the country around, that he compared it to roses and lilies amidst thorns.§ "Who could believe," he says, "that Capranica was the residence of the mildest and most amiable of men? Orso, count of Anquillora, tranquil in the midst of this confusion, lives with his wife in the happiest union, gives the most obliging reception to his guests, governs his vassals with a strictness tempered with love, cultivates the muses, and seeks the society of men of learning. Agnes Colonna, his wife, is one of those women who can only be praised by a silent admiration, so much does she rise above all that can be said to her honor." For the pilgrim, it is true, there was a peaceful roof provided even in the common hostel, as old charters can attest; for in 1394, Aymon de Chissé, bishop of Grenoble, explained his motive for building in the street Chenoise a hospice to receive pilgrims and poor travellers who should pass that way, by saying, in the act of foundation, "that he wished the building might serve them for a port, in which, amidst the agitation of their bad fortune, they may taste calm, at least, for a few moments."‖ As we see in the tales of Cervantes, holy images and symbols of peace were round the hostel yard: the very inn was thus peaceful. But in the family which received the pilgrim in their villa or their castle hall he found the same repose for his heart: there he loved to sit, not to hear them tell of parentage and birth, and echo conversations dull and dry, or else "that common, false, cold, hollow talk which makes the heart deny the yes it breathes;" but, because sweet and simple, and yet subtle words would cheer the winter's night, and make him love each member of that family; and the fire would flash upon his face till the

* xxiv. 767. † Vie de Bourdoise, Liv. i. 14. ‡ Od. xvii. 570.
§ Epist. ii. 13. ‖ Notice Chron. sur les Evêques de Grenoble.

day might dawn, and make him wonder at his stay ; there no smooth good-breeding, supplemental grace, with lean performance, aped the work of love. There he found not what the poet dreads—"a duel in the form of a debate, the clash of arguments and jar of words, worse than the mortal brunt of rival swords." In social intercourse, argumentation and vehemence were deprecated as subversive of tranquillity, and of the serene, affable tone which should distinguish it.* What he wished, was true. The books that had engaged their childhood pleased them at a riper age, the man approving what had charmed the boy, and, therefore, they lived in comfort, and delight, and peace. The idle persons condemned by the apostle, who went from house to house, talkative and indulging in that curiosity which the ancient poet says is always malevolent,† formed an indefinitely small portion of society in the middle ages, when men regarded as deadly crimes detraction and the habit of looking into the vices of friends, with eagle eyes, which even the Gentiles branded.‡

"Be not inquisitive," said religion ; "what is it to you whether such a person be this or that, whether he acts or says so ? You will not have to answer for others. Commit all to God, who sees and knows all, and preserve yourself in peace, and send away the agitator to agitate as much as he wishes."

Great importance was attached to the cultivation of a simple, tranquil, and open manner ; and this language, for manner is also a language, and the most persuasive of all, as a late diplomatist observed, was sure to preserve peace in families. The brightness of domestic joy was not overshadowed, therefore, by the presence of a gloomy mourner, talking of being vexed of late with passions of some difference, conceptions only proper to himself, which give some soil, perhaps, to his behavior. The men of the ages of faith have not to tell us how they spun a shroud of talk to hide them from the sun of this familiar life, and that this seems to be but quaint mockery of all that they would believe. The sweet charms of domestic peace could rivet them to home ; their hope, besides, was not built upon the false earth's inconstancy.

William Ventura, writing in 1310, in his chronicles of Asti, inserts his own testament, and the instructions he gave his sons, to whom he says, "If you should be troubled in person or property, be patient towards all men, and do not, on that account, cause sadness to your families ; for I was in many troubles ; and by patience the Lord delivered me ; and, remember, that by many tribulations we must enter into the kingdom of God."§ The feeling ascribed to Philoctetes by Sophocles, which is so prevalent wherever the Catholic religion does not exist in all its force, leaves but few traces in the literature of the ages of faith. From hours of musing then men drew forgiveness, and not a still greater abhorrence of reconciliation. "Self-love," says one of these humble guides, "closes the eyes of the mind, and is the cause, and root, and nourishment of all evils. O

* Petrarch Epist. ix. 10. † Plautus, Stichus, i. 3. ‡ Hor. Sat. iii.

§ Chronic. Astense. 157. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xi.

Lord Jesus Christ, Sun, whence flow the rays of love, how insane is he who loves only himself."* Thus peace was with the meek and lowly of heart. Differences of character and of graces, were, indeed, in each house; but, say contemporary writers, "peace was with the two lives; the discordant life was absent from that family, being neither with Martha nor with Mary, or, if it was there for a moment, on the Lord entering it fled." "In a house in which Christ is received," says Peter of Blois, "there ought to be no murmurs of Martha complaining of Mary; yet it is pious and pleasant that it should be Martha who complains of Mary, and not Mary of Martha."† "There may be differences," says St. Augustin, "such as between Barnabas and Paul, which did not kill charity, or as when you resist yourself sometimes without hating yourself."‡ "Thus the apostles," says St. Bonaventura, "differed sometimes from each other, as did even the angels, as we remark in the Book of Daniel."§ But the spirit of the Catholic family was one of universal kindness. The epithet, my gentle son, my gentle mother, which men used on every occasion, sheds a beautiful light on the character of the age. What domestic harmony breathes in the spiritual dialogue of John Gerson, addressed to his five sisters, in which he speaks with such affection of them, and of his two brothers, and of their father and mother !‖ Never was natural affection so holy or more intense. "Our life is finished, our child is lost," is the exclamation of parents in one of our old books, arguing a more just affection than those cries of Priam, who, in grief for the death of Hector, inveighs against his other sons, calling them liars and evil children, and wishing that they had perished.¶ But religion soothed the gentle heart, and the gentleness of the dove was the type of all. Men were gentle in every thing, in disposition, manner, desires, constructions. That beauty of life, which Denis the Carthusian distinguishes in his Treatise on the Beauty of the World, was found in the Catholic family. Ambrose Leo says, that the people of Nola so love beauty and elegance in every thing, that even in choosing names for their sons and daughters they select such as are most beautiful.** Their hearts, in short, were the home of every amiable affection that makes peace. In their writings they wish to transmit the dear familiar name; in their paintings, as we may witness in the cloisters of Florence, they represent, for saints, their wives, and sons, and fathers; on their tombs they wish to perpetuate the memory of the peace that they enjoyed on earth. Thus, on that of Guido de Rochfort and his wife, the illustrious Lady Mary de Chambellan, in the abbey of Citeaux, it was said that she was a mirror of peace, and that the peace of that family was never troubled.

"Quoncques entre eulx ny eust nul desarroy
Noise, ou discorde, mais en paix, en joie

* Idiotæ Contemp. 31. † Sermo xxxv. ‡ In Ps. xxxiii. Enar.
§ Determinationes Quæstionum circa Reg. S. Franc. 20. ‖ Gersonis Opera, tom. iii.
¶ Il. xxiv. 253. ** De Nola, Lib. iii. c. 6. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Ant. It. tom. ix.

Et en amour, qui est de tout bien mon joye
Ils ont vescu ensemble tout leur temps."*

One can form an estimate of the tone of peace and innocence, which was deemed essential to domestic life in all its relations, from reading the beautiful admonitions of Ratherius of Verona, given to all members of a house, to married persons, to children, boys, youths, and old men :† and Dante, too, enables us to collect what was the interior of many families in his time, when saying that youth has for its portion obedience and gentleness, modesty and beauty ; that its ornaments are tenderness, courtesy, loyalty, temperance, and strength ; and that old age is the season for imparting what has been learned, that it is the hour when the rose opens and sheds its perfume ; that its properties are prudence, justice, kindness, and affability.‡

In ages of faith, as at present, in Catholic countries, we find families invested with an Homeric and patriarchal character, which argued the maintenance of peace. Under the paternal roof in the house of Priam the fifty sons dwelt with their wives, and the fifty daughters with their husbands.§ Similarly, in the castles of the middle ages, as in France at present, the married children remained with their parents.

" I only ask one thing," said a young French bridegroom to an Italian girl who was to be his wife, and my revered friend Father de Geramb heard the words, " it is that you respect my father and mother, as I respect them, and then I shall endeavor every day of my life, to render you happy."‖ What may seem strange to some, discord was not among even the servants of different masters, as in the house of Lear's daughter. Daughters were then bred in blessed Mary's school, of whom the church says, " When did she ever by her countenance offend her parents ? When did she dissent from her relatives ? When did she disdain the humble ? Nothing stern in her eyes, nothing harsh in her words, nothing petulant in her tone." Filial obedience, I must repeat it, was deemed a subject of historical importance. The chronicles of St. Denis praise Louis le Gros, " because he never in all his life caused the least trouble to his father."¶ Beautiful is the exhortation of Wipo to the Emperor Henry III. to induce him to be ever grateful to his pious mother, who had taken such care to have him well instructed. He says to him,

" Cum valeas alios acquirere semper amicos
Mater in hac vita non plus tibi venerit ulla."**

The respect due to the elder members of each family was maintained by the positive authority of religion, rather than by any general reasoning like that of

* Voyage de Deux Benedict. x. 203.
† Ratherii Ver. Episcop. Præloquiorum. Lib. ii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. collect. tom. ix.
‡ Ozanam, Essia sur la Phil. de Dante. 161.
§ Il. vi. ‖ Pélerinage, &c. ii 209. ¶ Ad an. 1108
** Wiponis Pang. ap. Canisii Lectiones Antiq. tom. iii.

Pythagoras.* Legislators even in a paternal way enforced it. The ancient law of Berne provided that the grandmother should have the best place at the fire-side, and that if a married man continued to reside with his mother, he should always resign to her the best place every where.† This respect was shown after death.

On All Souls' eve it was the custom to place chairs round the fire, and to leave them vacant for those who used to occupy them.‡ I have found in ancient noble French families the memory still fresh, of sons and daughters who when themselves aged, would always remain standing, till their fathers and mothers were seated. "He who wishes to lead a tranquil life," says Cardan, "must above all things have a well-constituted house."§ Religion secured this for men.

I would rather not be an emperor and an humble son, than an emperor and undutiful son. Such were the words of an emperor's son; and Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, after citing them to Henry, eldest son of Henry II., adds, "I wish you knew how sweet, how delightful a thing it is to have, and having, to venerate parents. This most sweet delight is often not appreciated until parents are lost."‖ Richard I. felt this on his death-bed when he ordered that his body should be buried in the abbey of Fonteverau at the feet of his father, as if to implore his forgiveness. Great advancement did not interrupt the sweet charities of familiar life; mark an instance:—Master Peter de Vineis to his most pious mother, her most devout son wisheth the constancy of the subjection of her children. "Returning to conscience, I recognize that not for my merits hath the divine clemency exalted poor me, and of soft clay formed me, when it granted me a fit place in the imperial court, and favor in the eyes of the prince; for God had respect to the humility of my mother, his hand-maiden, and of my poor little sister, leading hitherto a sorrowful life: because he wished by me his servant to dispel their poverty. Salubrious admonitions are kindled, therefore, dear mother, before the eyes of my mind, and thus I will conduct myself humbly as long as I live, that in all good works I may please God and all good men.¶

Filial love followed men to the cloisters. Hermannis Contractus, the monk of Reichnaw, though his chronicle is but a short chronological view of the most remarkable events from Adam to his own time, inserts at great length an account of his own mother's death. "This year," saith he, "1052, my mother Hiltrud, wife of Count Wolfrad, a pious, mild, liberal, and religious woman, made her devout and happy transit from this miserable life, in her sixty-first year. She was buried at Aleshausen, under the chapel of St. Udalric, and I placed these lines upon her tomb.

'Mater egenorum, spes auxiliumque suorum
Religione pios præ cunctis fovit amicos:

* Jamblich. de Pyth. vita, 8. Michelet, Origines du Droit, 414.
‡ Monteil. Hist. des Français, tom. viii. 380. § De Util. ex. advers. Lib. i. cap. 2
‖ Petr. Bles. Epist. xlvii. ¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. tom. ii. p. 1160.

Cunctis morigeram se dedit et placidam,
Atque manens mitis, patiens, ac nescia litis
Complacuit mundo, O utinamque Deo,
Crede panegyricis non hæc me fingere vanis,
Nec matrem verbis tollere falsidicis :
Consule rumorem quaquaversum popularem,
Dictaque de veris paucula, certus eris.' "*

The monk of the middle ages can give but one line to relate the fall of empires; he devotes a page to commemorate his mother. Fraternal love has left many traces. Thus in the cathedral of Laon, on the tomb of Reinold and Hildegard his sister, were these verses :

"In vita cari, post mortem hic quoque juncti
Hos nec mors dirimit, quos humus una tegit.
Hi duo diversas tenuerunt ordine vitas,
Vir speculativam, femina pragmaticam.
Hos igitur tibimet pariter conjungere cœlo
Non dedigneris, Christe redemptor. Amen."†

We have before seen what a part obedience from a sense of duty played in Catholic society. Belial, the Demon's name, was known to signify without a yoke, or without a master, because "as far as he can," says St. Bonaventura, "he resists Him to whom he ought to be subject."‡ One chapter of St. Bonaventura's tract on the six wings of the seraphim, is entitled, "qui sunt qui magistro non indigent. Since it is rare," he concludes, "to find such, there are but few who should live without the yoke of obedience. Therefore, they who preside over others, ought to have others over them, whom they may obey, up to the chief pontiff himself, who is the Vicar of Christ." Here then evidently was great provision for peace in the family, and in the state. Moreover, the practices of religion secured the tranquillity of the house. To represent the occupations of life at the present day, where the manners of faith have perished, the shield of Achilles would be quite sufficient. War, ambuscades, marriages, feasts, lawsuits, plunder, agriculture, the harvest and vintage, song and dancing, fill up completely the circle. In ages of faith we must recollect men had other exercises, more redolent of tranquillity. We have before remarked that the very construction of houses indicated thoughtful, and we may here add, peaceful habits. Sometimes an inscription expressly proclaimed that the family was in a deep religious sense at peace. Thus over the door of a house in the eighth century, there were these beautiful lines :

"Qui Ægyptios agni dudum de sanguine postes
Signavit, nostros signat et ipse Deus."§

In the description of the hotel of St. Paul, at Paris, in the time of King Charles

* Herm. Cont. Chronic. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. tom. iii.
† Voyage de Deux Benedict. 46.
‡ Compend. Theol. Verit. Lib. ii. 26.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

V., we read of "the great chamber of retreat," and also of "the chamber of study." In the apartment of the duke of Orleans, there was a cabinet, which was called "the retreat where Monsieur Louis de France says his Hours."* That interior life indicated by the mere plan and form of these ancient houses, whether isolated in the country or in cities, bespeaks the calm which is so remarkable in ancient writings. In those long galleries, those vaulted chambers, those turrets, those solemn chapels, those obscure passages leading to some secret room, where the winds seemed to bear sweet music when they breathed through the dim lattice, men of former times found a peace which the world without could seldom give. Here was facility for recollection, gravity, and silence. On the window of a house as old as the time of Charlemagne, were these verses inscribed :

"Ne David grabatum tentator callidus intret
Signetur Domini ista fenestra manu.
Quadrus evangelii defendat numerus omne
Corpus et interius cunctipotens animam."

Where the chapel was not part of the edifice, access to the sanctuary was always near. From the old palace of the counts of Flanders at Bruges, those princes could pass through upper halls under the same roof to the church of St. Donat, in which Charles the Good was murdered, at one side, and to the chapel of the holy blood at the other. In each house every night, God was implored to send his holy angels to dwell in it, and to keep its inhabitants in peace : and the angels being of the school of Him who loves peace, as Peter of Blois says, "being themselves heralds of peace, sons of peace, were known to require above all things peace and concord, so that St. Peter desiring the peace of the angelic society, said, 'above all things have mutual charity."‡ Of this domestic peace in ages of faith, the basis no doubt was the sanctity of marriage, on which we before dwelt, and the sacramental character with which the conjugal state was invested. The diploma granted by William, King of Sicily, to his wife Jane, daughter of Henry, King of England, begins with these words, "the conjugal bond is made venerable by the altitude of the sacrament, that it may bind more strongly among other goods of peace, the concord of human things."§ As the church says in an ancient formula, "society was constituted by that nuptial benediction which alone has not been rescinded either by the penalty of original sin or by the sentence of the deluge."‖ In these ages of retiring virtue, marriage was a yoke of love, as the church wished it to be, and as our Shakespeare says,

"A pattern of celestial peace."

The type of wedlock then was witnessed in Duke Louis Thuringia and St. Elizabeth, to whom Montalembert compares the picture which Dante gives of a celestial

* Michelet, iii. 486. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi. ‡ Pet. Bles. Sermo xxxix.
§ Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. i. 902. ‖ Id. xi.

marriage, saying, "their concord and glad looks, wonder and love, and sweet regard, gave birth to holy thoughts."* On thrones men beheld the loving unions of St. Louis and his Marguerite, of Edward I. and his Eleonora. "They who are married," says Denis the Carthusian, "should entertain for each other a fourfold love: spiritual, from a consideration of the sacramental bond; natural, from the similarity of nature, or from regard to their personal qualities, or natural gifts; social, in consideration of the pleasure of their mutual conversation; and even common or ordinary, according to the sentence of St. Thomas, who says, 'that it may be lawful within the limits prescribed by God.'"† The church could reckon so securely upon these fruits, that we find it was a constant practice in the middle ages to terminate discords by a marriage. "One of the benefits resulting from marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, "is, that it often extinguishes enmities between kings and princes, and others, appeasing troubles, and thus saving whole provinces."‡

Shakespeare's friar knew this well, and, therefore, when he first hears of Romeo's love for Juliet, anticipates a peace between their rival houses:

> "Come, young waverer, come go with me,
> In one respect I'll thy assistant be;
> For this alliance may so happy prove,
> To turn your household's rancor to pure love."

Thus Friar John, of Vicenza, ordained, for the sake of peace, a marriage between the Lady Adelaide, daughter of Lord Alberic, of Romana, and Rainald, son of the marquis of Este, which measure was received with joy and praise by the crowd, who were present when he proposed it.§ A bloody feud having divided the house of the counts of Landsberg, Pope Innocent III. prepared to terminate it by a marriage.‖ The letter of the college of cardinals to the princes of Italy, desiring them to receive with honor the Princess Clementia, the betrothed of Charles of Salerno, on her passage, begins thus: "The Apostolic See revolving thoughts of peace, and preparing quiet as far as it can for the Christian people, that they may dwell in secure tabernacles, and may rest in opulent repose, hath advisedly provided for a union by the bond of affinity between the two illustrious sons of the Church, Rodulph and Charles, Kings of the Romans and of Sicily, to the tranquillity and peace of Christianity, and the exaltation of the Catholic faith, which will be promoted by their concord and unanimity."¶ In 1312 it was decreed by the council of the citizens of Brescia, that to preserve peace between the noble families that had been so long at variance under the banners of Guelph and Ghibelline, the daughters of the former should be married to the

* Par. xi. † De Laud. Vitæ Conjugatorum, a. x. ‡ Id.
§ Gerardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii. ‖ Hurter, ii. 739.
¶ Martene, Vet. Script. Coll. ii. p. 1278.

sons of the latter, and the sons of the latter to the daughters of the former. Then the son of Bertolus de Madiis was married to the daughter of Federico de Griffis, and the daughter of the same Bertolus to Gerard de Bruxati, whose son was given to the daughter of Peter de Yseo. Many other marriages were then celebrated for the same object.* Again in 1334, in consequence of a discord which existed between the marquises of Boscho and the Malaspinas, the Lady Agnes, daughter of Lord William de Boscho, was given in marriage to Lord Frederic Malaspina.† In the year 1244, the government of Bologna, we read, made peace between many of the citizens, as between the Dalfinos and the Malatachos, the Torellis and the Andalos, the Griffonis and the same Andalos, and many others, for which purpose many marriages were made.‡

In 1258, Lord Albert of Dalfino was married to the daughter of Ecceline de Torelli, "and on this occasion," adds the historian, "the two last from being enemies were made friends." Similarly in 1260, many other marriages were made between rival and hostile houses, in order to promote peace.§ Another writer, in 1330, says, "that the inhabitants of Pavia, who, ignoble as well as noble, have all their peculiar family emblems, never contract marriages between persons of the same race, but that it is their custom always to marry into strange families, whether of equal or unequal rank, and to contract such alliance with persons of rival or hostile houses, in order to possess or preserve peace."‖ "In the time of the Emperor Conrad II., William Marchesella, of the family of the Adelards, was chief of one of the parties in Ferrara. Taurellus Salinguerra being head of the adverse. After his return from the holy land, William having no offspring, adopted as his heiress, Marchesalla, the infant daughter of his brother Adelard. Then wishing to provide lovingly for the safety and peace of the republic of Ferrara, lest it should be torn by discords and wars, he, by his testament, which I have seen, and which is deposited in my hands," says the historian, "delivered his adopted heiress, not yet seven years old, to the guardianship of Taurello, the chief of the adverse party, as the future spouse of his son."¶ Petrus Cellensis writes as follows to a cardinal: "All things that are done in the church of God, are to be adapted to the great rule left by Christ for all Catholic fathers, which declares that all the law and the prophets are included in the love of God and our neighbor; therefore, venerable father, dispensations are not unworthily granted for a greater and better recompense. We wish you to know what evils and what slaughter of men have afflicted our lands in consequence of the wars of certain noblemen, Count Vischard de Ruzeius and the Count Recensis, and Hugo de Petripont. Innumerable men have been slain or taken cap-

* Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ix. 26. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xiv.

† Chronic. Placentinum ap. id. tom. xvi.

‡ Mat. de Griffonibus Memoriale Historic. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. tom. xviii.

§ Id. ‖ Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, ap. id. c. 13. tom. xi.

¶ Chronica Parva Ferrariensis, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. viii.

tive. Religious houses have been plundered, and other evils caused. At length, by the intervention of good, and wise, and religious men, they are disposed to contract marriages amongst themselves, that, at least by those ties, they may be induced to keep peace. Therefore, let your discretion judge whether the obstacles on account of consanguinity ought not to be removed by the dispensation of the pope, for the sake of peace and putting an end to so many evils."*

Thus it seems never to have entered into the imagination of men in ages of faith, that marriage could be any thing but a source and bond of amity and peace; in fact, the influence was not confined to the immediate family. "One of the benefits of marriage," says Denis the Carthusian, "is that it extends and secures friendship between many persons, since all the relations of the young man and woman are thus brought to love one another as connections."† So in an ancient formula the church says in blessing the bride, "Floreatis rerum præsentium copiis, fructificetis decenter in filiis, gaudeatis perenniter cum amicis."‡ Don Antonio de Guevara speaks of his resolution not to repeat his visits to a house where he was received with such maigre looks, that he left it quite confused, repeating the words, "quia faciem frigoris ejus quis sustinebit?" Such were not domestic manners in his time: the Catholic wife of the ages of faith was not like the spectral lady of Aprigny, who presents to every one a frozen hand; wherever she appeared, there were the sweet fruits of peace. "It is natural," says an ancient German law, "that woman should protect whatever is pursued. A wolf even who should seek refuge near a woman, ought to be suffered to live for her love."§ Perhaps it was from this sentiment that by ancient laws the house was an asylum, sacred as a church. "If a man be pursued by an armed man to the house of another," says the law of Augsbourg, "or even to the stable, the armed man will have outraged the master of that house; and if he enter, the outrage will be more serious still." "To enable her husband to live pacifically and with delectation," says Denis the Carthusian, "is the office of a good wife; and it is a great happiness for her when she has a pacific husband: so before contracting marriage, there should be an inquiry into the disposition of both parties relative to their love of peace."‖ This harmony of families can be collected even from the old charters of foundations, which so often specify, that they are granted at the desire, or even by the order of mothers or wives. Thus at the end of a donation to the Carthusians of Chalais, we read, "the seal of Count Guigo d'Albon, who made this donation; the seal of Matilda, who ordered this donation to be made." It was this princess Matilda who persuaded her husband, the same Count Guigo d'Albon to make peace with St. Hugues, bishop of Grenoble. Thus again in the letters of foundation of the Grand Chartreuse, we read, "I, Humbert de Miribel, together with Odo and others who have jurisdiction here;" and these are Pontius and Boso, at the prayers and intervention of their mother.

* Pet. Cellens. Epis.t Lib. vi. 3. † De Laud. Vitæ Conjug. 2.
‡ Ap. Martene, tom. ii. § Michelet, Origines du Droit, 328. De Vit. Conjug. 14.

Pictures of the domestic peace resulting from love in marriage, abound in our ancient books and monuments. Witness these ancient crosses and priories, erected to mark the spot where the bodies of deceased husbands and wives rested for a moment on their way to the grave. The priory of the holy cross between the castles of Eu and Tréport, was founded by Robert, count of Eu, in memory of the body of Beatrix, his wife, having been laid down there while the bearers rested. The chronicles of St. Denis abound with examples which occur incidentally, and the simplicity with which they describe the grief of the survivor is often affecting. "Elle ne vesqui que un pou de temps, ne n'ot oncques puis joie en son cuer."* Such is the style of these passages, of which we saw instances in a former book. We observed also before, that love was proclaimed in affectionate terms upon tombs. What testimonies to conjugal affection do we find on sepulchres in the beautiful regions of Italy, which are so many proofs of the domestic peace that had reigned in these delicious villas! On one at Sorentum, John Orificius thus speaks:

"Heu mihi quas lacrimas conjux gemitusque dolenti
Linquis! quos reliquos ad mea damna dies?
At tantum lacrimæ tristes gemitusque valebunt
Dum felix tecum condar in hoc tumulo."†

Charles Schott styles the tomb of his wife in the church of St. Gudule, at Brussels, "a monument of love and sorrow." After stating her premature death, he adds: "Vel homo non sit, vel æternum doleret! Ego certe divulsam à me animam non prius lugere desinam, quam mihi cum ea perennare detur in cœlis cum qua ne annare quidem datum in terris." On the tomb of the very illustrious princess Lady Mary of Burgundy, wife of Maximilian, afterwards king of the Romans, we read, "Four years and nine months did she live with her husband graciously and in great love." In the convent of the Franciscans was the tomb of Catherine Nogaret de la Valette, on which was an affecting epitaph, stating that her husband, Henry, Duc de Joyeuse, through grief at the loss of such a sweet and holy wife, renounced the world and devoted himself to God in the order of Capuchins, in which he died, as frère Ange, in 1608, in his forty-first year. Collections of letters bear the same testimony. Truly affecting is that of Einhard, to Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, relating the death of his wife;‡ and that of Don Antonio Guevara, bishop of Mondonedo, in the time of Charles V., to console the commander Angulo on the death of his wife Aldonca, whom he advises to go to communion, to visit hospitals, moderate his expressions of grief, and set more value on being a true Catholic than a disconsolate widower. What affection was envinced by Henrietta de Savoy, when the idea of losing her husband, the duke of Mayenne, caused her a sickness which terminated in death before his obsequies were celebrated, so that they were both carried together to the same vault in the

* Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, ap. Græv. It. Ant. It. ix. † Ad. an 1270.
‡ Lupi Epist. iii.

cathedral of Soissons. Vittoria Colonna, daughter of Fabricio, on the death of her husband Ferdinand d'Avalos, marquis of Pescaro, renounced the world in the full lustre of her beauty, and consecrated her talents to celebrate his memory. The chivalrous romances, as pictures of real manners, might supply abundant testimony. What conjugal love in that of Gilion de Trasignyes, where the messenger is afraid to announce abruptly to the wife the return of her husband from the holy land, "lest she should die through joy as others have died."

It will not be wandering from our path if we select a narrative from an ancient history that may show in what manner these marriages, which were so productive of delicious peace, were originally contrived. Let us, then, hear a chronicle relative to Henry I., king of Germany. The duke Otho, deliberating with his wife, the venerable matron Hathawic, respecting the choice of a wife for their youngest son Henry, who was beloved by every one for his virtues, it was reported to them that in the convent of Herivord there was a maiden by name Matilda, noble, virtuous, and fair. She was descended from Witikind, and her parents were Count Thietric and Reinbilda, a Dane. This count's mother being the abbess of Herivord, had received the girl to be educated in sacred readings and manual work. Duke Otho, therefore, having heard of her merit, sent his son Henry to the convent, along with Count Thietmar his master, in order that he should judge for himself. So he chose a number of handsome youths to accompany his son, in order that he might proceed more boldly. On approaching the convent they pitched tents in a field, while a few of them, as if for the sake of prayer, entered the church. There they saw the maiden, sitting within, holding a psalter in her hand, most decorously and reverentially clad. Henry, greatly moved at the sight of so beautiful a person, forbade his companions to mention for what purpose they had come. Then returning to the tents where the other youths were waiting for them, Henry put on his princely attire, and so came back to the church with all his train. On asking permission to speak with the abbess, she came forth and received them all graciously. After the first salutations she led young Henry and the count into her chamber, and there conversed with them. The youth taking courage, began to inquire respecting the maiden's age, and lastly requested leave to see her; who, being called by the abbess, appeared before them with all her chaste virginal modesty, and a serene lovely countenance, in which were sweetly laid the colors of the lily and the rose. Without further delay the object of the visit was then declared; whereupon, the abbess cast down her eyes and remained silent for a long time, as if in doubt. But when the youth persevered more and more in his petition, that venerable lady said, "It is not in our power to give her to any one without the counsel and permission of her parents, of whose intentions we are ignorant. This only we can say, that from our part, by the will of God, there shall be no obstacle to your nuptials; for we have long heard of the excellence of your house, and this visit confirms what we have heard."

The consent was soon obtained, and Henry led her into Saxony to Walohusen, where the marriage was solemnized with great joy. Who can describe the peace, the purity, and the Christian graces of this happy house. The history which records its virtue was written, by desire of the emperor St. Henry. "O blessed pair," exclaims the author, "who were united not alone in flesh, but in one mind and one spirit, prompt to every good work. The one love of Christ was in them the same love for their neighbor—the same compassion for their subjects. Persisting thus in great prosperity and peace, they desired by the inspiration of God Almighty to construct monasteries, thus diffusing peace around them. If she heard that any one was oppressed or imprisoned for crime, or by popular trial condemned to death, she had no cheerfulness until she had appeased the king's anger; and if she ever was dismissed unheard, the king on retiring would tremble at the words, 'With what judgment you judge, you shall be judged.' When on his death-bed at Memleben, he said to her, 'O faithful and beloved one, we thank Christ that you survive us. How often have you mitigated our anger, recalled us from iniquity to justice, and admonished us to show compassion on the oppressed!' When she saw that he was dead, she prostrated herself in prayer, and then rising up, asked if any one were still fasting who could say mass for the soul of her Lord. Adeldac, a priest, answered, 'Lady, we have not yet tasted any thing.' The venerable queen then took off two bracelets, which in general could never be removed without the aid of a smith; but on this occasion they seemed to yield to a touch; and giving them to him, she said, 'Take this gold and say mass of the dead.' As long as she lived afterwards she used to show great favor to this priest, never losing the remembrance that it was he who first sung mass for the soul of King Henry; and for the same reason she finally prevailed on her son, the Emperor Otho I., to make him a bishop. In presence of the dead body she then exhorted her two sons, Otho and Henry, to union and peace, reminding them of what is said in the gospel respecting the exaltation of the humble and the humiliation of the proud. As a widow she was a model of all sanctity. At night, when all were asleep, she used to rise and enter the church; and before the cock crew she used to finish the whole psalter, if the nights were not short. No one ever saw her idle from good works. She was mild and pacific, quick to compassion, judging no one, condemning no one, rendering to no one evil, but enduring all things with untroubled love. She used to minister to the cock who announced day, to call up the faithful to serve Christ; nor did she forget the singing birds, for whom she used to scatter crumbs under the trees in the name of their Creator. She used to take always candles and food in her chariot, to distribute to oratories and to the poor; and in winter great fires used to be lighted and kept up all night, both in houses and in the open air, that every wanderer might have warmth at need, and a light to direct his steps."*

* Vita Mathildis Reginæ, ap. Leibnitz Script. Brunsvic. Illust. tom. 1.

Such details are seldom given by modern historians of the middle ages. A few satirical verses of licentious troubadours must set at rest, according to their report, the question respecting the peace of domestic life. Their pages are to record, not these sweet and lovely scenes within the paternal dwelling, but, as Homer says, "slaughter and blood, and the groans of men." Yet when such was the pacific order within innumerable families we should be justified already in concluding that in those days flourished justice and abundance of peace. In fact, the Church, in her office of the dead, seems to look back at this tranquillity of domestic life, as if dying men might grieve to leave it "non aspiciam hominem ultra, et habitatorem quietis."

CHAPTER VI.

BUT not within the family alone was peace in these ages found. The whole community, more or less, felt the influence; for wherever the Catholic Church has children, there must be peace, since love is the spirit which distinguishes them: and, therefore, St. Thomas says, that the mere view of the order of Christian states causes harmony and sweetness of mind.* "All who are made new in Christ," says St. Augustin, "sing what the psalmist terms a new song; and this is the song of peace, this is the song of charity. No one who separates himself from the alliance of the saints sings this new song: for he follows the old animosity, not the new charity, which is peace, the spiritual bond, the edifice of living stones. He bears the thorns of dissension, not the fruits of love: therefore, his song is old: he has grown old amongst his enemies: he has not been renewed by grace."† The virtues which are exclusively found in the garden of the Church, or which only as forced exotics can be seen elsewhere, are all the delicious graces which St. Paul terms the fruits of the Spirit, charity, joy, peace, patience, benignity, goodness, longanimity, meekness, faith, modesty; opposed to enmities and contentions, emulations, angers, quarrels, dissentious sects, envyings, homicides: and if any one should think that this contradicts what we before advanced respecting the noble and magnanimous character of Catholic morality, let him be told that, according to the judgment of the middle ages "the desire of human glory," to use the words of St. Thomas, "takes away greatness of

* De Reg. Princ. iv. 3. † In Ps. cxlix. En.

mind;"* that "meekness belongs to heroic virtue;"† and peace to youth, because the Catholic religion in some degree leads to a restoration of the state of innocence; and, therefore, the chronicles of St. Denis, alluding to St. Louis, say, "The king, because he was young and gentle, granted them peace and love."‡

Bede, when summing up the praises of St. Aidan, places in the van "studium pacis." This pacific character is eminently remarkable in the care evinced by men in ages of faith to avoid litigation, to shun disputes of every kind, and to repress ambitious desires; and hence a peaceful tone pervaded Catholic society, which denoted the multitude of the sons of God on earth. Muratori remarks, that the occasions for litigation in the middle ages were much fewer than in subsequent times. The poverty of those ages in respect to laws had, at least, this advantage, that disputes were settled in much shorter time, and with less difficulty. Then were there men instructed and skilled to decide between justice and injustice, though they wanted the multiplex legal science of modern times.§ Ambrosius Antpertus, the master and archchancellor, as some say, of Charlemagne, shows the injustice of having doubtful intricate laws, by which the poor may be at the mercy of those who administer law.‖ The evils which he exposes explain the ancient rituals, in which we find "Missa contra judices male agentes,"¶ and the law which required that a priest should stand on the judge's right hand during the trial.** The chronicles of St. Denis, relating the death of Maurilien, bishop of Cahors, in 580, say that he passed to the joys of paradise; for, besides giving immense alms, he used to sustain and defend the poor of his church, and of his diocese, against the false judgments of felon judges.†† "In 802, the pious and merciful Emperor Charles," says an ancient writer, "remembering the poor who were in his empire, and who could not have justice, was unwilling to send his vassals of the palace to administer it to the poor for gifts; but he chose archbishops and bishops, and abbots, with dukes and counts, who had no need to receive gifts from the innocent: and he sent them to administer justice to the Church, and to widows and orphans, and to the poor and to all the people."‡‡

"Let the count of the palace know," says the capitulary, "that he is appointed to administer justice to the poor and to the less powerful." So ill seconded was he by his dukes, counts, and viscounts, that he was obliged to choose for his imperial commissioners almost exclusively bishops and abbots. He had so little confidence in laical magistrates, that he authorized in all cases an appeal from their tribunal to that of the bishop. Under Louis, his son, it was decreed, that in the malls and placits, first of all widows, orphans, and the poor should be heard; and if they should be unable to conduct their causes, that patrons should be given to assist them. The ancient parliaments were judicial; and a modern

* De Regim. Princip. l. 7. † Cardan de Utilitate ex advers. cap. ii. c. 14.
‡ Ad. an. 1227. § Antiq. It. xxxi. ‖ Lib. de Cupiditate, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.
¶ Mur. Antiq. It. Liv. ** Michelet, Origines du Droit. †† Liv. iii. c. 12.
‡‡ Annales veteres Francorum, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

author, speaking of our own, says that nothing but a complete examination of the petitions presented to the king in parliament can convey any idea of the facility with which the humblest suitor obtained, at least, a hearing, or the promise of a remedy. "These legislators," he adds, "knew that the speedy redress of minor complaints was the great secret by which the tranquillity of the commonwealth is sustained."* Wise and careful provisions were made that judges and lawyers should be men fearing God, and that if any base persons should be detected in such offices they might be expelled from them.† "The profession of an advocate," says St. Thomas of Canterbury, "ought to be venerable and glorious. What he has received gratis he should impart gratis; advocating the cause of orphans and widows for the utility of the republic, and for the liberty of the Church, requiring nothing, receiving what is voluntarily offered, delivering the weak from the hand of the strong, and the poor man from those that would devour him. A moderate salary would profit him more than to receive the treasures of avarice; for a little is better to a just man than the wealth of sinners. If he expended freely and without remuneration the talent of science committed to him by God, the hand of the Lord is not shortened, that He cannot reward him according to or beyond his merits."‡ "Are you a lawyer," asks Ratherius of Verona, "and do you wish to be a Christian? Remember that your name is advocate, and be a faithful minister of so good a thing: for of our Lord it is said, that we have an advocate with the Father. Dissemble, therefore, that other name which denotes your relation to causes, for the sake of preserving love."§ That these views of the profession were often realized is attested even by tombs, as by that of Guillaume de Charnac, in the convent of St. Victor at Paris, who died in 1348, and on which was read: "O quam sollicite quam sancte, quamque perite jus studuit!" At Rome there was an institution for the purpose of legally defending the rights of the poor. The pious Giron, who spent his life in defending the poor, may be considered its founder. Rome then beheld a society of men of the first talent, ready at a moment to succor the indigent, and to plead their cause without remuneration. Nevertheless, to litigation under these most favorable auspices the ancient Catholic society evinced a repugnance that at the present day seems hardly credible. The Church had a horror of prosecutions. Hence the canon of the synod of Eliberina says, "If any of the faithful should become an informer and by his information any one should be proscribed or slain, be it decreed that he receive not the communion at his death." This was in consequence, no doubt, of a peculiar position: but still the pacific shrunk from such acts. They agreed ill with the love of their hearts. The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur decreed that all clerks and monks were to refrain from engaging in any litigation or dispute in secular courts, excepting in defence of orphans or widows;‖ and in the pastoral instructions of a bishop before the year

* Palgrave. † Murat. Antiq. It. x. ‡ S. Thom. Epist. xxvi.
§ Præloquiorum ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ‖ Heumann de Re Diplon. ii. 340

500, we read this sentence, 'Let no one amongst you be litigious."* The general chapter of Citeaux, in 1188, prohibited the decretals of Gratian from being exposed in the common library, because it might be an occasion of fall to indiscreet spirits: and at the end of the next century, Cardinal le Moine forbade the students of his college at Paris to frequent the schools of decretals. "What is this I pray?" asks St. Bernard. "From morning till evening to litigate or hear litigations? Day after day uttereth strifes; night after night indicates malice. It is of a stupid heart not to feel its own continual vexation. 'Vexatio dat intellectum auditui,' says some one. It is true."†

Peter of Blois writes to a clerk of the king of England, and thus dissuades him from studying law: "The wisdom from above we know is pacific. It asks the things which are of peace, and with those who hate peace teaches us to be pacific. But the science of the law is hardly ever pacific; because it is always litigating concerning contracts, or injuries, or causes, or actions, or obligations, judgments, sentences, or appeals, or other things which fan the ashes of litigation when they would otherwise have been extinguished. The science and eloquence of lawyers are all exercised on sins, and filled with quarrels. What spirit, I pray you, now dominates in the profession of law? The spirit of elation, of cupidity, of boasting, of error and giddiness, and of a pride languishing over questions and battles of words, leading men into the guilt of those who are double-tongued, seeking filthy lucre."‡ "A certain lawyer," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "lately died in Saxony, and after death they could find no tongue in his mouth. Deservedly he lost it dying who had so often sold it while alive. When master Henry and Falco of Treves died, many noblemen of the country died about the same time; and I remember a certain canon saying, 'these nobles did well to take their lawyers with them; for they will stand in great need of them.'"§ This only expressed facetiously an opinion which is gravely announced in our time by a shrewd observer, who says that lawyers "are warm in tongue and cold in heart; headstrong, punctilious, stringers of words together for ever, and enemies of logic, for logic goes straight to its end, and their business is not to arrive at it soon." Now no disposition could be more foreign from the Catholic character than this; so that where it was found, historians speak of it as a singularity. Thus Petrus Cyrnæus remarks, that the Corsicans are so skilled in pleading, that when a cause of litigation comes on you would say they were all good lawyers: though he observes elsewhere, that when a controversy arises, even in time of war, they choose any good man for arbiter, and obey his sentence no less than if it were the verdict of a legal magistrate.‖

The danger of being involved in litigation is adduced by St. Nilus as a reason for renouncing the world and flying to the desert. "One man," he says, "re-

* Commonit. cujusque Episc. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.

† De Consideratione, Lib. i. 3. ‡ Epist. cxl. § Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. xi. c. 46.

‖ De Rebus Corsicis, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.

moves the boundary of your vineyard to enlarge his own; another sends his flock upon your lands; another turns aside the water from your garden. He who resists such things must be constantly in the forum, and exchange the contemplation of eternal things for the cunning watchfulness of a negociator."* Gerbert, afterwards Pope Sylvester, prefers even war to legal proceedings; for, writing to the abbot and brethren of Aurillac, respecting his flight from Rheims, where his election to that see had excited enemies against him, he says, "being unable to take revenge by force, they seek to do so by law, and the strife of arms is more tolerable than the discussion of laws. 'Estque tolerabilior armorum colluctatio quam legum disceptatio.'"† In fact, the very suspension of law proceedings on all days consecrated by religion showed an analogy with the truce of God. "It is to be announced to the minister of the republic," says a capitulary, "that from the fourth feria before the beginning of Lent, till after the octave of Easter, and from the fourth feria before our Lord's nativity till after the consecrated days, and similarly on all other days of fasting, no one must presume to hold any mall or public placit, unless it be 'De concordia et pacificatione discordantium.' There must be no litigations or contentions, lest we should incur the censure of the Lord, 'Ecce ad lites et contentiones jojunatis.'"‡ One of the charges adduced against Louis-le-Débonnaire, to warrant his deposition, was that he had held a general placit in holy week, when the paschal sacraments are celebrated by all Christians; in consequence of which, he prevented the priests of the Lord from fulfilling their offices, and grievously oppressed the poor.§

"Let no priest ever excite any litigation against his neighbor," says a capitulary of Charlemagne, which was a lesson to all the pacific.‖ "Let no one," says a decree of the synod of Worms, in 1700, "receive without deep examination the accusation in evidence of a man who frequently litigates, and who is quick to accuse."¶ The Proverbs of Wipo, addressed to Henry, son of the emperor Conrad, are full of denunciations against lawsuits. "Viri mites renuunt lites;" and again, "It is better to hear the poor than the sound of litigation."** At Nismes, on the tomb of Bernard de Trilia, the thirteenth provincial prior of the Dominicans, it was commemorated that he had never had a contention with any one:

"Constans ac humilis, cum nemine nulla sibi lis."††

The avoidance of lawsuits was the motive assigned by Gregory X., writing to the king of Sicily, for studying law. "That knowledge," he says, "is given

* S. Nili Monach. De Philosophia Christiana, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.
† Epist. 35.
‡ Capitula Rodulfi, c. 31. ap. Baluze, Miscell. ii.
§ Ap. id
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
** Ap. id. tom. ix.
†† Bern. Guidionis libell. de magist. ord. Prædic. ap. id. vi

in order that litigious strife may be removed, and justice secured." From the same motive testaments were to be cautiously made. Ives de Nesle, count of Soissons, preparing to join the crusade, wrote his will, which began thus: "It is a laudable foresight in a man to establish by testament what he wishes to bequeath to each, in order that after his death peace may be preserved between relatives."* Among the rules for the third order of St. Francis, which embraced so many persons living in the world, we read that they are to use every effort to avoid lawsuits, and that if prosecuted by others, they are to endeavor to terminate the strife by a compromise.† In short, not alone those who were in philosophy, as in Plato's time, but multitudes of the faithful engaged in the various active pursuits of the world, were so averse to such proceedings that, as he says, they did not even know the way either to the place of popular assembly or to the courts of law, or to any other common hall, and they neither saw nor heard any laws or written decrees.‡ What is even more surprising, some cities, like Genoa, for many ages had no hall for the administration of law.§ Of the resolution, prevalent in ages of faith, to suffer loss rather than institute legal proceedings, we had occasion to speak on a former occasion, citing the example of King Robert, that pattern of meekness, in which the peace of God seemed visible. In the castle of Estampes, one of the many poor whom he fed at his table, while lying at his feet, cut from his knee a gold ornament and fled. The queen, on rising from table, broke forth into bitter complaints. "Who has dishonored you?" "No one," replied the king; "doubtless this gold being more necessary to whoever took it than to me, by God's help will profit him." Another robber cutting off the fringe of his mantle, Robert said, "Go, content with what you have taken; some one else will want the rest." Peter the Venerable, writing to Odo, abbot of the greater monastery of Tours, expressed the general conviction: "This I say, that it is safer for every Christian, and especially for a monk, to possess somewhat less in peace than somewhat more with contention." In the next book we shall see how the monks acted in this respect: here we can only observe how this advice was followed by persons in the world. The letters of Philip, count, and of Matilda, countess of Boulogne, in 1228, are to this effect: "Whereas the bishop of Meaux says that he has a right to be received into our castle of St. Martin whenever any contention arises between him and the count of Champagne; and whereas we are ignorant of that right: nevertheless, having held a council of good men, we grant for the good of peace, that as often as any contentions shall arise between the said bishop and count, if the bishop should not dare to remain at Meaux, then whether we be in the kingdom of France or out of that kingdom, he may be received by us, or by whoever may be our heirs, into our fortress of St. Martin, and have twenty of his family, with their horses, in our town of St.

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 14. † La Règle du Tiers Ord. ‡ Theatætus
§ Stellæ Annales Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

Martin."* Thus he in fact yielded his right for the sake of peace. Nerius Capponi, the Florentine, used to make peace between citizens who were at law, exhorting secretly each side not to proceed further through avarice.† Claude le Pelletier, comptroller general and minister of state, after quitting the court in 1697, retired to his magnificent castle of Villeneuve le Roy, where he maintained a discipline almost monastic. Here was a good library and a gallery of paintings, with inscriptions upon every part of the walls, and even upon the seats in the park. In order to maintain peace in the families of his people, he made a juris-consult come from Paris, who was to refrain them from going to law with each other, and to bring to an end all differences.‡

The truth is, that from the manners of the first Christians must be traced this repugnance of the middle ages to law, and also this feeling of its inutility; for even the heathens had remarked that if the judges were wise men, and the assembly honest, there would be but little scope for eloquence, or need of that art in contending, which consists in giving a contrary inflection to that which had been bent from the right line.§ St. Chrysostom had thus spoken. "It is best to prevent private litigation by benign compromise, that you may direct a friend to that which litigation proposes to effect: but as for accusations before the public judges, I do not say abandon them for a compromise, but never begin them." The clergy in their pastoral capacity prevented much litigation. Thus Bourdoise is described as reconciling enemies and terminating lawsuits.‖ Among the instructions to visitors proposed by the council of Rheims in 1408, we read that on coming to each parish, they are to inquire whether there are any mortal enmities between persons belonging to it, whether there are any lawsuits pending, and if so, whether the parties can summarily be brought to concord.¶ Bishops generally were chosen as arbiters. Thus we read that St. Hugues, bishop of Grenoble, acting in that capacity, used to terminate quarrels and appease enmities by the charm of his evangelical language. The church, however, not content with individual exertions, had organized in most places, as in the archbishopric of Arles, an ecclesiastical office, or court of arbiters, for the purpose of pacifying disputes and preventing lawsuits;** whose decisions generally began like that of Arnold, archbishop of Cologne, in 1140, "because it is written Beati pacifici."†† Besides which there were councils of Prud'hommes, who arbitrated in innumerable cases, and arranged them amicably, to whom were given most wise and just rules in the time of St. Louis. Thus in 1364, Louis de Châtillon regulated a great difference with the abbey of St. Crépin at Soissons, respecting seigneurial rights; and this he did amicably, instead of going to law, which would have caused, he said, much pain to the monks.‡‡

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1224.
† Nerii Capp. Vita ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xx
‡ Lebeuf, Hist. du Diocése de Paris, xii. 132.
§ Quinct. ii. 17.
‖ Vie de Bourd. Liv. ii. 159
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
** Gilles du Port, Hist. de l'Eglise d'Arles.
†† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 114.
‡‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 225.

In 1350, the chapter of Soissons chose for arbiter of their differences, the Bishop William Bertrand, though he was one of the interested parties in the cause. He then called before him twenty citizens, and gave sentence according to their testimony on oath.* Similarly, a man named Notger, having a dispute concerning a piece of ground with Grimald, abbot of St. Gall, they arranged it amicably. Their chart begins thus: "For the love of Almighty God, it must be an object of great study to every one to provide for and consolidate every where peace and concord, that quarrels and discords may be avoided and abolished." Innumerable other cases occur of the same kind, as may be witnessed in the ancient formulas De Transactionibus et Pactionibus:"† and in the great collection by Martene, there are a multitude of cases of arbitration by the Prud'hommes in the thirteenth century, as that between the Seigneur William de Calviniaco and the burghers of château Rodulph, in 1229, and that between the King St. Louis, and those of Rupelle in 1231.‡ The terms of the document attesting the pacification of disputes by the ecclesiastical mediation are remarkable. Thus we read, "I, Henry, by the grace of God, bishop of Liege, mindful, nay solicitous, of our Lord's example, who coming into the world brought peace to men of good will, and who departing from it, left peace to his disciples, make known to all present and future, how the contention is terminated between the church of St. Peter at Liege, and the monastery of St. Hubert."§ Again, in 1090, we read, "Be it known to all the faithful in Christ, how I, Hermann III., though a sinner, archbishop of Cologne, desiring with desire, as far as is possible to human fragility, to eradicate from the whole extent of our see, the litigations of controversies, have decreed to put an end to the hateful discord which has so long abominably existed between the canons of St. Mary and the monks of Brunwylre."‖ Again, in 1100, "As the state of the whole church is consolidated by the pacific bonds of charity, and as the unity of holy society is dissipated by the pestiferous scandal of dissensions, whoever wishes to come to the visions of eternal peace, must of necessity study with all diligence to keep peace, if possible, with all men, and especially with brethren: therefore, we the canons of the church of Mans, loving peace and concord, and desiring to take away from the midst of us the evil of discord, have put an end in this manner to the dispute which has existed between us and the monks of St. Vincent."¶ When a reconciliation was effected at Rome between Henry, archbishop elect of Treves, Theoderic, abbot of St. Matthew in that city, and Alexander, a monk of that monastery, the document which they signed attesting it, began thus, "The pacific hearts of those persons, enlightened by truth, and by the doctrine of Christ teaching peace to men, though sometimes liable to be torn by the enemy of the human race sowing the seeds of hatred, yet, in process of time, are sure to expel the darkness of that chief malignity, and to recover peace which puts an end to all strife." These

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 225. † Ap. Goldast Alemannicar. Antiquitatum, ii. p. 1.
‡ Vet. Script. i. § Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. ‖ Id. ¶ Id. 579.

men, on their return to Germany, were ever after much greater friends than they had been before enemies.*

No less remarkable are the bulls of popes confirming these decisions; that of Innocent IV., in 1245, confirming the arbitrement of a certain bishop, begins thus, "From a storm, the sailor endeavors to guide his ship into port as soon as possible, lest it should be left tempest-tost to the collision of the waves; so does a right judge endeavor to conduct a cause from the angry flood of litigation into the port of amicable adjustment, lest under the continual uproar of judicial proceedings by the confusion of trials, it should be inextricably involved; for it is an injury to men when any delay occurs in the dicisions of controversies."† To the same effect writes Innocent III. "We have decreed, for the sake of peace, to put an end to this strife by composition, rather than decide it by a judicial sentence." Adrian IV. speaks thus to Henry, bishop of Beauvais: "A controversy having arisen between you and the religious brethren of St. Lucian, they have decreed rather to submit to your will than to dispute judicially with your nobility, hoping that this humility will be more useful than any litigious disputations; therefore, by apostolic letter we admonish your charity, and exhort you in the Lord, so to conduct yourself towards them in this affair of the tenths and fishing-rights, that you may seem to love and cherish the religious brethren for the love of Christ."‡ Alexander III. writes to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, saying, "that he should restrain Guido, bishop of Chalons, from receiving a cause against a widow, which had been decided, thereby unjustly and against reason, fatiguing her by expensive litigation; you must, therefore, admonish and compel him to cease from molesting her."§ The litigations of kings and great men were often not otherwise settled. Pope Eugene III. writes to Hugo, bishop of Auxerre, and to Bernard, abbot of Clairvaux, in these terms: "Hearing that some degree of rancor has arisen between Louis, king of the Francs, and Henry, bishop of Beauvais, we were filled with vehement grief. In order to eradicate from their hearts every root of bitterness, we wish, as we cannot attend to it ourselves, that your charity would undertake it. Therefore, we beseech you to repair to the king's presence, and having summoned to it our brother, the bishop, that you would examine the cause of complaint between them accurately—absque strepitu, and having removed all ground of offence, that you would reconcile them to each other in concord and fraternal charity, so that the royal dignity may be preserved in all its integrity, and the episcopal honor not injured, and that fraternal charity between them may be re-established with perpetual love."‖

In short, one has only to open the letters of any of the Roman pontiffs to different bishops, to see proof how well men in the middle ages attended to the counsel of St. Paul, to bring their difference before the saints. "The wisdom of the

* Gesta Træverens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. † Ap. id. i. p. 1183.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 651. § Ap. id. ii. 869. ‖ Ap. id. ii. 633.

apostolic see," says Innocent VI., alluding to certain statutes of Benedict XII., "diligently providing for quiet and peace, willingly explains and elucidates whatever things may seem dubious, lest they should give rise to litigation and strife."* Innumerable cases of property and inheritance were thus submitted to Alexander III. to all of which he lent a patient ear; replying on some occasions, as he says himself, the more speedily on account of the poverty of the plaintiff.† "It is our office," he says, "to make peace between the discordant, and to procure justice for every one."‡ The desire of all parties which led to such arrangements, was eminently pacific. They deprecated the noise of legal discussion: so we read in the old chronicle of Parma, "those on both sides promised to satisfy each other, sine strepitu judicis."§ On the termination of differences by what was termed "the judgments of God," Muratori treats at length.‖ The purgation by oath was always sanctioned and approved by the Church, as was also purgation by the Eucharist, of which so memorable an example was seen when Adrian II. received it, in 869, from King Lothaire and his nobles, who were so soon after struck, as it was believed, by divine vengeance.

With respect to the other modes of discovering hidden truth that came under this class, pious but rash, the church did not invent them, and the Roman pontiffs always reprobated them. They were called vulgar because invented by the people. Such was the judgment of cold water, the rite of which is given in an antiphonarium of the year 1150, in the library of the chapter of Milan: in another the names of Leo III., Charlemagne, and blessed Eugene, are erroneously proposed as an authority. It is an error, however, to suppose that death was to ensue to the party by this judgment. That of hot water required that the hand only should be immersed. The judgment of the cross was by the two parties standing before the altar with arms extended in form of a cross, while the passion was read from St. Matthew; and whoever held them longest without trembling was deemed innocent. A modern historian remarks the grandeur of the idea that the guilty man would be the first to tremble, and hence observes that these judgments are, after all, one of the glories of the middle ages. "They show," he adds, "what was deemed the force of conscience and of remorse, a power which it must be admitted can no longer be found." The fact too was, he believes, that subsequent examination generally proved the justice of the decision. No trace of the judgment of passing through fire is found in the west, before the year 1000; but in the east it had been used in the Arian controversy. At length, by the efforts of the Holy See, these judgments were wholly abolished. The judgment of the cross was the first to be suppressed, because the people were told by Louis-le-Débonnaire that it was irreverent to our Lord's passion: for he prohibited it, "ne Christi passio, quæ glorificata est, cujuslibet temeritate contemtui habeatur."¶ The judgment at

* Ap. Baluze, Miscell. iv. † Ap. id. ii. 693. ‡ Ap. id. ii. 699.
§ Chronic. Parm. ap. Muratori Rer. It. Script. ix. ‖ Dissert. xxxviii.
¶ Antiq. It. xxxviii.

open variance with peace by single combat, is traced from the pagans. Livy relates instances of its use in Spain, but the Longobards were the first to adopt it in Christendom; and Gundobadus, king of the Burgundians, an Arian heretic, was the first to make it legal, in which he was opposed by St. Avitus, who exclaimed against such a barbarous and impious custom. The Goths were averse to it, as were also for a long time the Visigoths in Spain. Luitprand, king of the Longobards, declared that he acted only through necessity when he permitted it. Being unable to extirpate the custom, Louis-le-Débonnaire on one occasion recorded, at first refused, but afterwards, through the same necessity, granted permission for a combat: but before the duel, he used all his efforts to reconcile the parties, and promised to pardon the guilty on his avowal. However, the cases were but very few in which the ancient laws permitted such combats to take place. Continually did holy men inveigh against the usage."*

Agobard wrote to Louis-le-Débonnaire, to persuade him to abolish the Burgundian law. "How is this?" he says, "that the testimony of a Christian, of a dear brother in Christ, cannot be received in courts on account of the law of a certain Gundobad, who was an heretic and enemy of the Catholic faith? Hence, it happens, that not alone the strong, but even the weak and aged are challenged to combat, and that for the vilest things, whence follow execrable battles, unjust homicides, cruel and perverse judgments, not without loss of faith, hope, and piety, while they think God is present. This is a wicked error and a confused order, that for such perversities the Scriptures of truth should be despised, and Christian peace destroyed, and such an unworthy notion of the good God conceived, as if he could favor the rapacious and oppose the miserable. The doctrine of Christ is that we should give up our cloak and suffer fraud, rather than contend; but these men say, fight and you are sure of victory. Then the two parties go forth audaciously to fight for things which they ought to love much less than each other. When was the truth of religion determined by such combats! The truth was on the side of those who were slain. If in this life the innocent were always conquerors, Pharaoh would not have killed Josiah, but Josiah would have killed Pharaoh. Herod would not have killed John, but John would have killed Herod. Nor would that holy city Jerusalem, in times of grace, filled with innumerable multitudes of monks and clerks, and other faithful, have been subdued by the Sarassins. Nor would Rome have been conquered by Goths, pagans, and heretics. We do not say this as denying that the providence of God sometimes absolves the innocent and punishes the wicked, but as showing that God has no where ordained that this should be so, excepting in the last judgment, and, moreover, on the ground that such combats are contrary to Christian simplicity and piety, and to the evangelical doctrine, and that it should be far from a Christian mind to seek to escape the adversities of this world by conflicts, and to gain its joys

* Antiq. It. xxxix.

by battles ; since on the contrary, in the celebration of mass, we frequently beseech God to grant us for his love to despise the prosperous things of this world, and to fear not its adversities. The Christian mind must be fixed on future, not on present things, for events in the present life are subject to a hidden dispensation, as the Holy Scripture testifies : the faithful mind must not suppose that Almighty God wishes to reveal the secret things of men by hot water, or hot iron, much less by cruel battles : it is allowed, indeed, to judge between brethren that contentions may be appeased, but the utility of judges consists in the discussion of causes, and in the subtlety of investigations, as when Solomon decided between the two women ; but when this law of the heretical Gundobad prevails, it is not allowed to finish causes by legal discussion, or the testimony of witnesses, but the judges must decide by battle, which no sacred authority, no reason sanctions."* Again, elsewhere, he says, " Woe to Babylon, that great city, for the day and hour of its judgment cometh. But if the judgment of Babylon be thus a thing to come at some future day, why do its citizens suppose that God judges so frequently ? This sentence proves that his judgments are hidden and impenetrable : therefore, we conclude, that it is a foolish and proud presumption to suppose that the divine judgments can be clearly manifested by battles."† Such were the pacific grounds on which the judicial combat continued to be condemned in all subsequent works, till its abolition, as may be seen in L'Arbre des Batailles and many others.

But it was not alone to litigation that the men of the middle ages were averse ; to disputation in any form that was not the result of charity, they evinced an insurmountable repugnance ; and this was another cause why society amidst all its disorders, ever retained an eminently pacific tone. In the first place their religion forbade them to be disputable. " Noli contendere verbis," said the unerring text, adding " ad nihil enim utile est," which had been verified in all ages, as when the Bonzes of Japan approved, and the multitude seemed to decide in favor of the disputations in public of St. Francis Xavier, which, nevertheless, led to no conversions. Petrarch cites the saying of Varro, " nimium altercando veritas amittitur,"‡ which agreed well with the views of men whose lives were to show forth the rule " non in contentione et emulatione." " While there is battle in words," says St. Hilary, of Poitiers, " while there is question of novelties, while there is occasion from ambiguities, while there is quarrel concerning authors, while there is contest in studies, while there is difficulty in consent, while each one begins to be odious to the other, no one is near to Christ, for this is to wander before the uncertain winds of doctrines, to be filled with perturbations while we teach, or with errors while we are taught."§ " I wonder," says St. Bernard, " how your religious ears can endure to hear these disputations and battles of words, which profit more to the subversion than to the discovery of truth."‖ But you shine in an argument : you cause truth to triumph ? " It is better to burn than to shine,"

* Ad Ludovic. Imp. Epist. † Id. de Pace. ‡ Epist. i. 6. § Lib. ii. ad Constantium, 5.
‖ De Consideratione, i. 10.

replies Peter of Blois. "Lucifer shone and fell; Seraphim burned and stood; because charity never faileth."* Moreover, "I wish," he says, "that no man who has not an exercised understanding, would ever dispute with a heretic or a Jew. Justinian, the most Christian Emperor, decreed, by general sanction, that no man should dispute on the Trinity or the Catholic faith."† It is rash to speak on things ineffable, to think on things that surpass thought.‡ "On such matters," says Fulbert of Chartres, "I would rather be silent than define any thing unworthily by a rash disputation; for the heavenly attitude of the mystery cannot clearly be exposed by a corruptible tongue."§ "Let all inquiry on such matters cease," says Peter of Blois; "close the well lest the ox or the ass should fall into it."‖ Disputation was not needed by men whose minds were secure in the confidence of possessing truth, and who enjoyed that peace of intelligence to which the prophet alludes when saying, "sedebit populus meus in pulchritudine pacis, in tabernaculis fiduciæ, in requie opulentiæ."

In Greece, we are told that philosophy would have never been in such honor, if it had not flourished by means of the contentions and dissensions of learned men.¶ So it is according to St. Athanasius, with the wisdom of the heretics, "who are," he says, "lovers of eternal disputations."** "Of each of whom," as Cicero says of Epicurus, "it is characteristic that he should audaciously defend his decrees, as of so noble a lover of wisdom:"†† but so far were Catholics from cherishing this kind of spirit, that they believed it their highest privilege to be delivered from the strife of tongues. "Amidst such contradictions of philosophers," says Wibald, abbot of Corby, "whom should we have followed, if He had not come who saith 'Ego sum via, veritas, et vita?' Now a rustic and illiterate man can acutely discover and profoundly judge, and copiously develop truth. As for these sophistical disputes, they should be left to amuse those who argue thus: Mouse is a syllable, but a syllable does not eat cheese: therefore, a mouse does not eat cheese. Let us study rather what belongs to justice and piety, to frugality and modesty, following our great contemporary Bernard of Clairvaux, whose eloquent voice can awaken sleepers, or to say more truly, the dead."‡‡ On all occasions they deprecate contention. "Saving the Catholic faith," says Ratherius of Verona, in his book of instructions, "our office in general is to avoid the ditch. 'Malimus alienis sermonibus humiliter cedere quam pertinaciter contentionibus deservire.'"§§ "I cut short this discourse," says St. Bernard, "because a few words in peace are more useful than many with scandal. I wish I may have written these few things without giving scandal."‖‖ Peter of Blois thinks it would be better to keep within his breast the little book on Christian friendship which he has composed, and in order to prevent the discussion of critics to say of it,

* Serm. xxxix. † Id. contra Perfidiam Judæor. ‡ Id. Sermo xxvi. § Epist. i.
‖ Epist. cxli. ¶ Cicero, Tuscul ii. 2. ** Cont. Arian. ii. 7. †† De Finibus, ii.
‡‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. §§ Præloquiorum Lib. iv. ap. Martene, Vet. Script.
‖‖ Apolog. ad Guillel. 13.

"secretum meum mihi, secretum meum mihi."* It was sufficient for Catholics to know with St. Augustin, that against reason, no one sober, against the Scriptures no Christian, and against the church no one who is pacific, ever holds an opinion. "It is needless," says Peter of Blois, "to protect discussion. You have Moses and the Prophets; you have doctors and pastors sent to the ministry of the faith. Who hears these, hears Christ. You have an abbreviated word, if gracious brevity delight you, have charity, and do what you will."† "Ask," he says, "for understanding with David, according to the word of God, not beyond or short of, our contrary, but according to it, which alone brings peace." Pray that his good Spirit may sound within your heart without sound, and without the noise of words, that it may speak all truth. By following these precepts men were soon led to feel, with St. Bernard, that it was "the highest kind of victory to yield to the Divine Majesty, and that not to resist the authority of the Church was the highest honor and glory."‡

The pacific tone of the scholastic debates has struck the attention of some modern authors. Grotius praises the modesty of the schoolmen in contending with reasons, and not with reproaches and the disgusting scurrility of an impotent mind, according to the custom of his own age.§ In fact, wholly unknown to the ages of faith, were the literary quarrels which disgraced the fifteenth century, when Filelfo, Niccoli, Poggio, Guarino, and Valla displayed their heathen erudition in furious and ignoble discussions. No less foreign to them were the angry polemics which heresy has brought into vogue. St. Thomas of Aquin, in his disputations, always proposed his opinion with meekness and sweetness, with an unspeakable moderation, without any show of presumption, and without the least offence to any one; but carried himself as a man who regarded, not gaining the victory, but merely endeavored to make known the truth. In what a spirit of peace did the general assembly of the clergy of France, in 1680, endeavor to recall the Protestant ministers !|| The voice of the Holy See was always rather that of entreaty and admonition than of command. It is curious to trace the connection between this style and that Catholicity of mind which makes the humble men who speak victories, for those who showed a disputation to cavil at the supreme authority have in all ages been remarkable for the violence of their tone. Agobard, for instance, is severe and harsh in his criticism, and deprived of all patience on account of some most innocent lines in the Antiphonarium of Lyons :¶ and, clearly, the violence of the illustrious men, Gerson and Paschal, was not unconnected with their frequent cavils at the Holy See. Men who do not go the whole way, unreservedly, with truth find themselves on a declivity; and to the point where they stop they feel obliged to cling with nails and feet, and to push with vehemence against all who would make them descend still lower.

* De Amicitia Christ. Prolog. † Serm. lxv. ‡ St. Bernard, Epist. clxxxv.
§ De Jure Belli, &c. Prolegom. || Procès Verbal. Monteil. Hist. des Français, viii. 228.
¶ Opera, 391.

We hear of the disputes of the schoolmen; and it is true they disputed, for, as St. Augustin says, "there are points on which the learned and the best defenders of Catholic rule may differ from each other without compromise of faith."* "As sons of peace, they could by no reason be induced to desert unity; but that would not have been sufficient," as St. Bernard says, "unless they had defended it with all their strength."† As Dionysius the Carthusian says, "nothing is so necessary to the servants of God as to love and keep the peace of the Church, and to endeavor to recall to its unity all who dissent from it."‡ But their disputations were holy, and pacific, and calm as the eternal reason. The school was not that stormy scene of discord and trouble described by Plato, where, as he says, many wings of souls are broken, *Πολλαὶ δὲ πολλὰ πτερὰ θραύονται.*§ The maxim there followed was that of St. Augustin and St. Thomas, "Diligite homines, interficite errores." It was proved possible there to know something without noisy altercations. Not clamor, but meditation, made its disciples learned; and truth, in silence, had charms enough for them. A certain Christian dignity reigned there. There were no disputes with these strange logicians, who lay down a principle and shrink from its consequences; light minds, which fly after an image, and which turn round themselves like the leaf at the mercy of every wind. Trusting in God, men understood truth, and, being faithful, they acquiesced in his love. And after all, what were their disputes? John Picus of Mirandula says, that there are many places in which the Scotists and Thomists are thought to differ from each other, where, on the contrary, he maintains that they are agreed.¶ The fact is, that the agreements of the holy fathers and the schoolmen, through the long series of Christian ages, constitute one of the most striking miraculous proofs of the divinity of our religion. What an astonishing conformity exists between them all! Open the works of St. Augustin and St. Thomas. What do you find in the one which is not in the other? The same truths, the same proofs, same objections, same answers, same consequences, drawn from the same principles; equally zealous for the glory of God, and for the sacred deposit of sound doctrine, they always appear animated by the same spirit, enlightened and sustained by the same grace. Nor was it alone from the school that the contentious spirit was banished. In social intercourse it was, comparatively with earlier and later times, unknown. We read, indeed, of a young physician of Cyprus being very familiar with Charles V. of France, because he could speak good Latin, and was very argumentative; but the latter qualification was certainly not much in request. The pertness of an Anaxagoras, who said that snow is black, and the mania for argumentation, which impelled the ancient critics to dispute about the quantity of a letter in the word quiesco,** indicated a temper very different from that of the lovers of peace, as we find expressed in the monuments of the middle

* Lib. i. c. 2. cont. Julian. † St. Bern. Epist. cxxv. ‡ De Pace interna. § Phædrus.
‖ Joan. Pic. Mir. Apolog. ¶ Touron Vie de St. Thom. 405. ** Aul. Gel. vi. 15.

ages. Manners, as we before remarked, were then characterized by that sweet gaiety and serenity which the least warmth of discussion would wound. According to what is related of the Abbé Barthélemy, men had even the air of reminding others of that which they taught them, instead of resembling those who ask questions, as if for the pleasure of contradicting those who answer them.

Innumerable persons in the world, from being associated in the third order of St. Francis, were guided in conversation by the rule of the Minors, "In via sive in domibus non litigent neque contendant verbis, seu alio quovis modo." The great and learned Jannotius Manetti of Florence, who used to begin every day before light by hearing mass in the Church of the Holy Spirit, when a young man used frequently to dispute among the learned who frequented the booksellers' stalls, or in the public square of Florence. He spoke Latin as if it were his mother-tongue. One day he had a long and sharp discussion on philosophy with Leonardus Aretinus, secretary of the Florentine people, in which he spoke with such force and applause that Leonardus felt wounded, and proceeded to use language towards him of great severity, but Jannotius replied so benignly that the other became ashamed of his own rudeness. After the discussion, when the crowd had dispersed, Leonardus continued to reflect on what he had said to Jannotius. On the next morning, laying aside respect for his own dignity, he went to visit him. When Jannotius saw him coming to his house he was astonished that a man of such authority and fame should visit him so much his junior, who ought, on the contrary, to repair to his house: but Leonardus, without replying, desired that he would walk aside with him, as he wished to speak with him in private. So they walked together to the banks of the Arno, and then Leonardus, stopping, and turning to him, said, "Yesterday evening I spoke to you with violence and disdain; but I have been punished for it, having passed the whole night without sleep in consequence, and I could not rest till I besought you to forgive me." Jannotius then declared that there was no cause. "I received your words," he said, "without being disturbed, as coming from one whom I loved and venerated. The concern I feel is on seeing you forget your dignity to come to the house of a private man, which, before this day, you have never been seen to do."*

In general, the men of the middle ages were not afflicted with what the ancients termed the disease of speaking; which rendered persons not, indeed, eloquent, but, as Epicharmes said, incapable of silence. Trithemius deemed it useful to write a book entitled, *γλωττευφορίαν*, that is, teaching fertility of tongue;† a trouble which, if he had written in our times, he might have spared himself. "The noisiest streams are the shallowest," says Hare, alluding to intelligences. Abstinence from words as well as from flesh was even recommended by the Church during her penitential seasons, as in the matin-hymn for the first Sunday of Lent:

* Naldo Naldi vit. Jannotii Manetti, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xx.

† Trithemii Nepiachus ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi, tom. ii.

"Utamur ego parcius
Verbis, cibis, et potibus."

And generally, with men of the ancient discipline, the tone of conversation would be enough to make the moderns suppose that the hour was always day's decline; for travellers remark that about sunset talkative men the most fond of disputation, become no longer offensive, and even almost lapse into silence. Of a truth the pacific faithful seem like weary men when confronted with the eternal revivers of often-refuted errors; and hence, perhaps, the remark of a learned Frenchman, that the Catholics had a good cause and defended it ill, whereas the heretics had a bad cause and defended it well. The former knew the inutility of such means of defending truth, and the certain injury which would result from them to peace.

The repression of ambitious desires has been presented so frequently in the course of this history, that we cannot be expected to cite further evidence on that head, though it is essential to bear in mind the consequences which must have resulted from it to society, whenever we meditate on the peace which reigned in ages of faith. Here the moderns themselves raise their hands in admiration of the spirit of Catholic times. "We merit pity at the present day," says one of them. "The human condition, it is true, was never more equal, but the desires of man have advanced far beyond his progress. Never was ambition more impatient and more prevalent. Never were so many hearts a prey to such a thirst for all good and all pleasures; proud pleasures and gross pleasures; thirst of material prosperity, and of intellectual variety; every thing appears possible, and enviable, and attainable, to all. The world has never seen such a conflict of phantasies, of pretensions, of exigencies; has never heard such a sound of voices rising together to claim as their right what they desire; and it is not towards God that these voices rise. Ambition is, at the same time, extended and lowered. The popular instructors of our age are not the religious preceptors that formerly taught the people. And can we wonder at the deep agitation and at the immense disgust which disturb nations and individuals, states and souls? As for me, I wonder that the disgust is not greater, the agitation more violent, the explosion more sudden."* Thoughtful men may well be struck at the contrast presented by the society around them to that of all European states in ages of faith. Thanks to the holy offices of the Church, by constant assistance at her sacred mysteries, men had then generally received, according to her prayers, that ineffable gift by means of which, mitigating earthly desires, they learned to love celestial things.† They had remarked with St. Chrysostom, that the importance attached by our Lord to humility and to baptism was the same; and that he expressed it by the same words. With hearts inclined to the divine testimonies, and not to avarice, one main root

* Guizot. † Secret for third Sunday after Easter.

of dissension was cut off. Men acted from the conviction of what Alcuin quaintly expressed in writing to the monks of St. Vedas: that it was better to have God in their hearts than money in their purses.* What the ancient philosopher vainly sought for was then realized. "Invenitur quid sit quod natura spectet extremum in bonis, quod in malis ultimum; quo referenda sint officia, quæ degendæ ætatis ratio deligenda."† Hence, that scientific appreciation of the folly of ambition and of the glory which men can bestow. "Sufficiebat mihi paupertas mea," says Peter of Blois; "sufficiebat mihi præesse tantum corpori meo, ut non regnaret in me peccatum."‡

Ambition, that mother of hypocrisy, which plays such an immense part later, was unmasked. Not for an instant could it impose on the penetrating mind of the humble sons of peace, who with a glance detected its stupidity. "So unless you be a legate, Rome cannot have a pope!" was all the reply that Gerard of Angouleme could draw from St. Bernard.§ "If a bishop should say, 'I do not wish to be under an archbishop,' or an abbot, 'I do not wish to obey a bishop:' this," said he, "is not from heaven, unless you should have heard an angel saying, 'I do not wish to be under archangels.'"‖ How impressive were the contrary examples which abound in old history! In 1151, on the death of the Abbot Meinher, of Monte Sereno, Arnold was elected to succeed him, a man every way fit, and who gave great hopes of future utility; but the Marquis Conrad, the great benefactor of that house, wished the election to fall on Eckehard, who was also a man of laudable fame; for with ardor desiring the spiritual welfare of Monte Sereno, he thought it most important to choose a man from the church of Hall, where holy discipline flourished. Arnold learning his intentions, and considering that more injury would accrue to the monastery from offending the marquis than utility from himself, though exhorted by the brethren who had chosen him to persevere, after some deliberation, presenting himself as abbot elect before the archbishop of Magdeburg according to custom, he declared, in presence of the marquis, who was at his side, that he felt himself incompetent, and that, therefore, he relinquished the appointment. Thus Eckehard was elected and confirmed; but the said Arnold afterwards presiding over Luppoldisberge, governed that house strenuously, and to the great increase of religion.¶ Charlemagne, moved by the piety of fallen majesty in Desiderius, entered his prison, fell at his feet, begging forgiveness, and even asked him to take part in the administration; but that king replied, "Was it, then, without the nod of Almighty God, who transfers and changes empires, that our kingdom was transferred to you? Rule the empire committed to you, then, prudently: govern the people in peace; and for me it is sufficient to serve henceforth the Supernal King."** How admirable, again, was the scene at Mayence on the election of Lothaire, duke of Saxony,

* Alcuini Op. i. 49. † Tuscul. v. ‡ Epist. cii. § S. Bern. Epist. cxxvi.
‖ De Considerat. iii. 4. ¶ Chronic. Montis Serenis, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.
** Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, iv. 95. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv.

to the imperial crown, when, what the old writers term, "the holy humility of illiterate laics gave so fine a lesson to ecclesiastics to desire not the honors of this world!"* The same spirit descended through all ranks, so that at Modena, in 1307, after electing several men to the supreme authority under the title of captain, every one declined it, in consequence of which Modena remained that year without any chief to preside.† Ambitious joys found hearts too much otherwise occupied to admit them; for the desire of St. Columban was often realized. His advice was this:

"Sint tibi divitiæ divinæ dogmata legis
Omnia quæ dociles scripserunt ante magistri,
Vel quæ doctiloqui cecinerunt carmina vates;
Has cape divitias: semper contemne caducas."‡

It was in these ages, we must remember, that such multitudes were devoted to the innocent and holy occupations of the peaceful muse; *τῆς ἀπολέμου Μούσης*, as Plato terms it, honoring God and the friends of God with choral songs. It was then that thrice each day every tongue repeated an angel's words; it was then that every one, from the rustic to the king, was taught and conjured to imitate the good, to tolerate the evil, and to love all.§

Behold the children of the Church flourished thus as the peaceful lily before God; and if there was any interruption to their tranquillity, it only arose from the fact that all were not found faithful. For, as Theodorus says, after hearing Socrates discourse divinely on the true life of happy men, certainly if the Church could persuade all men of what she said, as she convinced her own disciples, there would be more peace and fewer evils among men than at present.‖ We have before seen what a new character both cities and the scenes of rural life assumed in ages of faith. The Angel of the School shows that a wise government ought not to favor the inordinate growth of cities, because, he says, a state is more pacific of which the people are less congregated within walls, as the close assemblage of multitudes gives occasion to strife and sedition, and, therefore, there should be limits to the commercial spirit.¶ The Catholic religion, however, as we have seen, was prolific in the foundation of cities; but what we have here to remark is the pacific character which belonged to them. St. Thomas desires that the tranquillity arising from the aspect of the country should not be excluded from them. Therefore, in the choice of a site, he says, that beauty and delectation must be consulted. "There ought to be," he says, "if possible, groves and streams, and a near view of mountains to refresh the sight."** In a former book we remarked, on visiting a city of the middle ages, how peaceful were the impressions. Perhaps I was then deemed fanciful; yet hear how those observations are confirmed

* Narrat. de Electione Loth. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

† Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‡ S. Columb. Epist. in qua detestatur avaritiam, ap. Canis. Lect. Ant. i.

§ S. August. de Catechis. rudibus. ‖ Theætetus. ¶ De Regim. Princip. ii. 3. ** Id. ii. 4.

by the testimony of a modern traveller, who thus describes an evening in Antwerp: "Not a sound disturbed my meditations. Now and then, indeed, one or two women in long cloaks or mantles glided by at a distance; but their dress was so shroud-like, and their whole appearance so ghastly, that I should have been afraid to accost them. No village amongst the Alps, or hermitage upon Mount Lebanon, is less disturbed. You may pass your days in this great city, without being the least conscious of its sixty thousand inhabitants, unless you visit the churches. There, indeed, are to be heard devout whispers; and sometimes, to be sure, the ponderous bells strike, and such a peal of chimes succeed as shake the whole edifice: but walk about, as I do, in the twilight of summer, and be assured your ears will be free from all molestation. You can have no idea how delighted I was with this contrast to the tumult and uproar of London."

Another describes the peaceful silence of Bruges, and of his having only heard in the streets a harp from a high casement accompanying a voice of thrilling power—a measure fitting sooth for some gay throng, though it fell from a grim turret. The author of the rhythmic description of Verona, written in the eighth century, after giving a view of its former state, its forum, and its citadel, adds: "Behold the city of evil men, who knew not the law of God; but when Christ had come and suffered, and the Gentiles hastened to believe, then happy Verona was protected by most holy guardians, who defended it from the worst enemy; and then followed in long order those pontiffs, martyrs, and confessors, with whose holy bodies it is so gloriously enriched."* Michael Savonarola, describing Padua in 1440, says that by the visible things which it contains the mind may be inflamed to a love of things invisible. Of the churches he speaks, first to show that eternal are to be preferred to temporal things; and he observes that the numerous porticoes in the city dispose minds for peaceful contemplation and the study of wisdom. This city, he adds, possesses objects which delight the sight, and which conduce to promote the Christian religion; and then he speaks of its monasteries, far removed from all noise and interruption, where religious men devote themselves, in the sweetness of profound tranquillity, to divine contemplation.† Angels of peace were painted over the gates of cites, as at Soissons,‡ as if to proclaim that they were places of refuge for unhappy men; and, in fact, after Toulouse had declared that she would defend all who fled to her, cities became asylums for serfs who sought protection. The feudal tyrants, enemies of peace, whom we shall presently speak of, seldom turned their reins to enter these narrow streets, between these solid habitations, from which men whom they had plundered or oppressed might look down upon them. Of the peaceful solemnities which took place within their walls we cannot omit mention; for assuredly they contributed to impart to them this pacific character. Such were those religious cavalcades, as at Malines, of angels and

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. coll. tom. ii. p. 10.

† Comment. Savonarolæ de laudibus Patavii, Lib. i. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. tom. xxiv.

‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii.

saints representing the litany of the blessed Virgin, and proclaiming by inscriptions that peace should flourish in their days; such those processions of the pardons of St. Medard at Soissons, in which used to walk as many as three hundred pilgrims of St. James, and the Sire de Salency, as descendant from St. Medard;* and such, too, those at Marseilles, which still can be remembered by the aged, when enemies followed by their friends, used to visit their enemies, and embrace them; and then return to receive in their houses these same enemies, in order to confirm their peace in the name of heaven.† Notwithstanding all that feudal tyrants inflicted on the innocent, there can be no doubt but that the country, too, more or less participated in the pacific influence. To one who travels on foot, there is a great difference between coming every six miles to a cross by the wayside, as in Catholic lands, and finding the stocks, as in England, which stand at the entrance of every village. In the middle ages no one ever passed a cross without uncovering and kneeling, as Van Dyck is said to have always done; and such moments could not have been wholly without effect upon the tempests of the heart. St. Bonaventura says, it is the cross which causes peace within it.

"Cor in cruce, crux in corde,
Absque sorde sit cum corde,
Quæ tranquillum faciat."

It was something to see attested every where that He who wore the platted thorns with bleeding brow rules universal nature; when it was so well known that whatever proud towers might be near, happy was he who walked with him—who saw his image in the fairest scenes, and felt that by his presence they were fairer still. In another respect, also, the highways in the middle ages were associated with an object of supreme peace. St. Thomas, in his treatise on the duties of government, showing the importance of establishing roads, assigns for reason, that there may be less difficulty in visiting churches, and in obtaining by indulgence peace with heaven.‡ The dusty-footed had no longer to fear as disdainful the epithet conipodes, used once to express contempt; for beautiful were the feet that trod the paths of peace. And in Catholic countries still, when you sit beside a public way thick-strewn with summer dust, and see a great stream of people hurrying on, you may feel almost assured that it is some friend of God who draws them to gain indulgence where his relics lie.

In the middle ages religion endeavored to extend in the most uncultivated minds the peace which flows from the observation of nature and the labors of a country life. A little book was composed in 1379, by order of King Charles V. of France, for the use of rustics, entitled, The True Government of Shepherds, of which the object is, to raise the rural life, to give the peasant an interest in it, and to console him after the calamities of war.

"Evidently," says a French historian, "it is the king himself who has turned

* Hist. de Soissons, ii. 370. † Monteil, Hist. des Francais viii. 355. ‡ Lib. ii. 12.

shepherd, and who, under this habit, comes to assist the people, discoursing sweetly to them, encouraging and instructing them. When the lambs are shorn, he says, the shepherd ought to be without sin, and he should have been to confession first. They ought to be treated lovingly : the profession is very honorable and of great authority ; Abel having been the first shepherd, and the patriarchs and kings of old having tended their flocks in person. The matter of the book belongs to philosophy. It treats on the philosophy of shepherds."*

In general, the obstacles to tranquillity being removed, a habit of calm and deep observation was fostered in the country. If you will hear the men of the middle ages sweetly talk of the natural world around them, you will be told that the good of peace is visibly written, as if by the finger of God, in all creatures. Dionysius the Carthusian, following Augustin, remarks that God has not left the entrails of the smallest and meanest animal, not the wing of a bird, or the blossom of an herb, or the leaf of a tree, without its propriety of parts, or without, as it were, a certain peace.† The universe breathes peace.

> "————How quiet is the night !
> The trees are motionless ; the cloudless blue
> Sleeps in the firmament ; the thoughtful moon,
> With her attendant train of circling stars,
> Seems to forget her journey through the heavens,
> To gaze upon the beauties of the scene."

Between the visible frame of things and the human soul possessing the Catholic faith, there was a mysterious bond and an ineffable interchange of sympathies. These mysteries of intelligence were not left unexplored in the middle ages ; but, above all, their effects were profoundly experienced. Hence, an entire world of peace was at the disposal of men, however, in other regards, wretched.

O God, Creator of heaven and earth ! was their exclamation often ; what peace in all thy works where sin cannot enter ! what peace in the vast sea spread out in calm majesty ; what peace in the sweet aspect of the meadows and the valleys, surrounded by the blue mountains ; what peace in the holy silence of the woods, and in the banks of the clear winding streamlet ! Only in the human heart, where passions reign, is there foul confusion. But experience proved that the mere aspect of this loveliness could allay, like music, both those passions and that tempest of disordered thoughts. If hearts had not loved peace, it is true, all this eloquence of natural objects would have been powerless, or rather, it would have only enhanced the trouble of the mind diseased. But there never was a time when such multitudes, embracing men of intellectual greatness and of mighty energy, loved and yearned for peace : never were there, consequently, so many true lovers of nature, whose life, exempt from public haunt, found tongues in trees books in the running brooks, sermons in stones, and good in every thing. Such

*Le Vray Régime et Gouvernement. des Bergers. et Bergéres. Composé par le Rustique, Jehan de Brie, c. 3, 4, 8. † Dionys. Cart. de Venustate Mundi.

philosophers, for religion made them truly lovers of wisdom, lived in the manner that Petrarch describes, speaking of his own residence on the Sorgia, "tranquil and at rest, content with little, wanting nothing, expecting nothing, counting it sufficient recreation to wander on the mountains, or near the fountains, or in the woods, or in the fields, loving the sequestered spots, rejoicing in the dewy caves, or the rocks lined with moss, or the flowery meadows, day and night consorting with the muses, having many books, with only rustic furniture and most frugal fare, being, as it were, present with the intelligences of the greatest men, and endeavoring all the while, like the apostle, to forget the past, and to stretch forward to the things which are before; in regard to imperfections, indeed, men, but in peace of mind, as they sometimes unconsciously avow, almost angels."* Their ears could catch amidst the country echoings sweet, to murmur through the heaven-breathing groves, and melodize with man's blest nature there. What peace did St. Elizabeth imbibe from the country when she used to pray and meditate in the fields near Marbourg, or near the fountain in the grove at the foot of the mountain near the village of Schroeck, during a walk of two leagues occupied in contemplation.†

An old Spanish writer says that men pass whole nights keeping vigils and going about the streets of Cordova, in order to enjoy the sweet odors from the fragrant groves surrounding the city, with which the whole air is perfumed.‡ Only war, that channels fields and bruises flowerets with the armed hoofs of hostile paces, could interrupt the free wild walks of those to whom each rock or grove was an attraction. In peace every delightful spot was accessible to all; there were no horrible threatenings placarded upon trees to awe the wanderer in quest of peace; tyrants, who placed around their dwellings contrivances of destruction, were, on that account alone, deemed infamous. The true pacific would never declare war upon the stranger or the poor for visiting, uninvited, their retreats: so that in Catholic lands the lovely scenes of nature are enjoyed by every one in common: and this I found "in realms where the air we breathe is love, which on the winds or on the waves doth move, harmonizing this earth with what we feel above."

At the beautiful villa of Nazareth, in the land of the Pausalippo, was this inscription.

"Nazareos quicunque Lares et amœna vireta,
Frondosumque jugum, cultaque rura vides,
Sis felix; vanosque animo seclude pavores;
Non Deus hic curva falce timendus adest,
Non custos rigidus, non durus vinitor ullus;
Non latrat ad querulas ore lycisca fores;

* Petrarch. Epist. vii. 4. xi. 14.
† Montalembert. Hist de St. Eliz. 259.
‡ Ambros. Moral. de Corduba.

Sat largus dominus, sat illi dextra benigna,
Hujus herum quivis se putet esse loci."*

In those happy regions I saw verified what poets fancifully sing of transformation. Thou knowest, reader, if thou be one of us, that in lands where error is wide spread, hard-featured men, with proud, angry looks, or cold, staid gait, or false and hollow smiles, or the dull sneer of self-loved ignorance, or such other foul masks with which ill thoughts hide that fair being who was new-born to a blessed childhood, make us sick at heart to pass them. Well, it is true, they have infected rich men nearly all the world over with their malady, but still where the Holy Church commands the people the number of their imitators is small. A few of these ugly human shapes and visages pass here and there isolated and harmless, but those, amongst whom they pass, seem mild and lovely forms, breathing love and peace. All things seemed to have put their evil nature off; peace makes a new earth, and, as Florus says, the heavens themselves seem more than usually serene and mild; for when I looked, behold men walked one with the other, even as spirits do; none fawned, none trampled; hate, disdain, or fear, self-love or self-contempt on human brows were seen no more inscribed. None frowned, none trembled, none with eager fear gazed on another's eye of cold command; none wrought his lips in truth-entangling lines, which smiled the lie his tongue disdained to speak; none, with firm sneer, trod out in his own heart the sparks of love and hope till there remained those bitter ashes, a soul self-consumed, and the wretch crept a vampire among men, infesting all with his own hideous ill. The loathsome mask had fallen—the man remained, new-created, equal, just, gentle, innocent, and wise. The old historians of Italy delight to dwell upon the sweet pacific character of different states, and the harmony which reigned in them between rich and poor. Thus, of the citizens of Bergamo in 707, we read, "The people have seldom any contests with each other; for golden peace binds them in a stable manner. The poor man and the rich have peace.

'Pace manet pauper, pacis quoque fœdere dives.'"†

"Deservedly," says another writer in 1330, "is there a double P in the name of this city, Papia, in which the lips are joined together on account of justice and peace, which met and kissed each other here when the Longobards made those most just laws which it has preserved in peace to this day. It is Papia, as if parens pietatis, amica Pacis—peaceful city, in which from the time of blessed Syrus, its apostle, no prophet, excepting Boëthius, who died here an exile for justice and truth, has ever suffered martyrdom for the name of Christ."‡ "The inhab-

* Antiq. et Hist. Campaniæ, c. 5. ap. Græv. Thes. Antiq. Ital. ix.
† Magistri Moysis Carmen de Laudibus Bergomi, ap. Muratori Rer Ital. Script. v.
‡ Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, ap. id. Rer. Ital. Script xi.

itants of Nola," says Ambrose Leo, "have never nourished seditions or civil feuds. In our time such madness is unknown them."* To that love of beauty and elegance in every thing which made the people of that state exclude all deformity from their city, and allow of no trades but such as are wholesome and necessary to innocent life, this writer ascribes, not only the extraordinary number of handsome persons found amongst them, but also their placid, amiable, and benevolent manners; all, he says, mutually love one another. There are no factions, no homicides, no treasons, no robberies.† Without doubt, the immense development and influence of the fine arts, inspired as they were by the exquisite sentiment of truth and beauty, tended to calm the angry passions of men, and to promote the delicious enjoyment of social peace.

The gentleness and meekness which Ughelli ascribes to the whole people of Amalphi justify, as he says, the remark of Leander Albertus, that the whole country of that people is a paradise. When hearts were in charity, and minds enabled to discern the source from which all loveliness proceeds, each generation could in peace enjoy all that was intrinsically good and beautiful, without cutting off any part or excluding any class from partaking of the Divine bounty. There was much more to unite than to separate high and low, and in affection, and a common fund of sympathies to equalize all conditions; for what all prized most was the Creator's workmanship, and not the tinsel with which riches that belong, but to a few could overlay it.

"Even independent of spiritual considerations," says Dionysius, the Carthusian, "no one should be proud of his nobility; for it often happens that the child of a rustic is handsomer, and more ingenious, and more noble in mind than the son of a king."‡ And as these were the goods most coveted where Catholic manners reigned, it was easier to satisfy the desires of men without disturbing the order and the calm of life. But all this tranquillity could be traced to that possession of truth within the city of God, where angels and ministers of grace were commissioned to dispense peace. Yes! that annual benediction of the Common Father from the Portal of St. Peter, urbi et orbi, descended on the city and on the world. Those who received it in person returned consoled and strengthened; but all men were blessed. "Urbi et orbi." When those paternal arms were raised to God, the spirit of peace was sent to all the nations, and to all the races of the earth. So life glided smoothly, more golden than that feebled age renowned in ancient song: not vexed with care or stained with guilt, beneficent, approved of God and man, and peaceful in its end.

* De Nola, Lib. i. c. 15. ap Græv. Thesaur, Antiq. Ital. ix. † Id. iii. c. 6.
‡ Direct Vitæ, Nobilium, 6.

CHAPTER VII.

WE have seen the influence of pacific hearts upon the family, and upon social intercourse in general: let us now consider it in reference to the state and to the political order; for which purpose, as we proceeded with reference to the meek, we must examine what were the general views and principles in regard to peace, on which all government rested in ages of faith, and then attend to the fruits which resulted, notwithstanding the disorders of which we have already traced the sad existence. What is the origin of rule? The answer of the ages of faith may be collected from these words of King Manfred to the count of the Pisans.—"Freedom of will and action having been granted to our human nature, and the disobedience of our first parents having entailed a proneness to transgress on all their posterity, the Creator, in his mercy, ordained princes and ministers of justice upon earth, in order that we should secure to all our subjects peace and justice, and that all may live under our dominion in pacific tranquillity."*

"If truth were to possess the minds of all men," says Agobard, "the things of the world would remain in peace even without rulers and princes; but now, because he who did not stand in truth never ceases to act against truth, and while men sleep to sow the weeds of scandals, finding hearts sufficiently apt, which receive and nourish his seeds, the evil of commotion abounds, which disturbs the quiet of peace and unity: therefore, there is need of solicitous and watchful men, to act against the corrupters of truth and peace."† Such was the doctrine of the schools. "As we find in material things," says Denis the Carthusian, "that nature gives to each that by which it may attain to its perfection, so the people are committed to a chief, by means of whose labors and solicitude they may arrive at their perfection and intended end; namely, felicity and peace."‡ "The good of the multitude," says St. Thomas, "seems to be order and peace, which is tranquillity of order; so that the end of the government of the world is pacific order."§ Now mark how well it was understood, as men reminded Duke Albert of Austria, that "the first duty and the real glory of a ruler is to secure peace to the people committed to him."‖ Ansegisus bears witness that Charlemagne, in making his laws, declares his great object to be peace. "Before all things he sought the de-

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. Collect. ii. 1221. † De Comparatione utriusque Regim.
‡ De Vita et Regim. Princip. Lib. iii. c. 4. § Q. ciii. art. 2.
‖ Thom. Ebendorff Haselbach. Chron. Austriac. ap. Pez. tom. ii.

fence, and exaltation, and honor of holy mother Church, and that the people should have peace and justice." "The royal elevation attains to its greatest height when it puts an end by just sentence to the quarrels of all men." Such is the exordium of one of his diplomas.* It was his great care, says Heumann, that all men should live quietly and orderly, that they should avoid strifes, or that their causes should be justly decided.† The office of temporal governments, as realized in Charlemagne, was to protect religion, to put an end to all discords, and to maintain order and peace in the Catholic society.‡ This is expressed in the lugubrious rhythm on the death of Charlemagne, composed in St. Columban's abbey of Bobbio, and thence disseminated over Italy.

"Pater communis orfanorum omnium, peregrinorum, viduarum, virginum : neu mihi misero !
Christe, cœlorum qui gubernas agmina, tuo in regno da requiem Carolo : heu mihi misero !"§

In accordance with this principle the act of accusation brought against Louis-le-Débonnaire rested on his not having provided sufficiently for the public peace : though pacific in heart, he was to be deposed because of the diverse expeditions which he made in the kingdom committed to him, not alone uselessly but injuriously, in which innumerable crimes were perpetrated : homicide, perjury, sacrilege, adultery, rapine, burning, and oppression of the poor.‖ Similarly, in later times, Wenceslaus, king of the Romans, was deposed by the electors "because he did not labor to prevent the holy Church, the sacred empire, and all Christianity, from being disturbed, as he was bound to have done by his office."¶ "It is the office of the royal majesty to provide with pious solicitude for the quiet of the churches," say the ordinances of Louis VI. and Louis VII., kings of France.** The Emperor Charles IV., writing to Henry, abbot of Fulda, observes that it is the office of the imperial majesty so to provide for the churches, that their ministers, enjoying the sweet delights of peace, may so much the more freely be devoted to the divine service, as they enjoy security under the rule of a gracious prince.†† So also Lewis, the brother of Charles the Bald, is reminded by the bishops that the office of a Christian king is to defend the Church, and to provide for the tranquillity and peace of Christendom.‡‡

Let us hear the letter of Pope Adrian, in 869, to all the glorious dukes, counts, and other primates in the kingdom of Charles : "All virtues, indeed, are to be cultivated by the disciples of Christ, but none are more useful than the maintenance of peace in mutual love with all men, and, especially, among the more sublime personages whose example so much the more moves others. Therefore, in these presents, in season and out of season, I admonish, entreat, and exhort you, to en-

* Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. i. 32. † Id. i. 91.
‡ Moeller, Man. d'Hist. du Moyen Age, i. 9. § Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. ii. p. 11.
‖ Ap. Duchesne, An. Franc. ii. ¶ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 31. ** Id. vii. 70.
†† Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom. iii. 338 ‡‡ Ap. Baronius, ad an. 858.

deavor to cause and maintain the good of peace in all men, and, especially, among the princes of the world. You are not ignorant how the pious Emperor Lewis spares not himself, but endures all things, and declines no suffering in order that he may promote the quiet and peace of the faithful."* So Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, in 850, instructing the Emperor Charles the Bald, begins by taking this duty for granted, saying, "Ut pacifice, feliciterque regnetis." "In order that you may reign pacifically and happily, you must always return thanks, and pray with daily supplications to God, your Creator and future judge."† Godfried of Viterbo says to Henry VI., who was then a youth of great promise, showing him how he should rule the empire,

> "Prospice, quicquid agis, te tibi nosce magis,
> Lautius est tibi te solam constringere legem.
> Quam varios populos, aut magnos vincere reges,
> Pace frui, punire malos, Henrice, labora.
> Si scelus exploras, pax erit absque mora."‡

So, again, the Empress Richenza says, "Constituted by divine Providence over kingdoms, that we may root up what is noxious, and plant with the Prophet what is salubrious, we wish to extend our care to all our provinces, that we may allay the disturbance of troubles, and cause all to preserve mutual charity towards each other, being governed in the bonds of true peace."§ "Quia scriptum est, beati pacifici," was so strictly a diplomatic phrase, as appears from the ancient monuments, that even the Emperor Frederic II., writing to make peace between two Norwegian princes, is obliged to use the same language: "The royal unction and chief dignity," he says, "are constituted in the world by the celestial dispensation to procure peace and justice for the people and nations I subject."‖ The letters of King Charles VI. of France, in 1401, contain this passage: "The sovereign Lord and Creator of all things, our Saviour Jesus Christ, when He deigned to humble Himself to take human form to visit and redeem His creatures that are made in His own image, taught his disciples above all things to have and retain peace amongst themselves, thus instructing all that would follow him to seek peace, which is the sovereign good in this mortal habitation. Therefore, we, who by divine grace and ordination, are established in royal dignity, wish and desire with all our strength, following the instructions of our said sovereign Lord, to guard and govern all our subjects in peace and tranquillity, and take from them all matter of divisions and discord."¶ Canute, king of Denmark, writing to the Emperor Conrad, in 1151, says, "The King of kings for this end hath constituted and chosen you, that you may be the father of justice, and a son

* Ap. Baronius ad an. 869. † Epist. lxiii. ‡ Pantheon, ap. Muratori. Rer. Ital. Script. vii.
§ Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplom, iii. 25.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. et Mon. Collect. ii. 1187.
¶ Ap. Martene, Vet Script. &c. tom. i. p. 1559.

of peace."* Thus principle is announced in proclaiming a new emperor. The prince electors having made their choice, published it to the people in these terms: "We have chosen the Lord Rupert, count palatine of the Rhine, trusting that he will procure, with the greatest diligence, peace both in the holy Church and in the sacred empire."† "The prince," we read, in the Speculum Morale of Vincent, "ought above all things to study clemency and peace;" after the example of King Assuerus, who says, "When I ruled over many nations, I was unwilling to abuse my power; but I sought with clemency to govern my subjects, that passing their life in silence without any terror, they might enjoy that peace which is desired by all mortals." In short, the avowed object of all government in ages of faith was to secure glory to God, and peace on earth to men of good-will. The Catholic religion admitted of no other.

In conformity with these views, the holy Church, in the benediction of the Paschal candle, prays for the king, that God, knowing the vows of his desire, by the gift of ineffable piety, and mercy, may grant him a tranquil time of perpetual peace, and a celestial victory with all his people. In the ceremony of coronation the pacific character of government is beautifully expressed. In the Roman ordo for the crowning of the emperor, the Church prays that God may deign to visit him as Samuel in the temple, and inundate him with the dew of that wisdom which blessed David received in the composition of the Psalms; that he may have confidence in danger and patience in prosperity; that his nobles may keep peace with him, love charity; and that the people may flourish in peace, with the benediction of eternity. At the coronation the pope asks the emperor if he wishes to have peace with the Church, and he answering thrice, "I wish it," the pope adds, "and I give you peace as the Lord gave to his disciples;" at the same time kissing his forehead and his chin, both his knees, and lastly his mouth. Then the pope, citing the apostolic admonition, "Manum cito nemini imposueris," addresses him in these words: "Do you wish, as far as possible, to labor in the divine service? Do you wish, by the divine assistance, to guard your manners from all evil? Do you wish to observe sobriety with the divine assistance? Do you wish to abstain from all shameful gain? Do you wish to cultivate in yourself humility and patience, and incline others to the same? Do you wish to be affable and merciful to the poor and to strangers, and to all the indigent?" To each interrogation he answers, "In quantum possum volo." Then the pope places the crown on his head, with these words: "Receive the sign of glory in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; that, despising the ancient enemy, and despising the contagion of vices, you may so love judgment and justice, and so live mercifully, that from our Lord Jesus Christ Himself you may receive the crown of an eternal kingdom in the fellowship of the saints." After the mass and the litanies of the saints, the archdeacon, with

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. tom. ii. p. 496. † Ap. id. iv. 22.

the other deacons of the palace and others standing between the cross and the altar, sing aloud, "Our hope, our salvation, our victory, our honor, our glory, our impregnable wall, our praise, our triumph;" and between each exclamation the choir responds, "Christus vincit," adding after the last, "To him be praise, honor, and empire, world without end."* In the order for the coronation of Lewis III., in 877, at the anointing there was a prayer, that "Almighty God who enriched Solomon with the ineffable gift of wisdom and peace, would deign to decorate this His servant with the same grace, and to anoint him with the oil of grace with which He anointed priests, kings, prophets, and martyrs, who by faith conquered kingdoms, worked justice, and obtained the promises; that He would turn His countenance to him, and grant him peace; that He would convert his enemies to the benignity of peace and charity, so that under his rule all the clergy and people might enjoy tranquillity and peace."†

The archbishop of Cologne, in crowning Otho, in 936, when giving him the sword, said, "Take this sword with which you may expel all adversaries of Christ, barbarians, and evil Christians, and sustain the most firm peace of all Christians;" and when investing him with the robes which descended to the ground, he said it was to admonish him to persist in maintaining peace unto the end.‡ At the coronation, in 1252, at Aix-la-Chapelle, the marquis of Brandenburg said, "Take the sceptre of the kingdom, that you may govern all men of good-will in tranquil peace."§ When the counts of Flanders took possession of their states, the ceremony was performed by the abbots of St. Peter, at Ghent, who said to them, in giving the sword, "Gird thy sword upon thy thigh, and mark that the saints, not by the sword, but by faith, conquered kingdoms. Be strong, and fight the battles of the Lord."‖ The very choice of titles to express the imperial and royal power, indicated the priority of a pacific character over every other qualification. Thus the Carlovingians were addressed as "the most serene and most tranquil emperors." In the old diplomas the epithets of honor are serenity, mildness, clemency. Hear how the people saluted Charlemagne when Pope Leo crowned him in the church of St. Peter on Christmas-day. They cried out, "August, crowned of God, peaceable emperor of the Romans."¶ In public acts he is styled the most serene Charles, great pacific emperor.** Agobard's address to Louis-le-Débonnaire is, "to the most benign of the benign, to the most tranquil of the meek;" and his exhortation is, that he who illustrates faith may propagate also peace.†† In another work he says to him, "I beseech your most tranquil longanimity;"‡‡ and elsewhere, "I beseech your imperturbable meekness and most tran-

* Murat. Antiq. Ital. dissert. iii. † Ap. Duchesne, tom. ii.
‡ Annalista Saxo, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i.
§ Rer. Leod. sub Heinsbergis, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. &c. v.
‖ Martene, Voyage Lit. de Deux Bened. 193. ¶ Chroniques de St. Denis, ii. I.
** Germania Sacra, ii. 120. †† Advers. Dogm. Felicis. ‡‡ De Insolent. Jaudæor. 57.

quil prudence."* Admonitions, founded on these titles, were repeatedly addressed to rulers. "What shall I say of the affection which you have for the public peace of all," says Poggius to the king of Arragon, "seeing that you style yourself king of peace—magnificent title, surpassing that of all empires, exceeding all triumphs! This is great praise, and I know not whether it be obnoxious to a single stain. Certainly, among mortal men, nothing is more salutary, nothing more gracious, nothing more holy. By adopting such a name you show what is affirmed by the wise of old, that wars are only to be undertaken in order that we may live in peace; for they are never to be commenced with any other end or hope. Therefore, O most worthy king, if you persevere in this will, and realize it by deeds, you will surpass the glory of all the princes that ever were illustrious among men. Augustus is cited as amongst the best; but dark were the stains of his early and latter life; whereas, your deeds are exempt from all shade of cruelty or violence. You have shed no blood. In your actions one finds no proscriptions, no trace of slaughter. Victory herself, by nature so insolent and proud, you have conquered by humanity. The injuries of your adversaries have been only an occasion of practising clemency and forgiveness. Finally, you have procured for all leisure, repose, peace. Without the terror of an army, you have delivered the country from disturbers of order. There is the same security in country and town, so that under your government a golden age may be said to have returned."†

A French historian remarks that the ecclesiastical character of the kings of France presents a pacific image when contrasted with the martial ferocity of the English Plantagenets. The truth, however, is that the half-sacerdotal character attached to monarchy was not confined to that of any nation. It belonged to the type of the Catholic ruler, whose throne, deemed sacred, God and his angels were invoked to guard. "The Cæsar being elected, his office, to express it in a word," says an old writer, "is to be a rival of the pontiff. 'Æmulamini charismata meliora.' The one has the keys of the temple, the other of the kingdom. What is Cæsar's is given to Cæsar, what is God's to God, in the church the pontiff, in the tribunal the emperor, both for peace; the one for that of souls, the other for that of bodies. Such was the ancient concord between the priesthood and the empire."‡ This accounts for the priestly gravity which was required in kings. "The king," says a counsellor of Charles VI., "who does not perform his duty to God, his Creator, cannot discharge it to his people."§ "The king ought to live in peace of conscience, and his thoughts, in time of prayer, ought to be free from all noise and secular care; and in order to pray God and consider well his affairs, he ought to be peaceable and free from all tribulation. But this is a very difficult thing for persons who desire the vainglory of this world,—as difficult as to be at sea without fearing the storm, or to hear thunder without dread. The

* Epist. 103. † Pog. Brac. Epist. Regi. Ar. Mansi, Append. Baluzi Miscel. iii.
‡ Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, Lib. i. c. 6. § Le Livre ce Pierre Salmon, 21.

king ought to be very high, despising earthly things, and coveting those that endure for ever.*

In truth, all the ceremonial of courts was calculated to confirm these views. The progresses of the first Otho, on festivals from his palace to the church and back, presented an image of the best kind of conquerors and a glorification of sacerdotal peace; for on all festivals, we read, he used to proceed to vespers, and matins, and mass with venerable procession of bishops and clerks of other degree with crosses, and holy relics, and thuribles, conducted to the church, and then, with great fear of God, he used to stand and sit till all was finished, speaking nothing but what was divine; and thence to his chamber he returned with many lights and great company of priests, and dukes, and counts.† What pacific notions of kingly power do such scenes indicate; especially when we remember that the time had not then come to mock at form; and that grave magistrates and the whole people regarded them as the safeguards of the republic. Stephen Pasquier says that the holy relics, given by St. Louis, are the best jewels of the kings of France, which they should preserve with more care than their crowns.‡ So when the count of Flanders went into Italy against the Sarassins, on the pope abandoning to him all his treasures, he would take nothing at his departure but a particle of some holy relics.§ Their thrones, in fact, were established upon the peace for which the holy martyrs died; while many kings desired, like all other devout laymen, to cultivate a sacerdotal taste, and so far in all their actions to imitate the ministers of peace. The king of France sat as a simple canon among the canons of St. Quentin, Tours, and Ambrun. Their education was in the temples of peace.

Rigord begins his history of Philip Augustus by addressing his son Louis in these words: "Let our holy mother Church exult and rejoice in the Lord, for the Lord will visit his people, and will have compassion upon his servants. Truly, a voice of joy and exultation hath sounded in the tabernacles of the Francs, when they see their king, educated from his cradle in the studies of wisdom, preparing his throne in justice and judgment, uniting wisdom and royal power, granting to the poor peace, and to the Church its ancient dignity, gloriously to govern the kingdom committed to him in the kiss of justice and of peace."‖ That was a curious contention, described in the chronicles of St. Denis, between the king of France and the bishop of Paris, when they strove to conquer each other in pity, and made battle for mercy, in order that the poor might be enriched by their treasures.¶

The symbols of majesty were all designed to indicate the pacific end of power. Those kings, who contrive in their blazon to turn spear-heads and impure toads

* Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 28. † Ann. Saxo. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Æv. 1.
‡ Recherches de la France; iii. 22. § Le Livre de Baudoyn, 9.
‖ Rigordus de Gestis Phil. August. ap. Recueil des Hist. de Francs, tom. xvii.
¶ Lib. iii. c. 5.

into lilies, emblematical of purity and peace, had in view, no doubt, the wands which angels bear in the oldest representations of members of the celestial hierarchy, which are all crowned with that flower. In heraldic painting the white, we read, was the most noble color, after azure, as signifying purity, charity, and innocence.* The symbol of Ghent was a lion, crowned, sleeping on the knees of the Blessed Virgin. Kings often over their armor wore sacerdotal vestments, as may be witnessed in the old pictures of St. Ferdinand. The Emperor Otho II. had a vestment on which could be read all the Apocalypse.† St. Louis had precious vestments of different colors, according to the solemnities of the day. In short, the whole state was founded on the pacific type of the best kingdom. The pacific character of royal majesty was a religious idea, emanating from what was believed of the celestial dominations and powers; for it was a devotional exercise in reparation of the sins of anger, passion, and revenge, to offer to God the peace, mildness, and tranquillity of the thrones. The Christian religion had put every thing in its place, so that the hierarchy of men was as complete as that of angels in the order shown by Dionysius. As in the latter, thrones are after Seraphim and Cherubim, so in the state, physical force was regarded after love and science. In the ancient Christian sculpture, dominations, which command angels, and principalities, which rule over men, are represented with crowns and sceptres; but powers, which command the Satanic race are shown with spears and shield, since the devil only yields to force. Therefore, the crown and sceptre were the symbols of royal power, and the maxim was, "'Tis more kingly to obtain peace than to enforce conditions by constraint." The spirits which formed the choir of thrones, so near to the glory of the majesty of God, were called angels of peace, for they participate in the divine peace, and are called to communicate it to men. It was through their intercession that the faithful hoped to obtain the peace of soul which is promised to the children of God. Hence they invoked the king in a temporal, as they did the thrones in a spiritual sense, to reconcile enemies, while they sought to imitate them in being angels of peace towards their fellow-men, by an unalterable sweetness and a patience which nothing could overcome. "Whence is jurisdiction?" "I answer, from God," replies the author of the Tree of Battles. "Who was the first judge over men? God. Then by natural necessity and divine right rulers were made; and, certes, it was reasonable that men who were to live reasonably should be subject to a ruler." You perceive then, reader, how sublime was the type proposed —it was the good and clement king, to whom all good things are pleasing.‡ Accordingly, the pacific thought appears through all instructions administered to kings—the rule of all power being, in fact, that of the divine wisdom, invoked by the Church in the first of her anthems preparatory to Christmas, of which she says, "Fortiter suaviterque disponens omnia."

* L' Abre des Batailles. † Michelet Orig. du Droit, 214. ‡ Hymn on Palm Sund.

John of Salisbury says that a prince should imitate blessed Job. He does not propose Alexander or Cæsar, but the model which teaches men that "constant patience will give more pleasure than all the power of the world." "The life of Job," he says, "is a model for rule—free from all ambition or covetousness, or the desire to join field to field as far as the ends of space, as if one alone were to dwell on the face of the earth. If kings thus hear and observe the voice of God, they will fulfil their days in good and their years in glory."* "Patience," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "which opposes sadness, is most necessary to princes; for as it is their office to restrain the anger and impatience of their subjects, and to lead the discordant to peace, it is necessary that they, above all, should be patient."† "Blessed humility," he says again, "is more especially necessary to noble persons."‡ "A king who is not humble," says Peter of Blois, "is a tyrant."§

Gervase of Tillebury begins his book, entitled Otia Imperialia, addressed to the Emperor Otho IV., by wishing him peace, interior and exterior. He says that the king and the priest are both administrators of the divine law; and he tells him that it would be better his empire should be diminished in extent of territory than corrupted by iniquity through defect of justice.‖ Innumerable diplomas of the ancient emperors begin with this sentence: "Having always before our eyes the divine examination of the last judgment."¶ This was conformable to the advice of St. Adalbert to Otho III. when he saw him at Mayence, and exhorted him to remember death, to make himself a father to the poor, to fear the strict judgment of God, to love mercy, and to recollect ever how narrow is the way which leads to life, and how few enter by it.**

"We exhort your noble prudence," says Pope Anaclet to the Empress Richenza, "that amidst royal cares, and the solicitude of secular affairs, and the glories of the world, you may have your heart always directed to the Lord, not affecting the praises of men by your pious works, lest you should within be displeasing to the eyes of God. Sedulously exhort your husband, our dearest son Lothaire, the most Christian king, so to preside with human power over an earthly kingdom as to please always Him who is above us, by whom kings reign, and princes exercise justice—who transfers kingdoms when He will, who makes kings inglorious and encompasseth their reins with a cord."†† St. Peter Damian, describing the humble entry of the Empress Agnes into Rome, says, that it was so because all the glory of the king's daughter is within." "We sometimes fast from meat, but you," he says to her, "fast from purple: you fast from a crown and from all the magnificent pomps of imperial glory. To abstain from these on which the carnal mind feeds so delectably, may not undeservedly be styled a

* De Nug. Cur. v. 6.
† De Vita et Regim. Principum, Lib. ii. 23.
‡ Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, 5.
§ Tract. Quales sunt, c. 17.
‖ Ib. 12.
¶ Vide Heumann de Re Diplomat. iii.
** Vita St. Adalb. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.
†† Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplomat. iii. 225.

fast. O what a grave and laudable abstinence—after being Susannah with your husband, to have become an Anna when he is no more." Lupus, abbot of Ferrers, concludes a letter to Charles the Bald thus. "You know how often I implore the clemency of God, that He may grant you a bloodless victory, perpetual peace, a hatred of vices, the possession of virtues, and so to reign on earth, that you may not lose a kingdom in heaven."* "The king should ever remember," says another counsellor near the throne, "how the glory of this world is very little and vain, and how power is frail, and passes soon."† "O kings and princes, hear," cries another. "Love the light of wisdom, all ye who preside over the people; for as it is your office to preserve them in a virtuous and pacific state, the study of wisdom is above all to you necessary. As every action of a Christian should spring originally from divine charity, kings and princes, in all their temporal and external actions, should keep in view a spiritual end; namely, the salvation of those committed to them, that they may have a pacific life on earth, and eternal glory in heaven: for the law and civil government are ordained to this end, that their subjects should lead a peaceful life in this world, which means a peaceful life according to the doctrines of the Gospel; that they should have peace, not only amongst each other, and with foreign nations, but also within their own minds with God, resting in charity and obedience as in the supreme good."‡ Lupus reminds the Emperor Charles the Bald, "that they who will not be pacific cannot be sons of God."§ Wipo impresses on Henry, son of the Emperor Conrad, the proverb which says "that wisdom is better than secular power."‖ The bishops of France addressed Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, in these words: "He who says that he remains in Christ, ought to walk as He walked, who said, 'Be ye perfect as your heavenly Father is perfect.' And if you ask how can I be perfect? this you will be, we answer, if the cupidity of glory doth not inflame you; if you desire not riches, nor power; and if you attend to your own conscience, and not to the flattering words of others—if you render to God what belongs to God, and as a just Cæsar, if you render to your subjects what belongs to your subjects, defending the church and Christendom, and all the people of Christ, in equity and peace."¶

"Do you wish to be a Christian, and are you a King," asks Ratherius of Verona, who answers, "Beware then of the vices which are often disguised as virtues; beware of mistaking insane impatience for fortitude, of supposing that you serve justice when you are gratifying your anger. Beware of cruelty and impious ambition. Be brave, not proud; temperate, not remiss; just, not cruel. Remember the woe pronounced on those who love to join house to house, and field to field, and consider how grievous is the crime of cupidity, which can destroy both

* Epist. xxxviii. † Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 24.
‡ Dionys. Carthus. de vita et regim. Princip. liv. i. 5. § Epist. xcvi.
‖ Ap Martene. Vet. Script. ix. ¶ Baronius ap an. 858

you and your people. Respect and defend the ministers of Christ. While you rejoice on hearing daily sung in the church 'Domine salvum fac Regem,' fear what follows, 'et exaudi nos in die qua invocaverimus te,' if you should forget or neglect to fulfil the office of a Christian king, for what should avail their prayer, if you should prevent them from leading a tranquil life? The apostle commanding us to pray for kings, dukes, and all in authority, adds, 'ut quietam et tranquillam vitam agamus:' beware, therefore, lest while this which gives you such pleasure is sung, God should be invoked against you, while we cry out for ourselves, and while those cry out who are unanimous with us in voice and charity. And think not to say that evil prayers would not be heard; for though we are bound to pray for those who persecute us, still remember that God has declared He will avenge, and that speedily, His elect who cry out to Him day and night. Continue then, O good king, to preserve the citizens; accept if it be from strangers, but give to your own, and remember that you ought to bear, not to press the people. Be erect to the proud, but submissive to the humble, mild to all, affable to all, moderate; remembering that power is for utility; and he who has not patience, ought not to have power, 'non debet habere potestatem qui non habet patientiam.' Love the good, and pity the evil, for as the proverb saith, 'the best thing is to extirpate not criminals, but crimes.' 'Res enim optima est, non sceleratos extirpare, sed scelera;' and with respect to the peace of your kingdom, beware of those who disturb it, and you know it not. Whence that most holy king cried, 'Delicta quis intelligit? ab alienis parce servo tuo.' Think not that crimes can be cleansed by alms. What alone can take them away is to cease from committing them; but daily sins, such as giving a harsh word, &c., may be thus blotted out. Interrogate who of the ancient kings walked justly and wisely? Who sought most to do the will of God, who ruled the people with most justice? who sought most to do the will of God, who constructed churches, founded monasteries, ordained hospices? Embrace him, follow him, imitate him. Beware how you seize upon the property given for holy ends. If they by giving it gained eternal life, you by taking it will acquire hell, for the things of the church are fiery. Choose ministers who will reprove you in mercy, and not pour on your head the oil of poisonous and deadly adulation. Take heed lest while in edicts, letters, and decrees, you are styled pious, in deeds you appear impious. Place a bridle on anger, and limit to avarice. Compassionate your poor companions, I say not servants nor subjects, but companions, for in Christ we are all one."* Peace with the indigent and with the immense class of subjects that required relief and assistance, was to be secured by the alms and munificence of the state, "every ruler," as St. Thomas shows, "being bound to provide for them from the common treasury."† Unknown to the Catholic society of the middle ages, were

* Ratherii Ver. Epist. Præloquiorum. Lib. iii. & iv. ap. Martene, Bet. Script. tom. ix.

† De Regim Prin. ii. 15.

those ancient horrors of the Roman tax-gatherers in Gall, so minutely described by Lactantius, who compares the desolation to that of cities taken by storm, and to the exactions of a conqueror at the head of his army.* When Hugues de Bourgogne passed a decree to levy an impost on the people of Grenoble, the bishop, John de Sassenage, cited the canon of the last council of Lateran, by which rulers were forbidden, on pain of anathema, to oppress their subjects by such levies. Hugues was obliged to yield, and swear that he would desist in future from such attempts, and preserve faithfully all liberties and good customs. It is curious to remark that the first rulers who departed from the pacific ideal of government in this respect, were those who sought to emancipate themselves from the authority of the Holy See. With respect to the details of administration, we should observe how the most minute directions for rule were dictated with a view to peace. Thus Dionysius the Carthusian says, "that kings and princes should be affable and familiar towards their nobles, and should induce their wives to be affable to the wives and daughters of the nobles, lest if the latter should perceive themselves slighted, they might excite their husbands to cause seditions and troubles in the state."† Thus the Templars explained the friendship which existed between their grand master and the Sultan, by saying, that "the former showed him that affection and honor, in order to preserve the lands of the Christians in peace, and prevent the incursions of the Sarassins."‡

If you ask the chief advantage from the institution of coin, St. Thomas replies, "that it is the prevention of strife in commerce;"§ or from that of weights and measures, and he gives the same answer;‖ or from the division of property, and it is still the same.¶ Or if you ask why no one can assume the coat-arms of another, the author of the Tree of Battles replies, that princes being bound to maintain their subjects in peace, so that soberly and pacifically they may live under them without wronging each other, and as the assuming of another man's coat-arms would be a cause of quarrel, therefore, the sovereign is bound to prevent it. As in the lessons themselves, so in the choice of the men who are to give them to kings, the desire of peace is discernible. In France, during five centuries, from Suger to Fleury, the priest reigns alternately with the legist. Similarly in Germany, it is the pacific Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, who administers the kingdom in the absence of the emperor; and what a laborer for peace was he!** Peace must have been the object of government, when such men as St. Bernard, Suger, and Matthew, abbots of St. Denis, Wibald, abbot of Corby, Peter of Blois, and others like them, were chosen, whose pacific manners, as in the instance of Cotton in the time of Henry IV., used to make them be styled the good angels of the court. "One cannot but remark," says Michelet, "the singular talent of

* Lactantii Lib. de Mortibus Persecutorum, 23. † De Regim. Princ. iii. 5.
‡ Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1248. § De Regim. Princ. ii. 13. ‖ Id. ii. 14
¶ Id. iv. 4 ** Chronica regia S. Pantaleonis ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, 1.

ecclesiastics for political government. This must arise from the wisdom resulting to them from the confessional. There they learnt to read the hearts of men, and there they find what is elsewhere never found, never written." Richard, archbishop of Canterbury, in his letter to Pope Alexander III., excuses the English bishop for attending in the royal councils, saying, "that it is for the interest of the people they should attend there." "They," he says, "ought to assist the king in his councils, who know how, and wish, and have the power to compassionate the unhappy, to provide for the peace of the land, and the safety of the people, to instruct kings to justice, and subjects to virtue. By the episcopal mediation, the rigor of justice is softened, the cry of the poor is heard, the dignity of the church maintained, the want of the indigent supplied. There ensues freedom for the clergy, peace for the people, rest for the monasteries, justice for all. If we prohibit bishops from associating with the king, we shall take away rest from the monasteries, consolation from the oppressed, and liberty from the church."* Peter of Blois, describing the council of state in England, says, "that the most intricate questions respecting the kingdom are proposed there, and that each member delivers his opinion without contention or obstinacy, while, elsewhere, grammarians are disputing about syllables, with tumult and vociferation."† "We will so provide for your honor and welfare," he writes to the eldest son of Henry II., "that you shall obtain more by peace, than you could extort by fire and sword."‡ Goldast says to John Swichard, archbishop of Mayence, "What others by force of arms could never do, you have effected; for you have caused all subjects to live in safe and tranquil peace, proving yourself truly a worthy archchancellor to a pacific, and glorious emperor."§ So the bishop of Mondonedo, preacher of the Emperor Charles V., says, "It is much better for a republic to endure some wrong and injustice, than to have recourse to war, and it is certain that our Lord will hear rather the hearts of those who pray for peace, than the trumpets which are to proclaim war."‖ What rest for the people when such men were in the royal councils! John of Salisbury says, "that the interest of the poor people should be the objects of paramount solicitude with a king;¶ and that the public welfare consists in nothing else but in the security of individuals."** "The prejudice," as Niebuhr terms it,†† which existed in favor of elderly counsellors, as wiser than the young, may be noticed also as symptomatic of the pacific mind. Kings should choose wise counsellors, we read, in order that they may govern pacifically, and enable their subjects to lead a tranquil life. Each counsellor must beware lest he should ever act by the impulse of passion, or of his own will, or from a root of pride, lest anger, impatience, or any other vice should disturb his judgment.‡‡ Counsellors of state were to be men of emi-

* Pet. Bles. Epist. lxxxiv. † Epist. vii. ‡ Id. xlvii. § Aleman. Rerum, Script. Dedic
‖ Liv. iii. ¶ De Nug. Cur. Lib. v. c. 7. ** Id. iii 1. †† Hist. of Rome, iv. 112
‡‡ Dion. Carthus. de Vita et Regim. Princip. i. 14.

nent patience, to hear and endure contrary opinions ;* and it was deemed " better to choose good men of moderate capacity, than men of splendid abilities, with less virtue."†

In fact, the people still held to Cato's maxim, " that no one could be a good senator, who was not a good husband." " The king ought not to have faith in a man who boasts to be wise, but whose works are not good," says Pierre Salmon, addressing Charles VI. ; " for many words," he adds, " are vain, and works show the man. The counsellor should be a patient man, and obedient to the holy Church." Nor was it only pacific men who were the counsellors of kings. The government of the state was conducted on the same principle as that of the family in which every natural and legitimate influence was recognized. During the desolation of Frejus, after its invasion by the Sarassins in the tenth century, Augustus, count of Provence, took possession of some property belonging to the churches of our Lady and of St. Leonce. When Riculphe, bishop of the see, remonstrated with him, the count replied, " that he was very anxious to satisfy him, but that he wished first to confer with his wife, and the lords of his council."‡ Women, therefore, were heard ; who, as daughters of the church, are ever the advocates of peace. We must observe, then, on entering into this pacifical ideal of government, the manner in which the ancient emperors declared publicly, in their diplomas, that they granted privileges, through the intercession of their wives and mothers ; for what can show more clearly that they ruled by love, and not by force ? Thus Lothaire I. says in one, " because our beloved wife Hirmingard desires ;" and in another, " at the entreaty of the Empress Hirmingard, our beloved wife."§ Lewis II. similarly ascribes his acts to the advice of his consort, " because our beloved wife Angilberga has suggested ;" and in another, " by the intervention of Angilberga, our most beloved wife."‖ The influence of Hirmentrude appears no less in the diplomas of Charles the Bald. " Because our sweetest wife Hirmentrude proposed ;" and in another, " at the suggestion and prayer of our dearest wife ;" and again, " at the salubrious exhortation of our beloved wife Hirmentrude."¶

Uda, wife of the Emperor Arnulph, is similarly commemorated in the diplomas of her husband : " by the intervention of our beloved wife Uda ;" and elsewhere, " at the admonition and prayer of Uda our beloved wife."** Henry the Fowler speaks in like terms of his Matilda : " being asked by our wife, Queen Matilda ;" and in another, " at the call of our beloved wife Matilda." The Othos, her sons, in various diplomas ascribe their acts to her intercession : " at the entreaty of the venerable and beloved Lady, our mother, Matilda ;" and in another, " obedient to the power of our beloved mother, Queen Matilda ;" and in another, " by the intervention of our grandmother, the most mild Matilda, and of our mother, Adelheid."†† Otho I. proclaims the influence of his wife Editha, daughter of

* Le Conseiller d'Estat. Paris, 1645. † Id. 150. ‡ De Ruf. Hist. de Marseille.
§ Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 2. ‖ Id. 66. ¶ Id. 80. ** Id. 100. †† Id. 107.

Edward, king of England; "by the intervention of our dear wife Editha;" and in another, "as our ears were assailed by our beloved wife Editha."* The intervention also of Adelheid is frequently proclaimed in the diplomas of Otho I.: "if conformable to the pious solicitations of our beloved Adelheid, we ordain honors to the churches;" and in another, "by the advice and intercession of Adelheid, our beloved wife." Nineteen diplomas of this emperor, with similar avowals, are cited by Heumann,† with eleven of the second Otho, declaring "that he acts by the advice of his Lady mother the Empress Adelheid;" "because," he says in one, "our Lady mother the most serene Empress Adelheid, with maternal confidence, has boldly intervened with our filial majesty, entreating." Otho III. avows the same respect for her as for his grandmother: "by the intervention of our beloved grandmother, the Empress Adelheid;" and in another, "for the love of God, and at the prayer of our beloved grandmother, the Empress Adelheid," &c.‡ The influence of Theophania, daughter of the Greek Emperor, is attested in many diplomas of her husband, Otho II. Thus the expressions "by the intervention of our beloved wife Theophania," and "following the suggestion of our beloved wife," occur in thirteen of his charters cited by Heumann, while it is no less visible in those of her son Otho III., twelve of which attest that he acts from the love of God, and at the request of his dearest mother Theophania.§

The name of Cunegund is found similarly in the diplomas of her husband, Henry II., "by the intervention of our beloved wife, Cunegund;" and in another, "having consulted our dearest wife, Cunegund;" and "at the prayer of our most loving wife, who is our flesh;" and "on account of the devotion of our beloved wife;" which expressions occur in twenty-three charters cited in this work.‖ Conrad II. declares in thirty-three diplomas, that he acts by the intervention and advice of his sweetest wife Gisela, who, as a mother, exerts a similar influence over Henry III., many of whose charters avow that they are given at her request.¶ Henry III. similarly declares, that he acts at the prayer of his first beloved wife, Cunehild, daughter of Canute, king of England; as also by the intervention of his second wife, Agnes, daughter of William, count of Poictiers. "At the prayer of our beloved wife, Agnes," is the preamble to twenty-five diplomas of this emperor, cited by Heumann,** whose influence extended even to Henry IV. her son, as is attested by twenty of his charters. Bertha, the first wife of the latter emperor, is named in fifteen diplomas, as "the beloved wife, by whose intervention they are granted."†† Henry V. avows in many charters here cited, that he acts by the intervention, and through the love of his dearest wife Matilda, daughter of Henry, king of England.‡‡ Similarly, it is at the suggestion and prayer of his beloved wife, Richenza, that the Emperor Lothaire declares several diplomas to be granted: "for the love of God, and at the prayer of our dearest wife Rich-

* Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 109. † Id. p. 125. ‡ Id. p. 127. § Id. 144, 5.
‖ Id. 157, 9. ¶ Id. 165, 8. ** Id. 183, 5. †† Id. 208, 9. ‡‡ Id. 213.

enza," is the expression used on one occasion.* The intervention of Gertrude is repeatedly avowed in the diplomas of her husband, the Emperor Conrad III.: "following the instinct of our beloved wife Gertrude," is the preamble to one of these.† Heumann remarks, that from the time of Frederic I. the names of the empresses hardly ever appeared in this manner; though he discovers instances in which the intervention of Beatrice, wife of Frederic I., and of Margaret, the wife of Lewis of Bavaria, are acknowledged in the ancient manner.

Again, parliaments were a pacific institution of the middle ages, which would supply a curious contrast with those of later times. Pasquier says, that "as Louis-le-Débonnaire was more inclined to console his people, than to perform great exploits and deeds of arms, he wished principally to maintain his grandeur by the solemn assemblies of parliament."‡ The fact, however, is, that in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, a demand for representation to parliament, or to the states general in France, was regarded as an attempt to involve individuals in vexation.§ It followed from the object of all Catholic government, that no great importance was attached to any mere form of administration. "It matters not," says an historian of Genoa, "whether our city be ruled by consuls, or by a podesta, or by a captain, or by abbots; for if it is best governed by consuls, then consuls are the best; if best by a podesta, then the podesta is best; if best by a captain or by abbots, then these are the best government. What we want is peace, and what we must avoid is discord."‖ In fact, in 1190, the Genoese changed their form of government, by choosing a podesta instead of consuls; and this they did because, as many of the citizens were aspiring to be consuls, much envy and hatred arose in the city.¶ The truth is, that the monarchal government prevailed throughout Christendom, in consequence of its being found most conducive to the peace of the world. The relative merits of all forms of rule are estimated by St. Thomas, according to their greater or less fitness for maintaining peace:** and the establishment of the imperial election was itself the consequence of a pacific thought; for the third Otho, having no heir, the others having obtained the empire by inheritance, he petitioned Pope Gregory V. to ordain electors throughout all Germany. Of those who thus drew their origin from the Holy See, three were spiritual, the archbishops of Mayence, Treves, and Cologne; and four laical, the king of Bohemia, the Count Palatine, the marquis of Brandenburg, and the duke of Saxony.†† But whatever was the form, nothing so contrary to charity and peace as a systematic opposition or an organized disorder entered into the theory or practice of government in ages of faith, when men studied harmony in the structure of the universe,

Heumann de Re Diplom. iii. 223, 4. † Id. 232, 3. ‡ Recherches de la France, ii. 2.
§ Thierry, Lettres, xxv.
‖ Jac. de Voragine, Chronic. Jan. pars. v. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. ix.
¶ Id. Script. xii. c. 3. ** De Regimine Princip. Lib. i. 2.
†† Martin. Fuldens. Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corn. Hist. Med. ævi, i.

to copy it in their own works. If we might borrow such a phrase, there were no antispastic unions then. "One difference," we read, "between a king and a tyrant is, that the former seeks to make his subjects agree together for the public good, while the latter seeks to set them at discord, lest they should rise against himself."* The least circumstance that could favor the maintenance of tranquillity was deemed important. "Do not execute what you have deliberated on by night," says Cardan; "but what you have determined by day, for that will please afterwards; and those are the safest decisions which are approved of by a mind at peace."†

We see from these few glimpses, taken almost at random, what a contrast existed to later times, when senates were a scene of civil jar, a chaos of contrarieties. We, too, have counsellors for kings, and parliaments for the community; but what fearful tempests in the heads and hearts of those who are now chosen to legislate, where the calmest in the storms are masters of their passions less to repress than direct them! What would Peter of Blois have said if admitted to their deliberations? "One would have taken the members," says a keen observer, "for maniacs in a cell, raging and unchained, rather than for legislators. Their eyes rolled fire mixed with blood. Breathless, they darted at the speakers looks of lightning. They bounded on their seats; exclamations, mixed with threats, burst from between their teeth. There was transport in their brain; they stamped, they hurled in these fits of parliamentary excitement, while the spectators stood aghast. Around me were murmurs, sarcasms the most cutting, epithets the most revolting, cries inarticulate, groans, gnashing of teeth, and the howl of wild animals. The confusion was indescribable."‡ Compare this with what we read of Catholic senators in ages of faith. What do the headstrong splenetic men deserve who now occupy their seats, for continuing to defeat the end of all their noble and pacific labors? For sole punishment they should be condemned, on going out, to turn their eyes—for the force of nature is very great—upon portraits of a Suger or a Sir Thomas More.

The judicial office of Catholic monarchy must be noticed in proof of its pacific character. The legislative right of the people was granted to the king, as the jurisconsults, at the diet of Roncaglia in 1158, said to Frederic Barbarossa.§ During the coronation of the duke of Carinthia, three families have the right to cut down, burn, and pillage, to show that the moment of interregnum is the sleep of justice, and that the people must hastily obtain a defender.‖ If the visitation of men were peace, their rulers were to be justice.¶ The rigor of the punisher was the peace of the people.** But woe to those who presided over men unless God presided over them;†† "without whose grace neither has a prince honor, nor the

* Dionys. c. de Vit. Princip. iii. 1.
† Prud. civ. 33.
‡ Timon, Etudes sur les Orateurs Parlementaires.
§ Radevicus, ii. c. 4.
‖ Michelet, Origines du Droit.
¶ Is. 60.
** Gerv. Tilleber. Otia Imperialia.
†† Petr. Bles. de Instit. Episc

people peace, neither religion rest, nor the church liberty."* Wipo, chaplain to the Emperor Henry III., shows him the duty of mingling law and mercy.

"Est bona temperies, quam lex et gratia miscent;
Hæ si conjunctæ, generabunt pacis amorem.
Peccatum pereat, peccator vivere discat.
Qui se convertit, non est hic qui fuit olim."†

The sword itself, in the imperial insignia, denotes only justice; for thus Godfrid of Viterbo says to Henry VI.:

"Judicii signum gladius monstrare videtur
Quo malefactorum feritas cessare jubetur
Nam si tardus erit, pax vacuata perit."‡

As for the sword of conquest, Peter of Blois, advising Henry II., says, "You will find among the Roman princes no shedder of blood whose blood was not in return shed; but those who used the sword only to justice paid the tribute of the human condition by a natural death."§ All texts of Scripture that seemed to contradict such views were interpreted in a pacific sense, as the words of the Prophet, "Maledictus qui prohibet gladium suum à sanguine," which Peter of Blois understands as the word of exhortation from the mortification of sin.‖ The king, therefore, was the pacific judge, a title and office which French writers say their kings, above all others, desired for themselves, wishing to be represented always not combatting, but sitting on the throne of justice:¶ and in fact, as Bonald observes, according to the ancient and venerable spirit of the French constitution, justice was superior to force, and the magistracy was before the army. The nobility itself was rather judicial than warlike;** for the glory of arms, in a Christian people, grew pale before that of intellectual and moral triumphs. The words of the French bishops in 858, to Lewis, brother of Charles the Bald, show what was then deemed the proper qualification for the office: "Constitute counts and magistrates who hate avarice and detest pride; who do not oppress or dishonor the peasants; who do not hold courts for sake of lucre; but, in order that widows and orphans, and all the people, may have justice; and who study to recall litigators to concord rather than seek to derive any profit from their litigation; and who, if they cannot pacify them, will judge justly. Similarly, if you would be a Christian king, make counts like yourself; men fearing God, showing themselves benign and affable to their peasants."††

"A judge," says Dionysius the Carthusian, instructing kings, "must beware of evincing impatience or any perturbation, for he ought to judge with a tranquil heart. He must not have compassion on the poor to such a degree as to derogate from

* Id. Compend. in Job. † Wiponis Paneg. ap. Canisii Lect. Ant. tom. iii.
‡ Pantheon, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. vii. § Epist. xlii. ‖ Epist. lxxvi.
¶ Le Conseiller d'estat, Paris, 1645. ** Legis. Prim. ii. 290. †† Ap. Baronius, 858.

truth and equity in judgment."* But it is Philip de Beaumanoir, counsellor of Robert, count of Clermont, son of St. Louis, whom especially we should hear in this place to learn how pacific were all views of administration. "The great hope," he says, "that we have in the aid of Him by whom all things are prospered, and without whom no good work could prosper—the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Ghost, which are one God in trinity—has put into our heart and understanding the thought of finding a book by which those who desire to live in peace may be taught how to defend themselves from wrong, according to the custom of the county of Clermont, in Beauvaisis, the customs of which county, above all others, we are bound to discover, for this reason, especially, that God commands us to love our neighbor as ourselves, and that we are of that county, all whose inhabitants, therefore, we must endeavor to benefit by our labors. We are of opinion that whoever would be a loyal bailiff ought to possess ten virtues, of which one ought to be lady and mistress of all the others, since without it the others could not be governed, and that is called sapience or wisdom. The second virtue is that the bailiff ought to love with all his heart God our Father and our Saviour, and for the love of God, holy Church, and not with the love which some serfs have for their seigneurs, who love only because they fear them; but with entire love, as a son should love his Father. 'Car de lui amer et servir vienent tout li bien.' Nor has he sapience in him who above all things does not open his heart to the love of God; and much matter should we find for speaking on this head, but that it would lead us far from our subject; and besides, holy Church shows and teaches us it every day. The third virtue is that the bailiff should be sweet and débonnaire, without felony or cruelty; but not gentle to felons, lest he should place in peril of death those who wish to live in peace; but sweet to the good and to the common people. The fourth virtue is that he be ready to hear, and full of long suffering, and not quick to answer or to be angry. The fifth virtue is that he be brave and vigorous without indolence, for if he were a coward, he would not dare to make angry the rich man who would have to appear against the poor; or he would not inflict death on those who deserved it, through fear of their lineage. Therefore, he must not be a coward, but brave and without fear; that is, he ought to be wisely brave, for there is a foolish bravery, which belongs not to his office, but to the foolhardy. The sixth virtue is that he be generous, and liberal, and courteous, in order that he may be loved by God and the world; for in the avaricious heart loyalty cannot have a lodging. The seventh virtue is that he obey the commandments of his seigneur in all that he commands with loyal justice: for the bailiff would not be excusable before God if he were to do wrong to any one in order to obey his seigneur; and the bailiff must rather leave the service of such a seigneur than do such evil; for the sires are not worth serving, who take more care

* De Vita et Regim. Princip. iii. xi.

to do there own pleasure than to maintain right and justice. The eighth virtue is that he be very knowing, so as to discern the good from the evil, and in all relations, above all to know who are the peaceable and who the troublesome; that he may protect the one and restrain the other; that he may terrify and constrain the troublesome, so that the peaceable may live in peace. The ninth virtue is that he be skilled with subtle intelligence, to put to profit, without doing wrong to any one, the lands of his seigneur. The tenth virtue is the best of all the others, for without it the rest are nothing worth; for it is that which enlightens all the others, and that is loyalty; for whoever is loyal is wise to maintain loyalty; for better is a man loyal and with little sense than him who is cunning without loyalty. Disloyalty, when it is lodged in the heart of a man who has much land to maintain, can sow much poison; for all kinds of evils can come from it."

In the conclusion of the whole work he speaks thus: "After we had thought much on this whole matter, it seemed to us that there is nothing which we ought so much to covet as firm peace; for those who have firm peace established in their hearts are justly sires of the world and companions of God; for the man is sire of the world in as much as he is in good thoughts, and has his heart in peace so as not to covet wrongfully any earthly thing; and he is companion of God in as much as he is in a state of grace and without sin; for without these two no one can have his heart established in firm peace: for, if he be covetous of earthly things in any malicious manner, his heart is at war and in tribulation instead of being in peace; and if he be not in a state of grace, but in mortal sin, then his own conscience makes war with him, for we do not believe that there can be any man so evil as not to have war in his heart if his conscience be troubled: therefore, whoever would have firm peace ought, above all things, to love and prize God, and to despise earthly things; and then, though he should have assault of war, or any loss of friends and substance, if he love God and covet firm peace, he will suffer his tribulations with such good grace that they will little or not at all grieve him. Since, then, we have said that firm peace is the best thing, we pray Him who is the fountain of peace, that is to say, Jesus Christ, the Son of St. Mary, his blessed mother, who draws from that fountain and dispenses peace to his friends, to deign to grant us peace in such manner as to conduce to the saving of our souls according to His power and mercy, which power can do all things, and which mercy is comparable to no other mercy. Amen."*

Peace, again, is indicated in that relation which existed in ages of faith between the temporal and spiritual power. "The kingdom and the priesthood were made one."† Religion and politics did not interfere with each other. There was harmony between them. There was between them a common fund of thoughts, sentiments, and designs. As St. Thomas observes, "The emperors of Constantinople, from Constantine to Charlemagne, were obedient to the Holy See, and

* Coustumes de Beauvoisis. † Petr. Bles. Serm. lv.

full of reverence for its decisions; as were, professedly at least, the emperors who succeeded down to the third Otho, all whose intention seems to have been to favor faith and to honor the holy Roman Church."* Under the Carlovingians, in every political mission, in every temporal affair requiring two persons, a bishop and a count were always united as the agents of government; never a count or bishop alone.† The bishops are exhorted to agree with the counts, and the counts with the bishops, in order that both may fulfil their respective ministry. Thus a capitulary of 789 says, "Let there be peace and concord between bishops and abbots on the one side, and counts and judges on the other; for without peace nothing pleases God." This citation is continually occurring in the ordinances of Charlemagne. The crosier, the sword, and the crook, were symbolical of one government; the sword of that which was to defend by temporal power the other two from the adversaries who against reason would disturb and molest them.‡ So at the coronation of the Emperor Otho in 1209, one of the questions addressed to him by Pope Innocent III., in St. Peter's Church, was whether he wished to live in peace with the Church; and upon his answering thrice in the affirmative, the pontiff replied, "So give I you the peace which our Lord gave to his disciples." The difficulty of this union shows what an influence had then the principle and love of peace. "Since the fall the world is Manichæan," says a French historian, "and always will it feel the struggle af the two principles. We wish not to believe that there is this duality, but we find it every where—nowhere more than in ourselves. What do you seek? Peace. Such has always been the object; but man is and ever will be double: according to the form of the middle ages, he will always have in himself the pope and the emperor." What is admirable, therefore, in the middle ages, is the solicitude which was exercised to counteract this element of discord, and to preserve the two powers of the state in harmony.

Murmur as men will, by the law of nature, as St. Thomas shows,§ it is the spiritual that must have precedence. "As the body is governed by the soul, so should the temporal power be subservient to the Church," says Ives de Chartres, addressing Henry I., king of England. "Kowing this, you should understand that you are not the lord, but the servant of the servants of God; not the possessor, but the protector. You ought to be one of the cedars of Libanus which the Lord hath planted, in which the sparrows build their nests; that is, under whose safeguard the poor of Christ converse and bring forth fruit in peace."‖

"O, wonderful power and infallible grace of the Saviour," exclames St. Augustin, speaking of the Roman pontiff. "Who could believe that a plebeian fisherman sohuld be prince of the apostles, to resist kings, to sanctify kings, to command all kingdoms, to bridle the world by law, to order all virtues, to open heaven to men when he wished, and to shut when it pleased him, to give an im-

* De Regim. Princ. iii. 17. † Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Merid. iv. 15.
‡ Jehan de Brie, Le vray Régime des Bergers. § De Reg. Prin. iii. 10.
‖ Io. Carnot. Epist. cvi.

mortal kingdom to the converts, to deny it to the perverse, to take cognizance of the merits of the world!"* This was no usurped dominion, as our weak adversaries at present pretend. It was but the reconciliation of earth with heaven, the fruit of divine charity, as St. Leo observes, when addressing Rome, in the memorable words: "Less was that which warlike labor gained for you, with all your victories, than that which has been made yours by Christian peace:" and so far were the people from regarding it with suspicion, that Magna Charta was granted, according to the words of its preface, "for the exaltation of the Holy Church." At the head of the demands of the barons, who extorted it, was that the Church should have freedom and all her rights. Magna Charta, therefore, rested upon the great principle which the Protestant charters reverse and destroy. In the living societies of Catholic times, to secure the interest of one part was to conduce to the felicity of the whole; and instead of an artificial, disjointed state there was a natural and harmonious community. Kings themselves, if just, had nothing to reply when addressed by the Church in words like these of the bishops of France in 858. "These things we say, not as exacting exaggerations against your domination but as discharging the duty of our ministry. Truly, we ought, and we wish to believe you such, that you do not desire the augmentation of your kingdom to the detriment of your soul. There is no reasonable cause which should stimulate you against our petitions; for we are not men to move, and disseminate, and nourish quarrels, dissensions, or seditions, or wars, since the Lord had chosen to ordain us preachers and followers of peace, whose office is to weep for our sins, and for the people committed to us, and to have war with vices, and peace with the brethren. We truly desire and seek peace and quiet, not quarrels and wars; because, as the Apostle saith, our arms are not carnal, but spiritual, our feet being shod in preparation of the Gospel of peace; and we militate, not for an earthly, but for a heavenly King, and for the safety of all the people committed to us; it being our office to hurt no one, to act unfaithfully towards no one, but to wish to render service to all men."†

Struggles, undoubtedly, there were, as we shall see in the concluding book; out all through the ages of faith kings might have been addressed by the clergy in the words of the archbishop of Rouen to Henry III, of England: "The word of God is not bound in our mouth, but in the spirit of liberty we speak what gives salvation to souls, quiet to the people, freedom to the church, honor to God, and deliverance to the country."‡ The Manual of Warriors says, expressly, "The emperor cannot make war against the Church, and if he attempt it, his subjects are not bound to aid him."§ Ratherius of Verona thus speaks to the Emperor Otho:—"Be not like those who embrace that foolish wisdom of the world, which our true pacific, beautiful above the sons of men, hath confounded,

* Serm. de Petro et Paulo. † Ap. Baronius. ad an. 858. ‡ Pet. Bles. Epist. xxxiii.
§ L'Arbre des Batailles.

rather than the eternal and true wisdom ; changing the vessels of Egypt, not into utensils for the tabernacle of the Lord, but using them as ornaments of the same Egypt, to serve the purposes of earthly altitude, representing that dragon, the pomp of the world, as triumphing, not hurled down by Michael. You introduce Scipio, Pompey, and Cato, rather than Peter, and Paul, and John—wars of the Emathean fields rather than the councils held by Christian doctors. Therefore, since they are of earth, while they abdicate celestial things, and speak only of the earth, let them fear, lest they be devoured by that ancient dragon ; for thus He, who cannot lie, promised, 'Earth shalt thou eat all the days of thy life.' Cease to think that you can judge bishops: you can spoil, you can banish, you can imprison, you can deprive of sight, you can mutilate ; yea, to your own prejudice, you can kill ; but that name, that sceptre, that crown and purple, that benediction, that power of binding and loosing, that judgment, that principality, that angelic office, that apostleship, that pontificate, that kingdom, that pastoral office, lastly, what is above all, that unction, you cannot, with all your force or authority, ever take away. But this is needless to say to you, whom I perceive to be most Christian, and remote from the madness of tyrannic power."*

Assuredly, the world felt the influence of pacific hearts when this spiritual government had such power, defended as it was in reality, as to human means, only by the sentiment of duty, or what a French historian terms "the grand mystic poesy of its bulls," like that beginning "Unam sanctam," which electrified the twelfth century ; when the spiritual sword derived an edge and irresistible force from such symbols as the dove and the ark, and the tunic without seam, each of which could protect the popedom. To the deepest recesses of their heart men felt the shock when there was the least infringement on its integrity, in which consisted the source of all true peace. Pope Leo IX., a German, owed his election to the emperor. On entering Rome to take possession, he heard, it is said, a voice of angels singing, "Dicit Dominus, Ego cogito cogitationes pacis." He instantly recollected the influence which had raised him to the primal seat, and resigned, but then by the cardinals and people was re-elected † In the calm majesty of the popedom kings themselves might have seen the only lasting basis of their own tranquillity, for, as Gerbert says of the Roman and apostolic chair. "Quid deinceps stabilietur si id dissolvitur ?"

Such, then, was the glorious republic of Christians till the monarchal absolutism, arising from unsound faith, commenced by Philip-le-Bel, and completed by Louis XI., was established nearly in all kingdoms. Vengeance on the first, according to a general opinion, was not slow to follow. His eldest son kills his wife, his daughter her husband. "In less than thirteen years," says the chronicles of St. Denis, all his lineage was extinct,"‡ while Toulouse still mourns for hav-

* Præloquiorum Lib. iii. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ix.

† Martini Fuldens, Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i. ‡ Ad an. 1327.

ing given Nogaret his instrument to France. The Gallican party, which began with Guillaume de St. Amour, whose portrait, on the window of the Sorbonne, existed till the Revolution, sought to compose these dislocations, and to organize the disorder, yet the force of truth often prevailed to the restoration of harmony. "We have carefully avoided extending our power," says a king of France in 1717, "over what concerns doctrine, of which the deposit has been confided to another power."* So far we have seen the pacific form in all systems of Catholic government. It only remains to speak of its development in the idea respecting a unity of empire, which was sought to be realized in the middle ages.

"I thought that the office designed for you was to destroy Rome," said a barbarian to Alaric on his leaving the eternal city, "but I perceive that it is to labor henceforth to preserve it." In fact, the barbarians thought to restore the ancient Roman empire, but they finally discovered that the true Rome then existing, was the humble pacific Rome. It was not merely genius, as in the instance of Brunehaud, that dictated such hopes. Men cherished them through the desire of peace. Let us hear Vincent of Beauvais. "The Roman empire," says he, "is erected by God over all men, as supreme arbiter in temporals; and other princes govern only by privilege granted by it; for if there were no one greater than all others by law, who could put an end to disputes? Then would follow many discords, robberies, slaughters, and wars, to the destruction of all peace: but if we live under one head, if we were all to follow one obedience, if we were to recognize one supreme prince in temporals, the consequence would be peace every where, and the sweetest concord, a manifest proof of which is that from the beginning of the world till this day, we read that there never was a universal peace, excepting when the eyes of the whole world were directed to one Cæsar Augustus, which was permitted to happen then on account of the reverence of Christ, our Redeemer, who assumed our human form; yet it ought to suffice that the Divine Creator of the world has shown how we might have peace, if all the world were under one prince. The privileges, therefore, of other kings ought not to avail against this power, nor ought a prince to tolerate things which tend to the subversion of the empire."† Unity, such was the aim from the beginning. In the second age St. Irenæus wrote against the Gnostics his book on the unity of the principle of the world—De Monarchia. Such is again the title of Dante's work, on the unity of the social world. A French historian adds, "that his book is extravagant, but that its formula is peace, as the condition of development, peace under one sovereign."‡ "The pope and the emperor, wondrous system," he exclaims, "material force, the flesh, in the empire; in the church, the word, spirit: force every where, spirit at the centre, spirit having dominion over force; the son of the serf stronger than Frederic Barbarossa."

* Declar. du 7 Oct. 1717.

† Specul. Historiale, liv. xxxi. in fin.

‡ Michelet, Hist. de France, iii. 59.

Dante, like Vincent, would have attached the organization of Christian Europe to the traditions of the ancient Roman empire, in the establishment of which, he traced the designs of Providence, providing for the good of men. Peace is the great object, in his theory of government; which, indeed, explains all those axioms of the middle ages respecting the monarch being the minister of all.* These ideas of the temporal society entered even into his mystic visions, as when he saw the command to love justice written in characters of fire, till the letter M alone remained in a crown of glory, as the initial of monarchy, which was then superseded by an eagle, as an emblem of the holy Roman empire.

Our limits will not permit us to follow the history of these political views. Charlemagne, in dividing the empire between his three sons, assigned as his motive, the desire of preventing after his death quarrels, respecting succession, and of maintaining a peace that was to last for ever. The object was laudable—but the means were inadequate. They were rather according to the old tradition of Germanic customs, than to the reasonable views of enlightened men at the time, who sought to establish peace. As Fauriel remarks, "the popes and an eminent portion of the clergy of Gaul, regarded this object as only to be attained by preserving the unity of the empire. When Louise-le-Débonnaire, in 833, saw himself opposed by his three sons on the Rhine, Pope Gregory IV. intervened with this view in favor of Lothaire."† The most energetic and enlightened portion of the clergy entered into the opposition against Louis-le-Débonnaire, with the same views as had dictated the constitution of 817, which he had reversed, in order to preserve the unity of the empire. "The struggle," as Fauriel observes, "was in fact between two contrary ideas,—the Germanic in favor of the indefinite partition of the empire, and the Roman, tending to its unity. The bishops attached to Louis-le-Débonnaire, who took umbrage at the interference of the pope, were political men, less concerned about the church, than about the state, and who in regard to the state itself, had no project of a better order of things for the future."‡ Fauriel doubts whether the sacerdotal portion of the adherents of Lothaire had any power to prevent the deposition of his father. If they did act, it was through weakness and compulsion. Yet, at their deaths, the biographer of Louis-le-Débonnaire says, "that the kingdom of the Franks deprived of them, lost nobility, valor, and wisdom." The grief with which they beheld their hopes of a universal government expire, is feelingly expressed by the monk who wrote the life of Wala. "O that fatal day," he exclaims, "which dissolved the union of the empire, and laid the seeds of civil war, whence all our calamities and sorrows flow! O that day, day of clouds and darkness! O execrable day which first heard that counsel! This is the hour of the wrath of God, the hour which summons us to retribution, in which the eyes of all men are opened with Balaam

* Dante de Monarchia, ii. St. Thom. i. 11. Q. 76. 4. † Hist. de la Gaule Mer. iv. 131.
‡ Id. iv. 137

the soothsayer, when we all fall down, and the rod of the fury of God watches over us, and when all the justice of law is violated."* Nevertheless, neither the final dismemberment of the empire of the Franks under the second race, which required fifty years' war, nor the division of the kingdom into two states under the first, ought to be imputed to the fault of the kings, since, as Thierry shows, both were the effect of causes which no power could resist: for Louis-le-Débonnaire and his sons were impelled by the movement of two distinct races, which cherished the memory of independence.†

It is remarkable, that the Carlovingian Romances, like that of Renaud de Montauban, were written under the auspices of the feudal lords, descendants of the chiefs, who at the end of the second race had broken to pieces the Carlovingian monarchy, and that the spirit of their fathers had descended to them, so that the romances are directed against the unity of the monarchy, which their ancestors had destroyed, celebrating the rebellions of the Carlovingian dukes and counts, and even depreciating Charlemagne himself.‡ For many ages, however, the world lived on two ideas of order and peace—the one never to perish, the holy Roman Pontificate, the other subject to contingencies, the holy Roman empire—two universal hierarchies, to secure harmony between kings and each other, and between kings and the people committed to them.

We ought not to close this chapter without taking into account with the pacific ideal of government, that of the subjects who were to be governed. Had Cicero known a Catholic community, he would not have said "that no animal is more morose than man, or more difficult to be ruled."§ In ages of faith, as in all others, the Lord sees iniquity and contradiction in the city, and stretches out his hands to the people, and says, "Father, forgive them;" but they who think iniquities in their heart, and who all day long constitute battles, were then less numerous or less able to disturb the peace of the Christian society. The Church could address men in the prophet's words, and say, "Dominator quem vos quæritis," without intending to perplex them. Therefore, the fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, of Metz, in their address to the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, could say to them with confidence, "If you be reconciled to God, you may lay aside all fear of men; for He will fulfil in you, what He promised, saying, 'Cum placuerint Domino viæ hominis omnes inimicos ejus convertet ad pacem.'" Accordingly, it was in later times, that arose those politic maxims, and that cumbersome luggage of war, argument of human weakness, rather than of strength. The force of opinion was then the best rampart to cities, as when the Emperor Henry and his wife, Cunegund, were said to have surrounded the church and city of Bamberg with a silken thread, against the attacks of all enemies.‖ "Instead of the ancient idea of the general will, that of duty and of truth became predominant in the middle ages," says the biographer of Ger-

* Lib. ii. † Lettres, x. ‡ Fauriel. § De Fin. v. ‖ Heumann de Re. Dip. iii. 159.

bert.* All guides of the people would then have said with Peter of Blois, "may you have peace and holiness, the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace, for no form can be found more expressive of angelic conversation than social unity."† The fathers of the council of Mayence under Raban Maur, in 847, decree as follows: "Truly it is necessary that there should be peace and concord, and unanimity, in the Christian people, because we have one Father in Heaven, and one mother, the Church, one faith, one baptism. Therefore, in one peace and unanimity we ought concordantly to live, if we desire to attain to the one true inheritance of the celestial kingdom, for God is not the God of dissension, but of peace, as He himself says; and if among all the faithful, peace and concord are essential, according to the Apostle, who says, 'follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which no one shall see God,' much more ought bishops and counts to be at concord, each of whom shall endeavor to assist the other in the discharge of his ministry. Since then peace and concord are to be esteemed the chief good among Christians, and as qualifying them for the title of sons of God, we ordain and confirm by the ecclesiastical authority, that all those who make conspiracies against the king, or the ecclesiastical dignities, or any legitimate powers of the republic in any order, are to be removed from the communion of Catholics loving true peace; and unless by penance and amendment they should be restored to ecclesiastical peace, are to be cut off from all society with the sons of peace."‡

It is clear from what we have seen throughout this history from the beginning, that elements of peace existed in the state upon which governments could always reckon with confidence, and which, undoubtedly, were necessary to give efficiency to the principles on which those governments were formed. Such was the fact noticed by Tertullian, and which still continued to have an immense influence, that a Christian is the enemy of no one, and certainly not of the emperor, whom he knows to be constituted by God.§

These were not the times when a king was unhappy or miserable: miserable if he wished to retain his crown, unhappy if he was unable. The streets of cities never during the worst moment of the middle ages, heard the cry, "We will not that God should reign over us, or a king who pretends to reign by the grace of God: we will have no other king but such as we choose to make ourselves." Men would not have revered as lovers of their country, guides like Milton, who believed, as Johnson says, "that man was made for rebellion;" nor would they have applauded or taken up arms after hearing such harangues as those of Heinsius, in which he says, "Liberty wishes to be attacked; it wishes to be engaged with iron; it wishes to combat an enemy; it grows in arms; it is nourished not with milk but with blood."‖ The total absence of all such pagan thoughts constitutes one of these facts. So alien were they, that the historian of Brescia ac-

* Hock Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert 9.
† Epist. lxxvi.
‡ Ap. Heumann, de Re. Diplomat. ii. 337, 338.
§ Ad Scap. c. 2
‖ Orat. xvii.

counts for the divisions which distracted that city at the time he wrote, by saying, "that whoever deserts that light which illuminates every man coming into this world, can never attain to the way of rectitude."* "Consider in what straits you are placed," says Petrarch to one who was fomenting war in Italy, "when not one of the titles to which you aspire can be yours; for I deny that you can be even called an orator, since all who have written upon that art declare that he must be a good man, which you can never be while you are the adversary of peace, while your tongue is the root of the public misery; for if you had not spoken, inflaming minds with venomous words, Italy would not have mourned. Remember the command of Truth, love one another, love your enemies, follow peace and holiness, without which no one shall see God. Put on the love of peace, lest you be an alien to those men of good-will to whom the angels announced peace."†

Another of these facts was that of the existence of multitudes, whose life even by vow was private, unactive, calm, contemplative, little suspicious to any king, while all the weight of education tended to keep others from bristling up the crest of youth against the supreme authority. The maxims of government conveyed in the pastoral lessons of Jehan de Brie, suppose the pacific innocence of the people. "The lambs," says the author, "being so young and tender, ought to be treated lovingly, and without violence; they ought not to be struck or injured in any manner."‡ No nation would have boasted in ages of faith that it was the cave of Æolus, from which, at the wink of a minister, all the unsettled humors of the land, rash, inconsiderate, fiery hosts of voluntaries, with fierce dragon spleens would rush forth to make Christendom their prey, and gore the gentle bosom of its peace. "There have been commotions and riots in Paris, Rouen, Montpelier, Lyons, and other cities of France," says an ancient historian; "but we must not impute such boilings over of humor to the magistrates, or to the noble citizens, any more than the seditions of the Israelites to holy Moses, but only to the dregs of the populace, which are like froth."§ "While citizens obey their prince," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "they have a quiet heart and tranquil times, and can exercise their different offices in security; so that, unless where he commands things contrary to the law of God, it is a great folly in them not to obey him."‖ The tranquillity of order, which was the result of peace, was known to be the right disposition of equals and unequals.¶ Degree was not, therefore, a source of discontent, and as for calamitous times when evil men reigned, the people knew, as Albert the Great remarks, "that God permits such afflictions for the punishment of men's sins, and for the exercise of the good in patience: therefore, in all times, subjects endeavored to have peace with their

* Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xiv. † Epist. x. 17.
‡ Le Vray Régime des Bergers, chap. iv. § Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, iii. 17.
‖ De Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 22.
¶ Hugonis Floriacensis Tract. de Regia Potestate, 1. 4. ap Baluze, Miscel. ii.

princes." "Time commands princes, wait then for time," was the precept of Cardan to his sons.* The old question of Gall, as stated by Tacitus, "Libertas an pax placeret," without, therefore, being solved in the sense of Grotius,† who decides absolutely for the latter, on ground that would not have satisfied St. Thomas, involved no men personally in a dilemma. Even on their tombs we find proclaimed the love of that obedience, which in the end is the best safeguard of liberty, which St. Isidore says is peace. In the convent of the great Augustins, at Paris, on the sepulchre of Gui du Faur, Seigneur de Pibrac, president of the parliament, were read these lines:

"Il est permis souhaiter un bon Prince;
Mais tel qu'il est, il le convient porter."

A sentence ratified in advance by Cicero himself, who deems any peace more useful than civil war.‡ The provisions made for preserving peace in the event of a great and manifest utility, suggesting to the community the expediency of a change of ancient laws, are worthy of being observed, though I cannot stop to enumerate them.§ The general conviction then was, "that all zeal for a reform that gives offence to peace and charity, is mere pretence." Lupus, writing to Charles the Bald, says, "not to flatter you, but through regard for the safety of your subjects, I declare that if they observe not their oaths to you, they will bring death on their souls; nor can they be the sons of God, who are unwilling to be pacific."‖ "Let us cease to act perversely," he says elsewhere, "and learn to do well. Let us cease from seeking carnal, and sometimes think of gaining spiritual things; that cupidity may be tempered and moderated, let us call to mind the quick transit of those whom we have seen in dignities, nor forget that we are following them. Let us recover the manners by which this kingdom grew and flourished. Let there be no factions, no conspiracies among us, who invoke a common Father, to whom priests so often say, 'Pax vobis,' for whom all priests cordially pray, 'Da propitius pacem in diebus nostris,' and to whom it is said, 'Beati pacifici.' Let us not think lightly of the woe pronounced upon those who cause scandals. Let us through fear of God and regard to our own interest, endeavor unanimously to procure the public good, that we may obtain tranquillity for the faithful, and procure from the Almighty that two-fold peace, such as can be found at present, and such as will be given to the elect hereafter."¶ Marsilius Ficinus, in few words, sums up the Catholic doctrine on this subject. "We know from infinite good," he says, "that all things turn to good to the just; and we have learned from Paul, the herald of Christ, to obey princes."**

Nor was any undue advantage taken of these dispositions according to the pacific ideal of government, predominant in ages of faith, though modern English

* Præcept. ad Filios. libel. 2 † De Jure Belli, &c. ii. 24. ‡ Phil. ii.
§ Dion. Carthus. de Vit. et Reg. Princip. iii. 18. ‖ Epist. xcvi. ¶ Epist. c.
** Epist. Lib. iii

writers choose to affirm that "king, priest and soldier harshly associated every base and degrading idea with the very name of the people."* Persons who are conversant with the writings of the middle ages, need not be told that the good of the people as being that of the community, was proclaimed the end of all just government. Slavery was not considered peace, but rather its direct foe, as placing the governed, and those who govern, in a false position. The Angel of the School, in his admirable treatise on government, in denouncing tyranny, evinces the most noble regard for freedom,† and expressly teaches that the consequence of tyranny is to render men servile and pusillanimous. He shows that, in a just monarchy, the occasion of tyranny must be taken away, and at the same time, that the power of the king must be so tempered, that he may not be able to tyrannize. He says, that "if the contract be not observed by the king, the people have a right to obtain redress by judicial means."‡ Donatus Barbadorus, the jurisconsult and embassador of Florence, went farther, for in presence of the pope he said, "there can be no cause of war more just than the defence of the liberty of one's country, in which are comprised houses, children, wives, and fortune, and churches, and all divine and human things."§ But the Church sought and labored with a ceaseless solicitude to prevent the possibility of such a collision; and hence all those measures in the exercise of her recognized right, which modern writers have so foolishly condemned. The strongest sympathies of St. Bonaventura, as those of Dante, who spoke the real sentiment of ages of faith, are on the side of the people: for the powerful who seek a separate interest from that of the community, they have only words of severe admonition or words of terror.‖ "If you ask," says the author of the Tree of Battles, "what is the difference between a prince and a tyrant, John Andrieu will tell you in a gloze, saying, 'that he who is a true prince, always labors for the utility of the poor commons, and for the good of the country, whereas a tyrant only thinks of filling his purse, and so he succeeds he cares not how.'" One need only read the letters and discourses of the Franciscan, Antonio de Guevara, preacher of the Emperor Charles V., to see with what discretion and justice such men labored to promote the happiness of the state, and to prevent every abuse which might afflict the people. "In all ages, in the most difficult times," says Thierry, "there have been men in France to defend justice and liberty, and in regard to the last, our forefathers have surmounted more obstacles than we shall ever meet with;"¶ truly a remarkable admission. The middle ages, in fact, witnessed the liberty of the subject, while later times have beheld the slavery of the independent.

In the division of the kingdom of Lothaire by his brothers, Charles and Louis, Nithard relates that it was made less according to material equality than to the

* Palgrave, Truths and Fictions of the Mid. Age. † De Regim. Princip. Lib. i. 3.
‡ Id. Lib. i. c. 6. § Poggii Bracciol. Hist. Florent. Lib. ii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xx.
‖ Ozanam, La Philosophie de Dante, 172. ¶ Litt. sur l. Hist. de France, i.

greater or less degrees of affinity and fitness between the populations. Unhappily, it cannot be a question, whether, on an occasion analogous, the people would be treated with equal consideration at the present day. Kings were told in the middle ages that they would have to answer for the rebellion of their subjects, unless they had made every effort to conciliate their love. "As a prince," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "must endeavor to surpass other men in virtues, so must he strive with all his force that his people may have peace with him; and though the people should prove themselves unworthy, yet he, for the love of God, and through zeal for the divine honor, ought to do all things for their common utility, lest God should be dishonored by the rebellion and discord of his people. Moreover, as he ought to love them with a spiritual love, he should strive to secure for them the peace which is so necessary for their salvation; and to remove all occasion that could induce them to murmur and disobey. A sense of justice, too, should make him labor by every possible means to obtain for them concord; for that is the end of his authority. Above all, the remembrance of the final judgment of God should make him spare no effort to gain them peace; for, as he will have to give an account for all their sins arising from his negligence, terrible will be his sentence if, perchance, by his indiscretion or fault there should be given any occasion to the people for rebellion and discord. Therefore, to avoid eternal punishment, he must provide for peace between himself and his people, and not be ready to excuse himself easily."*

The celebrated treaty of Constance, between the Emperor Frederic I. and Henry VI., his son, and of the confederate states of Lombardy in 1183, begins, after the usual invocation, with these words: "The mild serenity of the imperial clemency is accustomed always to show that grace and favor to its subjects, that, although it ought and could correct offences with strict severity, yet it studies rather with the propitious tranquillity of peace and the pious affections of mercy, to rule the Roman empire, and recall the insolence of rebels to their due fidelity."† These were the results which the ecclesiastical voice was ever raised to procure. Antonio de Guevara the Franciscan, writing to certain rebels who disturbed Spain in the time of Charles V., says, "When I was at Villabrassima, in your presence, I preached nothing to you but penance; and when I was at Rio Seco I preached nothing to the governors but clemency and mercy." It would be impossible to describe in more exact terms the action of the clergy in regard to subjects and to kings.

Such, then, was the influence of pacific hearts upon the views respecting government which prevailed in ages of faith. The Church uttered no voice clearer, and promised nothing greater: for self-devotion and obedience from a sense of duty, as the keystone of all her institutions, was her universal principle, and what she promised, as the consequence, was peace. Some will here object that

* De Vit. et Regim. Princip. iii. 26. † Ap. Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. xlviii

the promise was not fulfilled. Strictly, perhaps not; but the Roman philosopher observes that things are named always after their greater part, even if there be a deficiency; so that if the Catholic state were disordered in part, yet, from its greater part of harmony, must it deservedly be named pacific. Besides, granting that the promise was not fully realized, still, to use the words of the same philosopher, "I count this itself a great thing, that there was such a promise." Truly it was not always realized. There is often an inflicting contrast between the sublime ideal and the powerless, desolating reality. But how can we require perfect order in the political when the moral world is so troubled? peace in the state, when there are combats in each man's breast? "Here," says St. Augustin, "we have peace only in hope; for, as yet, what peace is within us? Where is there perfect peace in one man? But when there will be perfect peace in one man, then there will be perfect peace in all the citizens of Jerusalem."* Probably, too, some princes defended and established peace, moved, at least, at first, by mere human motives; but on these we have the authority of St. Augustin for looking with milder eyes than those of censure. "This state," says he, "which is called Babylon, has its lovers consulting for temporal peace, and hoping for nothing beyond it, and fixing all their joy there, and terminating it there; and we see them laboring much for the earthly republic. But yet if men faithfully employ themselves in it, if they do not seek their pride, and perishable honor, and indolent vanity, but exercise a true faith as much as they can, and as long as they can, and to whomever they can, God does not suffer them to perish in Babylon, God understands their captivity, and shows to them another city, for which they ought truly to sigh, for which they ought to endeavor all things, to the attainment of which they ought to exhort, as far as they are able, their fellow-citizens and strangers. 'O Sancta Sion! ubi totum stat et nihil fluit.'"† "What is this world," cries Peter of Blois, "but misery and a flying shadow? Let pass then, as they are temporal, the kingdoms of this world, and let us hasten, with all the intention of our mind, to that rest which no grief disturbs: let us ascend, by the degrees of charity, to that city, in which God alone reigns King for evermore."‡

* In. Ps. cxlvii. † Id. Tractat. in Ps. cxxxvi. ‡ Epist. xxxv.

CHAPTER VIII.

THAT the pacific ideal of government led to no practical results is a conclusion, however, to which a study of the historical sources of the ages of faith will never lead. Not without visible effect had the world heard those joyful anthems of the church, "Rex pacificus magnificatus est; cujus vultum desiderat universa terra;" and "Magnificatus est rex pacificus super omnes reges universæ terræ." Here was, indeed, a prodigious change on earth. In his letter to the Roman Senate, Trajan, enumerating the evils of a ruler, observes that if a king be pacific he is regarded as a coward. Very different was the consequence, in the middle ages, of resembling the great prototype of Christian rulers, the mysteries of whose nativity, as the Church desires, infused peace into men. One may conceive what was the revolution of opinion respecting the glory of a monarch's reign from the expression of an old chronicler, who, speaking of Charlemagne, says, "Cujus vita gloriosa et mitissima."* Meekness was glory.

The writers of the middle ages were not like Tyrtæus the poet, who reserved all his praises for those who were of illustrious fame in war.† The object of their highest admiration and warmest sympathy was often what Homer terms φυγοπτόλεμος, a warflier:‡ one who shed tears, not blood; not an Homeric shepherd of the people, who longed to wear a garment all of blood,

Θύνοντ' ἐν προμάχοισιν, ἐναίροντα στίχας ἀνδρῶν,

but pastors of the Christian type, of cheerful semblance and sweet majesty, whose desire is expressed on so many of the ancient coins, on which we read, Pax æterna; Pax augusta; Pax orbis terrarum; Pax perpetua et libertas; whose ambition was to be styled, as many were, Fundatores pacis, and Paciferi;§ and whose reigns were not the less glorious, even if viewed with the eyes of old philosophy; for Pindar, who is its voice, declares that in happiness which alone they wished for their people, consists the summit of glory.‖

The ages of faith have but one voice to magnify the rulers who loved peace. With what praise does Alfonso of Carthagena speak of the pacific kings of Spain—Sigeric, Enricus, Recared, Suintila II., Tulgas, Recensuindus, Wamba, Egica, Silo, Veremundus, Alphonso II., Garsias, son of Alphonso III., Froila II., Al-

* Chronic. Monast. Mellicensis, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Austriac, tom. i. † Plato de Legibus, i.
‡ Od. xiv. 213. § Pignovius, ap. Muratori, tom. x. p. 328. ‖ Nem. Od. i.

phonso IV., Ordonius III., Sancius I., Ranimirus III., Santius the elder, Sancius III., called the Desired Alphonso IX.; all of whom, he says, are painted wearing a pacific robe, because, though some reigned very long, they had no wars.* Truly, the number of such kings was great, if we survey the whole of our history. "War," said the King Don Alonzo, "is a thing which should never be undertaken without a long previous examination, as to the justice of the grounds." Don Savedra cites another king of Spain, who was so anxious to justify an expedition which he had undertaken, that even after having had in his favor the opinion of many theologians and jurisconsults, and after his army had arrived at the very scene where the action was to commence, he stopped, in order to return, and again consult with them.†

Some writers say, that it was in order not to kindle a civil war that Wamba abdicated the crown in favor of the traitor of Ervig, and retired into a convent. Let us turn to France. There, amongst the Merovingian kings, we ought not to look for the pacific type; and yet they are not without its traces.

Of Clotaire II. the chronicles of St. Denis say, "He was a man of great patience, full of the fear of the Lord."‡ Nantilde, widow of Dagobert I., would not defend with rivers of blood the avenues to the throne, to which her son was called. Of Clovis II. we read, "This king governed peaceably, without war or battle, all the days of his life."§ Charles Martel himself is praised for having left France in great peace and prosperity.‖ "In all lands hath gone the sound of the piety and goodness of Robert, the most sweet and religious king of the Francs," says his biographer. And, describing his countenance, he says, that his sweet lips seemed formed for giving the kiss of holy peace.¶

Charlemagne, commending his empire to the prayers of religious communities, says, that it may delight you to pray assiduously for the stability of our kingdom, and for the quiet of our people.** The address of the patriarch, John of Jerusalem, so solemnly sent to Charlemagne, and that also of Constantine, make mention of his love of peace. "You love peace from your heart," says the former; "and when you find it you preserve it in supreme charity." And the latter said, "You are a defender of peace, and seek it with great desire, and keep it in great love."†† To the pacific disposition of his son and successor, Louis, we have many testimonies. That of Agobard is remarkable, who says to him, "I have presumed to remind you of these words of Pope Gregory, that, as no one doubts that you are ineffably more a lover of the celestial than of the earthly kingdom; and as, according to your faith, you can by no other work so much please God as by solicitude in the maintaining of peace and unity, you may labor to make every faith-

* Alph. Carthag. Reg. Hisp. Anacephalæosis. † Christian Prince, ii. 325. ‡ Liv. v. 8.
§ Id v. 22. ‖ Christian Princ. v. 27.
¶ Helgaldi Vit. Rob. ap. Duchesne Hist. Franc. Script. iv.
** Ap. Heumann. de Re Dipl. i. 115. †† Les Chroniques de St. Denis, Liv. iii. 4.

ful soul advance in faith and in the knowledge of God."* "This emperor," say the chronicles of St. Denis, "always loved peace and concord, and not alone with his sons, but with strangers also, and even with his enemies, who had at times sworn his death."† "When he thought that danger was at hand, he feared not for himself, but for the state of the holy church which he had to protect."‡ "Cruel affliction it was for him to be obliged to take up arms in 840, at the beginning of Lent, a season which he was accustomed to spend in matins, and fasts, and prayers, and almsgiving; but now he would not give himself a single day's rest through the desire which he had to obtain peace and concord for the holy church."§ "Louis-le-Débonnaire left nothing undone," says Heumann, "to preserve concord at home and abroad, to cause justice to be maintained, and the fury of hostile invasions averted."‖ In his precepts to his sons, on dividing the kingdom between them, he makes the most minute and judicious provisions with a view to prevent, if possible, the least occasion of discord from arising. "If there should be any controversy concerning boundaries, which testimonies cannot remove," he says, "let the will of God be sought by the judgment of the Cross; but let not for such a cause any battle of any kind take place."¶ In his imperial epistle to the people of God generally he ascribes the famine and pestilence of the time to the sins of those who disturbed peace: "Nor do we doubt," he says, "that these things are sent as a divine punishment, in consequence of the scandals which arise in this kingdom from tyrants who endeavor to destroy the peace of the Christian people, and the unity of the empire."** In the midst of these civil discords he felt his last hour arrived. Who could relate the care which he had for the holy Church, the joy he felt when he saw it in good estate, and the grief and compassion of his heart when it was in tribulation? Who could number the tears he shed in praying our Lord to comfort it? He did not mourn because he was about to pass from this life, but on account of the tribulations which he perceived would ensue after his death. "Alas!" he cried, "why does my life finish in such sorrow, and such persecution of peace and concord?"††

Among the princes who contended for the divided empire, Lewis, King of Germany, who died at Frankfort, in 876, is praised by the Saxon annalist as a most Catholic prince, and ardent executor of the things which are justice and peace. Hearing that Charles was about to break the treaty, he sent embassadors telling him "to be mindful of Jesus Christ, that he should spare the sword, and shudder at the dire cupidity to shed human blood." Even in these deplorable contests the voice of peace is heard. At the meeting of the three royal brothers at Coblentz, Charles said aloud in the Romance tongue, "The men who have acted, as you know, against me, I forgive on account of God and for his love; and I give them their

* De Comparatione utriusque regiminis. † Id. i. c 21. ‡ Id. 22. § Id. 23.
‖ De Re Diplom. i. 216. ¶ Ap. Duchesne, Annal. Franc. ii. 331. ** Id. i. 453.
†† Chroniques de St. Denis, i. 23.

property, if they will engage to be pacific in my kingdom, and so to live as Christians in a Christian kingdom ought to live."* One article of the convention in 878 is to this effect: "If any whisperers and detractors envying our peace and hostile to the peace of our kingdom, should wish to sow quarrels between us, neither of us will receive him, and all our faithful will reject him as a liar, and sower of discord between brethren."† Lewis Balbus, who governed Burgundy, is called a mild prince and a lover of peace, and Carloman, king of Bavaria, is termed "just and pacific."‡ In the annals of Metz, Carolomann is described as "a learned king, devoted to the Christian religion, just and pacific."§ Charles the Bald says in a public act, "during the conflict with my brothers, I came to the village of Magniacum, where the body of the holy confessor Vincent is enshrined, and there, adoring God, I prayed that by his suffrages I might obtain divine protection, and be restored to tranquil prosperity."‖ "To us and to our brothers it seems fit," says Lothaire, "to seek the will of God, in order to learn how the holy Church can be restored, and how we and you, and the Christian people, may have peace."¶ Turning to England, we find King Edgar, who reigned in the tenth century, and who was such a friend to the Benedictines, that he boasted having founded or restored fifty houses of the order, obtaining the epithet of the Peaceful. The Church commemorates the saying of King Edward the Confessor, who knew not how to be angry, that he would rather want a kingdom which could not be obtained without slaughter. Even in the conqueror's own family, the pacific man was found, for if Robert de Courte-heuse wished to be of all birds a hawk, and Guillaume-le-Roux an eagle, Henry, the youngest brother, wished to be a starling, because it is a simple bird that injures nothing, and flies in concert with others of its kind, and if imprisoned in a cage consoles itself by song. Peter of Blois, perhaps in hopes of reminding him of his obligation, terms Henry II. "our pacific king."** But the truth is, that our Norman and English kings have not in general been glorious, as imitating the pacific type. Henry I., Henry III., Henry VI., Richard II., though wanting energy, and Henry VII. deserve recommendation, but the rest, as if to foreshow the dismal warfare which awaited us, breathed discord as their native element, and monitors were not wanting to intimate to them, that Satan was in their court, as if with a privileged right of entry.††

Let us, then, look elsewhere: King Louis, father of the saint, loved peace, so that it was thought he was alluded to in the prophecy of Merlin, under the epithet of the pacific lion.‡‡ St. Louis, who so pacifically extended his power, by an act of noble disinterestedness, put an end to the wars which had recommenced with the kings of England. When he knew of any high prince who had anger or

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ii. 356. † Id. ii. 378.
‡ Annal. Saxo ap. Eccardii Corpus Hist. Medii Ævi.
§ Ap. Heumann. de Re Diplom. ii. 287. ‖ Ap. id. i. 361. ¶ Ap. id. ii. 330. ** Epist. lxvi.
†† Pet. Bles. com. in Job. ‡‡ Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1226.

ill-will against him, which he did not dare to show openly, he drew him to peace charitably with gentleness, and thus converted his enemies into friends.* In his last advice to his son Philip, he said to him, "you ought to use all your strength to cause your people to live in peace. Beware of exciting war with any Christian man: whoever seeks pardon should obtain it."† The cry of the people of Paris when they heard of his being in danger of death was this, "why take from us the king who preserves us in peace?"‡ Indeed, kings who had such wishes were not singular in France. Suger says, that "the great protector of the people's peace, Louis le Gros, was so gentle and benign, that when a boy, some regarded him as simple;"§ he says, that this king was sweet, and beyond human thought, mild."‖ When he came in his last sickness to St. Denis, vast crowds of people followed him, and numbers left the towns and castles, and their plows in the fields, and wept tenderly through the love they bore him, because of the peace which they had enjoyed by his protection.¶ In 1190, on the coronation of Richard, King of England, Philip Augustus, for the good of peace, gave to him the cities of Tours and Mans, with Chastel Raoul, and all that he had conquered from King Henry, his father.** When the Viscount de Thouars besought Philip to pardon his treason, and sent messengers on the king's arrival at the castle of Loudun, "the king," says the chronicle of St. Denis, "who, according to his custum, preferred much to conquer his enemies by peace rather than by battle, received the viscount to amity."†† "He had the fear of our Lord fixed in his heart," say the chronicles. But let us turn to the Germans. Speaking of the Emperor St. Henry, a contemporary writer says, "as Moses triumphed by prayer more than by arms, so the most glorious Prince Henry finished all wars by the arms of justice, and without bloodshed always triumphed. Thus did he subdue the Burgundians. This was a divine and not a human victory, for when the army was drawn up and prepared for battle, laying down their arms, not through the fear of man, but by the impulse of God, asking for the things which are of peace, the soldiers gave their right hand."‡‡ "In 1313," says another writer, "the Emperor Henry died at Florence, a man praiseworthy in every respect, pacific, and communicating every Sunday."§§

The Emperor Henry I., father of Otho the Great, we read, "though glorious in conquering enemies," which is an allusion to his defending Germany from the Sclavonians, Huns, and other Pagans who ravaged it, "yet being pacific, took no pains to receive the imperial crown and benediction, but suffered himself to be prevented by the tyrants who in succession disturbed Italy."‖‖ Otho the Great, who in some manner re-established the empire of Charlemagne, was another emi-

* Chroniques de St. Denis ad.an 1226 † Id. 1270. ‡ Ad an. 1244.
§ Id. 20. ‖ Chroniques de St. Denis, 1137. ¶ Vit. Lud. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv.
** Vita S. Hen. Imp. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii. †† Id ad an. 1190. ‡‡ Id. ad an. 1214.
§§ Erphurdianus Antiq. Variloq. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ.
‖‖ Hermanni Corneri Chronicon ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.

nent lover of peace, and the pacificator of Italy.* "Unless you had embraced the gravity of moral philosophy," says the celebrated Gerbert, writing to him, "your words would not have been so impressed with humility, which is the guardian of all virtues." His death was worthy of his life. After celebrating the ascension in Merseberg, he came on the Tuesday after Pentecost to Nunnæmia, and the next evening sat down cheerfully to table. Afterwards he proceeded to assist at the office of Vespers. At the end of the Magnificat he felt weak. The princes who stood round him perceiving it, led him to a seat, and tried by friction to warm his head, which sunk on his breast. Then receiving the communion, he, without a groan, in great tranquillity, rendered up his spirit.† Otho II., on arriving in Italy, used great efforts to remove the disturbers of peace,‡ and Otho III. is designated as a son of peace, "ein sohn des vredes."§ He as his father and grandfather favoring the church in Italy, Germany, and Belgic Gaul, governed the empire, says another chronicle, "strenuously and pacifically."‖

Continuing to turn over the ancient historians, we read that Rodolph, of Hapsburg, reigned with much peace, and that the Emperor Lewis, of Bavaria, a pacific man, during all the time of his reign, governed the empire pacifically and solemnly, "pacifice ac solempniter."¶ The Emperor Henry III. is termed "a pious pacific king, and a mirror of justice;"** and Lewis IV. is described by a contemporary author, as being from his childhood, "meek and pacific."†† Speaking of the pardon of certain conspirators, Nicholas Lanckmann, of Valckenstein, in his narrative of the espousals and coronation of the Emperor Frederic III. says, "the serene Lord Emperor as a pacific king imitated the meekness of David."‡‡ Of this emperor, another old writer says, "there are many things in this Cæsar which can be praised; such as the sedate and tranquil tenor of his mind, and his immense desire of peace and leisure."§§ "The Emperor Sigismond," we read, "labored all his life to promote the union of the Church, and the peace and concord of Christian princes."‖‖ Even emperors of evil renown were obliged in their public acts to conciliate the public opinion by using the language of peace; as when Henry VII. to the embassadors of Pisa, who expressed hopes that a time would come of vengeance, on the despisers of the empire, replied, "that his wish was to contribute, as far as he could, to cause all Christians to live at peace;"¶¶ and as when the Emperor Frederic, instructing his son Conrad in the regal duties,

* Murat. Antiq. diss. vi. 11. † Herman. Corneri Chronic. ‡ Id.
§ Stadtwegii Chronic. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsvicensia illustrant. iii.
‖ Martini Fuldensis Chronic. ap. Eccard. Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, i. ¶ Id.
** Chronic. Austriacum, 1040. ap. Pez. i.
†† Anon. Chronic. Lud. iv. Imp. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
‡‡ Hist. Desponsat. Fred. ap. Pez. tom. ii. §§ Viti Arenpeckii Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. i.
‖‖ Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v.
¶¶ Albertini Mussati Historia Augusta, Lib. v. 5. ap. Muratori, Rer. It. Script. x

said " be pacific and true, that Mercy and Truth meeting, Justice and Peace may embrace in your kingdom."* Lower in the scale of power we find in abundance the true pacific. After describing the peace enjoyed under Gaufrey, the count of Poitiers, a contemporary writer deplores the calamities which followed his death, which took place in 586, at the castle of Chisegius. " Woe to us who have sinned," he exclaims, " who did not deserve to have any longer such a prince ! O daughters of Jerusalem ! O daughters of peace ! O churches of Aquitaine, weep for Gaufrey, who gave you such abundance of peace ! O ye sons of the churches of Aquitaine, weep for him by whose industry you were enabled to pass your time in quietness and charity, by whose desire of love and peace you were filled with the delights of wisdom, and made to enjoy the fruits of learning ; and above all, you, O monastic flock of this monastery, weep, because you have lost him who filled you with all good ; but weep not so as to make it appear that you had placed your hope in him, for it is written, ' Maledictus homo qui spem suam ponit in homine et carnem brachium suum ;' but so weep as if you mourned that peace should have perished by his death, and as if you would never, as is most just, forget his soul." His body was brought to the monastery with great lamentation of all the people, and buried in the chapter, but in the year following, it was removed into the church, and placed in a tomb before the high altar. The monastery remained unfinished, for he had intended to have built two towers in front of the church, and he had already begun to build the third over the choir. Every day a mass is sung for him. In all the hours between the Psalms, the De profundis is said for him, his anniversary is celebrated with all the solemnity of a chief festival, for on the Vigil after Vespers, we sing the Placebo and Dirige, with the lessons and responses for the dead, and the next day a solemn mass is sung, and we all offer."† What sons of peace were Count Gerald as described by St. Odo, the abbot of Cluny,‡ and that Thibaud II., count of Champagne, the intimate friend of St. Bernard, the protector of Abeilard, the advocate of all good monks, whose cause he always made his own, seeking to appease their enemies, and that Raoul de Nesle, styled the good count of Soissons, who had such a reputation that it extended to Rome ; so that in 1216, Honorius II. wrote to him, saying, that " he was to give example as a light on a candlestick." Stephen, count of Blois, renowned for his exploits in the Holy Land, obtained the title of the Wise and the Pacific.§ Garsius Sanctius, duke of Arragon, was surnamed the Trembler, because though an intrepid hero in battle against the Moors, yet whenever he foresaw future wars he used to tremble, which did not prevent him from winning immortal glory, during the twenty-eight years of his reign.‖ Amedée VIII., the first duke of Savoy, created by the Emperor Sigismond in 1416. passed all his life

*Chronic. Sicilia 24, ap. id. x.

† Frag. Historiæ Monast. Pictavens. ap. Martene, Thesaur. Anecdot. iii.

‡ Bibliothec. Clun. § Bernier, Hist. de Blois.

‖ Lucii Marinei Siculi de Reb. Hispaniæ, Lib. viii.

in reconciling princes who were at war with each other, making peace either in Italy or in France, torn by bloody discords, and, finally, becoming the pacificator of the Church, and restoring the peace of the spiritual society. Of the mighty dukes of Tuscany and Spoleto, Donizo the Benedictine says,

> "Pacis amatores, fortes sunt atque leones ;
> Hi pacem veram cum prosperitate tenebant ;
> Fortes, et grandes velut essent quippe gigantes."*

Hugo, the pacific duke of Burgundy, discerned the true source of temporal peace, for, in founding the canonical church of St. Mary and St. John at Dijon, he prescribed that all future dukes should signalize their elevation to that dignity, by repairing thither and saluting the canons, in order that, beginning by such a holy and pious work, all other actions might succeed prosperously with the Lord for their Author, and that they should guard that church as a resting-place for their souls ; so that, as other places are preserved for the sake of the body, this should be for the sake of their mind.†

Wibald, abbot of Corby, had written to Henry, count of Salmes, in 1153, to complain of the multiplied rapines committed by the count's men against the men of the monastery of Stavelo, and the reply of that nobleman shows how worthy he was of ranking among the pacific. "Henry, count of Salmes, to Wibald the abbot. 'Quidquid amicus amico.' I rejoice to hear of your coming, in hopes that you will re-establish peace between my men and yours ; for though your men, or rather your adversaries, endeavor to break the bond of our friendship, thank God it remains whole. It would be long to relate the injuries of which both parties accuse each other. I leave to your diligent and discreet dispensation the task of terminating these differences. You know that my castle of Salmes, and all things that I possess in peace or war, are ever ready to serve you as well as myself. Absent or present, you wish to preserve my honor as well as your own."‡

Archduke Ladislaus of Poland, in the thirteenth century, is described as "a humble man and lover of quiet." In the same age, Archduke Leopold of Austria, who founded Lilienfeld in 1206, is mentioned as being adorned with the triple grace of princely splendor, chivalrous heroism, and Christian mildness. Of St. Henry, while only duke of Bavaria, we read that "he ruled the people pacifically, and extended peace."§ The nobles of Thuringia, during the reign of Duke Lewis, husband of St. Elizabeth, are described as imitating his example. "The nobles then were true and pacific."‖ Lord Otacher, founder of the great monastery of Garsten in Upper Austria, is described in the chronicles of that house as a man very memorable, a worshipper of peace, and lover of justice. He it was who re-

* Vit. Matildis, Lib. i. c. 6. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. v.
† Innocent III. Epist. Lib. xiv. 163.
‡ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 569.
§ Adelbold, Episc. Traject. in Vit. S. Hen.
‖ Montalembert. Hist. de S. El. 38.

ceived and held out a hand to Conrad, archbishop of Salzbourg, who had been concealed many days in the woods and mountains, flying persecution, when he came to him, which no other prince dared to do.* Albert III., duke of Austria, surnamed Cum Trica, was a man of peace, and a lover of the divine worship, brave and glorious, too, in arms, as was proved in his deeds against the infidels, and against oppressors of the poor, and disturbers of the public peace; as when, in 1388, he attacked Rorer of Lostain in his deemed-impregnable castle in Styria, and contrived to take it, when he razed it to the ground, to punish him for having interrupted and imprisoned the mighty barons, Goldeckler and Velber, on their return from Salzbourg. Loved and venerated he was by his subjects on account of his humility, fear of God, modesty, and prudence, and for having governed the people committed to him, with all justice and truth, in peace unto the end. On his death-bed he charged his son, Duke Albert IV., to govern his subjects pacifically.† Philip, duke of Burgundy, was surnamed the Good, as Gerardus Naviomagus says, in consequence of his wonderful charity and love of peace.‡ Godefried, duke of Bouillon, uncle of the great Godfrey, is commemorated in the abbeys of the Ardennes as the great preserver of peace. His death before the castle of Flarding was tearful to all Lorraine; for justice and peace prevailed under him to a degree beyond what could be remembered by men of his time.* The rhythm on the murder of Charles, the good count of Flanders, contains these lines:—

"Te exhorrebant impii,
Amabant pacis filii."‖

The blessed Bernard Margrave of Baden, in the middle of the fifteenth century, one of the most accomplished princes of his time, evinced such zeal and ability in maintaining peace in his territories amidst all the troubles which agitated his neighbors, that he obtained the title of the Solomon of Germany. Hyenceslaus, duke of Bohemia, in the time of Henry the Saxon, followed the pacific king so closely, that he used to go secretly by night to the forests, and bear wood on his own shoulders to the doors of widows and poor people, and leave it there.¶ The short announcements of the death of such men are still made to proclaim their ruling passion. Thus we read:—"In 1339, the most mild Otho, duke of Austria, Styria, and Carinthia, passed from this life."** In a northern chronicle we read that, in 1482, died William, duke of Brunswick, a most pacific prince; and that in 1483 died Henry, Landgrave of Hesse, another propagator of peace.†† St.

* Vita B. Bertholdi Abb. Garst. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.
† Thom. Ebendorff, Haselb. Chronic. Austriac. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust ii.
‡ Ap. Antonius Matthæus, Veteris Ævi Analecta.
§ Hist. Andagenensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 951.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi.
¶ Ricobaldi Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Eccardii Corp. His. Med. Ævi, i.
** Chronic. Claustro-Neoburg. ap. Pez. i.
†† Chronic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii, Script. Rer. Germanic. tom. ii.

Leopold, the pious marquis of Austria, governed a people then, by long custom of nature ferocious, with such gentleness that he seemed only appointed to serve them an example of all peaceful virtues. So in the beautiful bull of Pope Innocent VIII., which announced his canonization, it is stated that during the forty years in which he ruled Austria, in those times so disturbed by the contestations of Henry and his sons, and afterwards by those of the fourth Henry and Lothaire, while all Germany was filled with war, and flames, and devastation, he administered all things with the utmost justice, humility, and tranquillity; and while other lands were deluged with blood he preserved the province of Austria, committed to him in peace, for which he has gained from highest God the recompense of eternal peace. In the ancient sequence for his festival we read,—

"Sumpsit felix et in terra
Prolem venustissimam
Pace fruens, sine guerra
Formam gessit optimam."*

Rudolf, son of Albert, duke of Austria, is described in another cronicle in these few words: "a lover of virtue and of peace:"† and to Albert an old chronicle applies the words of Solomon. "Omnes semitæ illius pacificæ."‡ Charles the Good, duke of Savoy, is represented in the histories of that nation as a pacific prince, ruling over a peaceable people. In the chronicles of Italy we have many and glorious examples. "The great Lord James of Carrara," says one, "was a sincere lover of peace. He did all things wisely, so that he preserved Padua in peace and justice, and had peace with all men. In 1350, when he died, the grief of the people was extreme. Then, in the general assembly, a voice cried, 'O Padua, holy city, arise, and receive the successors of the great James, who, by reason of their relationship to him, and of his example, will cause you to see good and peaceful days.'"§

"When the Lord Canis the great of Verona was dying," says another, "he called his nobles into the cathedral church, and there gave the dominion of Padua to the Lord Marsilus of Carrara, who refused it, saying, that Padua should be under the dominion of the house of La Scala: yet, fearing lest the mind of the sick man should be disturbed, he accepted it."‖ Afterwards, in 1337, this prince said before the assembled people of Padua, and in presence of the embassadors of Venice and Florence, "the Lord knows truly that not for my sake, but for that of the citizens who have chosen to give me this power, did I accept the dominion, and that it was in order that peace and justice, and rest, might be granted to every one."¶ In 1329, Azo Visconti, Lord of Milan, migrated to

* Ap. Pez. tom. i. † Bernard. Norici Chronic. Aust. ap. id. i.
‡ Anon. Leobiensis Chronic. Lib. vi. ap. Pez. i.
§ Hist. Cortusiorum de Novitatibus Paduæ, x. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xii
‖ Id. Lib. iv. c. 9. ¶ Id. vii. 3

Christ, a man full of faith and all devotion, for he left more alms in his will than any other that ever died in Lombardy, and he died with such piety and tears, after receiving all the sacraments, that he seemed to surpass monks; and all the clergy and people, and all Lombardy, mourned for him; nor is it strange; for though a young man, not more than thirty-seven, he was the father of all the religious orders, a lover of peace, and of making concord, sweet in speech, beyond measure mild in voice and countenance, most prudent, generous, just, and chaste.* He had no war in his time, and loved not war, says another.†

The noble Luchinus Visconti, his brother, succeeded him. No one ever better preserved justice and peace; his heart was constant and his word firm: he heard diligently every day the causes of poor women, and fed thirty poor persons daily at his table. In general, the house of the Visconti had many laudable qualities; the first is, that they were not men of blood, but always they gave life to their mortal enemies; they were warlike but never cruel against persons, for it was scarcely ever heard that they committed an act of violence against any one. They were devout; they honored the religious, and they had the royal disposition of being sweet in speech, and prone to the reconciliation of enemies.‡ As long as John Galeaz de Visconti lived, all Lombardy was preserved by him in peace and tranquillity.§ Peter de Castelleto, a hermit of St. Augustin, preaching his funeral sermon, after describing his great charity and proneness to forgive, as seeking peace with all men, exclaimed, "O noble Bologna, mother and nurse of learning, long time wearied with blood and slaughter, didst thou seek peace and rest without finding them; but under the wings of this prince thou hadst tranquillity." It was his last prayer, that he might see peace in the church and in the empire, at least in Italy, or at least in Lombardy. Many cities and towns had wished to militate under him, but he not being a greedy invader of the property of others, rejected them, being contented with what was his own.‖ The illustrious Lord Pinus Ordelaffi, of Forli, was at all times a most mild and placable ruler, every ready to forget his injuries, and extend grace to all who sought it, so that he was praised and loved, not alone by the exiles, whom he permitted to return to their country, and to whom he restored their property, but by all the people.¶

This excellent prince restored and built many fortresses in order to defend the people, and preserve them in peace. He it was who constructed also that beautiful palace in Forli, which was adorned with such noble columns and terraces, that it seemed a paradise of pleasure, as also many churches, and nearly all the greater edifices of Forli, through love for the city and its inhabitants. In MCCCCLXXII he accomplished another great work; for a great difference and quarrel having long existed between the communes of Foropompilii and of Bertinorii, which led

* Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Reb. Gest. ab Azone ap id. tom. xii.
† Petri Azarii Chronic. ap. id. t. xvi. ‡ Id.
§ Mat. de Griffonibus Memoriale Hist. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. t. xviii.
‖ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi. ¶ Id.

for many ages to litigations and controversies, and great injuries, even to homicide, while many were disputing respecting their boundaries, and since every year, especially in the season of harvest and vintage, these cruel scenes were repeated, at length, by the piety of the Lord Pinus, with the aid of the reverend bishop of Arezzo governor of Cesena, and Bertenosio for Pope Sixtus, with great labor, it was decided that thenceforth there should be no more such disputes, and so by God's grace, all the parties ratified the agreement with love, and peace, and tranquillity.* We owe great and immortal thanks to Christ," says another historian, "who willed that our city should be governed by John Bentivoglio II., who has preserved Bologna from war, and not only from calamity, but even the fear of calamity. Though the forces of two potent kings were not far removed, no invasion of our territory has taken place. Many of our citizens entertained deadly hatred against each other, but by his grave discourses they have been brought to lay aside their animosity, and to contract alliances as a bond of love. These things are divine, and must be commemorated in our annals."† In 1330, Taddeo de Pepoli was made lord of Bologna, and we read he well deserved the honor, for he preserved the state in unbroken peace, and even his enemies admitted that in the world there had never been a more just Lord. Again, it was a fine testimony which Thomas de Campo Fregoso, doge of Genoa, could bear to his own government in 1404, when, in answer to Philip Angelo, duke of Milan, who said, "that he sought only a lasting peace, but that in consequence of the conduct of the Genoese, he must declare open war," he replied, "we have endeavored all our life to live pacifically with all Christian princes."‡ But it is above all in the Venetian chronicles that we find the greatest examples of this kind. The government of Venice was, indeed, generally praised for its giving rest to the people, and for endeavoring to keep them, as far as possible, remote from a warlike disposition.§

"Suppose that you live under a republic well instituted," says Cardan, "such as that of the Venetians, what have you to fear? there good men can live happily."‖ Bessarion, patriarch of Constantinople, making a donation of his library to that city, in a letter to the senate, assigns for his reason, that there he can find rest on every side for his mind, as being a state that imparts the utmost security, leisure, concord, and tranquillity, being governed with wisdom and moderation, in a spirit of gravity, unity, and goodness.¶ The portraits of the doges which we find in the original histories, present an astonishing series of great pacific men. Let us hear the chronicles. Felix Cornicula, master of the army, began to govern Venice in 738. This humble and pacific man recalled to peace the Venetians,

* Annales Foroliv. ap. id. tom. xxii.

† Johan. Garzoni de Dignitate Urbis Bononiæ, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxi.

‡ Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1570.

§ Le Conseiller d'estat, Paris, 1645.

‖ De Utilitate ex advers. cap. iii. 2.

¶ Ap. Goldast. Philologicar. Epist.

who were at discord.* The Doge Maurice, in 764, is commemorated by Andrew Dandoli, as having reconciled the citizens to each other, and kept peace.† Ursus, created doge in 864, a man of much piety and wisdom, and a lover of peace, restored the sweetness of tranquillity between the Venetians and the Frioulians.‡ John Particiacus, in 887, refused the dukedom of Venice, but at the prayers of the people permitted himself to be enthroned in the palace, in order to appease the popular clamor. Six months after, when the commotion had subsided, he persuaded the people to provide another doge, and then returned to his own house.§ Petrus Tribunus succeeded him. "Many," says Dandoli, "write that he was wicked, and for his demerits slain by the people, but this is an error, as we have found in authentic writings, which attest that he was a wise, pacific, and benign man, and that he died a natural death."‖ How dear peace was to Ursus Particiacus II., was proved by his abdicating in 932, when he entered the monastery of St. Felix de Amianes. He was a lover of justice and holiness.¶ Petrus Urseolus, created in 976, from his boyhood studied only how to please God. He feared to accept the dignity of doge, when elected by the people, lest by the ambition of secular honor he should lose his desire of sanctity. At length, the people being importunate, he accepted it for the good of the republic.** Of the manner in which he renounced the world and became a monk, after reigning two years and twenty days, I shall speak in the next book. Aureo Mastropetro, elected in 1178, after reigning fourteen years, left the world, and took the religious habit in the monastery of the Holy Cross.†† When Pietro Ziano, in the twenty-fourth year of his government, had resigned and retired to his own house, the voices of the electors were divided for a successor. To prevent discord, therefore, it was determined to make choice between the two by lot, when James Teupolo was raised to the dukedom. After three days, he went to visit his predecessor, lying in bed, who on account of his family, and the unusual mode of his election, despised him; but the new doge practised a pacific duty, took no notice of the insult, and returned to the palace.‡‡ Marco Cornario, elected in 1365, was a most wise jurisconsult, and an eminent lover of peace. He procured rest for the island of Crete, which rebels, from their impregnable mountain-tops, had long disturbed.§§ In 1367, Andrew Contareno was created doge against his will. To avoid being elected on the vacancy occurring, he tried many expedients; among others, that of withdrawing from the city; but though removed from the eyes of the electors, his approved virtue was present to their minds. On being created, he endeavored to reject the dignity, but, conquered by the supplications of the city, he humbly accepted it. This doge was greatly Catholic, and skilled in the divine page, a lover of justice and of the republic, and he proved himself a

* Andreæ Danduli Chronic. Lib. vii. 5. p. 1. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. † Id. vii. 12. 1.
‡ Id. viii. 5. § Id. viii. 8. ‖ Id. viii. 9. ¶ Id. viii. 10. ** Id. viii. 15. †† Id. x. c. 2.
‡‡ Id. x. 5. §§ Raphagni Caresini Continuat. Chron. And. Dand. ap. Id. xii.

zealous worshipper of peace. Though the Tergestini, who were anciently under the ducal dominion, had committed great injuries against the honor of the Venetians, killing the captain of the galley deputed to guard Istria, and perpetrating other insupportable acts, yet he piously spared them, and was content with their promising to erect in their solemnities in the public place the standard of St. Mark, which by ancient covenant they were bound to receive at the creation of a new doge, and to send the murderers to Venice. This duke, abhorring the shedding of Christian blood, never made war, excepting for the sake of peace.* Michael Mauroceno, created in 1382, a man greatly Catholic, solicitously watched to the maintenance of peace.† Antonio Venerio, elected in 1383, diligently studied to preserve peace. This doge was a worshipper of peace, and all his endeavor was to preserve his reign with honor free from warlike acts."‡ But enough of these great names. Heroic acts of self-renouncement, the absence of ambition unequivocally manifested, an intention expressly directed to the fulfilment of the Christian law,—such are the indications in ancient Catholic histories, of the sincerity with which men loved peace.

As a conclusion to these researches, let us visit for a moment the cloisters of the middle age, where there is mention of those who sleep in dull cold marble: for one should never leave such a subject, without hearing testimony of this kind. So again, let us talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs.

In the monastery of St. John, in Stams, in Carinthia, we find the tomb of its founder, Meinhard, duke of Carinthia, who died in 1295. On which are these lines:

"Heu! Meinhart, actor pacis litisque subactor,
Cœnobii factor hujus, pius et benefactor,
Qui similem nescit, Dux et comes hic requiescit,
Quem Fratres isti deplorant pectore tristi."§

On the tomb of John Galeazo Visconti, duke of Milan, are these lines:

'Nec fuit in totis Europæ finibus umquam,
Aptior imperiis Princeps; nec sanctior alter
Religione fuit, nec pacis amantior illo.
Hic erat, unde quies magnorum certa laborum
Italiæ speranda foret duce læta sub isto.
Namque videbatur cœlo demissus ad unum
Natus, ut in Latiis componeret aurea terris
Secula, et afflicto tandem daret otia mundo."‖

On the tomb of Philip, brother of Charles the Bald, duke of Burgundy, we find this line:

"Prælia quod gessit, non sua culpa fuit."¶

* Raphagni Caresini Continuat. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii. † Id. ‡ Id.
§ Anon. Leobiens. Chronic. iii. ap. Pez. 1. ‖ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.
¶ Ap. Ant. Matthæus, Vet. Ævi Analecta.

We might search for a long while in Westminster or St. Paul's, to find such a thought expressed upon a sepulchre.

The next is of ancient date. Gaufrid Martelle, count of Anjou, is thus commemorated on his tomb, in the abbey of St. Nicholas, which he had erected:

"Dum viguit tua, dum valuit, Martelle, potestas,
Fraus latuit, pax magna fuit, regnavit honestas."*

In the abbey of Charlieu, in the diocese of Besancon, among the sepulchres of some counts of Burgundy and seigneurs de Chauvirey, Dom Martene found that of Gesard de Charvireg, knight and lord, on which he read

"Pacem dilexit. Pax sit æterna sibi."†

The inscription on the tomb of Charles the Bald, in the Mantuacensian monastery, attested his placid government; and that over the grave of William II., king of Sicily, contains these words: "He was a worshipper of peace and justice, and with all his strength he assisted the holy apostolic see against its enemies."‡ The epitaph on the Emperor Louis II. in the church of St. Ambrose, at Milan, attested his having ruled the kingdom with a firm and pacific breast.

That on Pepin, king of Italy, was thus:

"Rex bonus et placidus, nulli pietate secundus,
Jure alios rexit rex bonus et placidus."

Mark the beautiful epitaphs which attest the pacific character of some princes of the Longobards at Beneventum. On the tomb of Arichis, who died in 787, we read,

"Solicite gratiam pacis servavit amator,
Ornasti patriam doctrinis, mœnibus altis
Heu mihi quam subito perierunt omnia tecum
Gaudia, prosperitas, paxque quiesque simul!"

On that of Sico,

"Pacificus, mitis, prudens, sanctusque, suavis."

On that of Radelchis,

"Nobilis et prudens, justus, patiensque, benignus,
Pacificus, verax, mitis, et aptus erat."

On that of Radelcar,

"Tutamen patriæ, spes, requiesque fuit;
Fortia Francorum sedavit regna, suosque
Confines vinxit undique pacis ope."§

We find testimony of the same kind in the ancient calendars of particular

* Chronic. Turonense, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v. † Voyage lit. de Deux Bened. 141.
‡ Sicilia Sacra, i. § Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. ii. 310.

churches, in which are inscribed the obits of benefactors. Thus in one of these we read,

"Obiit Gofridus, clarus consilio, amicus pacis."

And again,

"Obiit Adelelmus, nobilis miles, et humilis."*

But it will be said, granting that the number of pacific rulers was immense, still the middle ages were pre-eminently ages of war and desolation. We have seen the extraordinary circumstances which then existed, to cause the disorders, which I have not sought to extenuate or conceal: but to the objections founded on such facts, we can find a sufficient answer in the words of St. Augustin, to the pagans of his time. "There are many," he says, "who now calumniate Christian times, and impute the evils which are in the state, to Christ, and the good, not to Christ, but to its fate: whereas, on the contrary, if they had any just thoughts, the cruel and hard things which are suffered from enemies, they should ascribe to that Divine Providence which corrects and amends by wars the corrupt manners of men, and exercises by such afflictions the just and laudable life of mortals, before it transfers them to a better; while they should ascribe to Christian times the good, which is so contrary to what would have followed from the natural order of barbarous wars, and acknowledge that they owe to the name of Christ, even their own preservation. Whatever of devastation, slaughter, pillage, fire, and affliction was committed in these times, was done after the custom of wars; but what was done in a new manner, "quod autem more novo factum est," that barbarous ferocity should appear mild, that vast basilicas should have served as a safe asylum for a conquered people—this, by every one who is not blind, must be ascribed to the name of Christ and to Christian times."†

"Never was there, and never will there be rest to mortals," says Cardan, "but yet compare what happens to you now, with the state of things in the time of Polybius, and these are wreathes of roses: those might truly be called calamities; nothing was safe to them. Slaughter without cause, slavery, plunder, all was a jest. Add to this, that we have the contemplation of an eternal and happy life, which to them was unknown."‡ The second Punic war in Italy, Spain, and Sicily, consumed above fifteen hundred thousand men, in less than seventeen years. The civil war of Cæsar and Pompey three hundred thousand men; that of Brutus, and Cassius, and Sixtus Pompeius, was still more bloody. Caius Cæsar boasted that he had caused the death of one million one hundred and ninety-two thousand men in battle. Pompey the Great wrote in the temple of Minerva, that he had defeated and slain at one time, one hundred and eight[illegible]-three thousand;

* Martyrolog. Eccles. Antissiodor. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

† De Civ. Dei, i. 1. 7 ‡ Hieron. Card. de Vita, propria, Lib. ii. c. 45.

Quintus Fabius destroyed one hundred and ten thousand Gauls; Caius Marius, two hundred thousand of the Cimbri; Mithridates by one epistle caused the death of eighty thousand Roman citizens, dispersed through Asia. What were the battles of the middle ages to these, or, until the wars of the false reformation began, what their horrors compared to these horrors? Besides, after all, the extent to which wars prevailed in the middle ages, has been greatly exaggerated. After the coming of the Desired of all people, often and during long intervals, peace was established under these meek and holy monarchs, who reigned in safety and in bliss. He in whom they trusted spoke peace to the nations, and his power was from sea to sea. In the historical dialogue of the Scotch monastery at Vienna, the boy who elicits the information says towards the end, "you have related many wars and other evils which occurred in the time of your youth. Pray did not some good happen during the same?" To whom the old man replies, "yes, more good than evil did befall."*

Muratori, after censuring the absurd disdain with which the grammarians treated all monuments of the middle ages, adds these words, "during these times there was an abundant population, and no difficulty to find genius of the first order; the fields were cultivated; commerce, and peace, and riches, were not wanting."† Fauriel concludes from incidental passages in the exhortation to the judges by Theodulf, bishop of Orleans, in the ninth century, that the cities of Gaul were far from being completely devastated by the wars of the barbarians, that there was an abundant circulation of Italian and Arabic money, that foreign merchandize was not wanting, that commerce and industry, and the arts of peace had not ceased, even amidst those dreadful invasions.‡ If such was the worst epoch, the exaggeration of modern writers on this subject must be extreme. Truly it would be difficult for them to prove, that at any period of the middle ages, the evil overpowered the good, the wicked had dominion over the just, the earth was more free to the violent than to the peaceful, or cruelty more safe than innocence. The ancient histories abound with passages attesting the peace which prevailed.

Of Italy, in the time of Theodoric, we read, that such peace and security reigned, that merchants travelled without molestation; gold and silver were as safe in the open fields, as within the walls of a city. No town then had gates, so that men could pass in or out at all hours as they wished.§ How interesting to decipher testimonies of this kind in these fragments of Langobardic inscriptions, like that upon a stone dug up in the sixteenth century in Modern commemorating a foundation made by Luitprand, on which could be read,

"Hic ubi insidiæ prius parabantur,
Facta est securitas ut pax servetur.
Sic virtus altissimi fecit Loncibard.

* Senatorium Dialog. Hist. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii. † Antiq. Ital. tom. i. Præfat.
‡ Hist. de la Gaul Mérid. iii. 495 § Muratori Antiq. Ital. diss. xxiii.

Tempore tranquillo et florentiss.
Omnes ut unanimes. . . . Ple. . is princ."*

Agatha, the scholastic who flourished under Justinian I., speaking of the Franks, says, "among their other virtues, I greatly admire the mutual concord and justice which they entertain amongst themselves." Under them, as under the Longobards, Italy enjoyed constant internal peace.† During the reign of the Carlovingian kings, and the empire of the Franks, which lasted about one hundred years, Lombardy, says James Malvecius, another old historian, enjoyed happy tranquillity. There was no violence then, no oppression, no schism, but the people were nourished in justice and joy. Then men used to sweeten their labors with cheerfulness of heart, and then were heard on all sides those songs in praise of kings and royal maidens, which, in my days, the rustic youths delight to sing.‡

Landulfus senior, describing the Italians of his age in 1085, says, "Charity, which covers the multitude of sins, as a mother nourishes them, abounding in all good things. The life of men without incursions of wars, or invasions of nations, or movement of enemies, passed in pleasure, and their manners were pure from lust, so that the race of inhabitants was perfect and without deformities. The times were pacific, happy, delightful, full of love, and salubrious."§ During two hundred years, while Germany and France continued under the same kings, Thurgau enjoyed an uninterrupted peace, which the rude sons of Louis-le-Débonnaire were the first to break. Nor was it alone the people of this region who had rest, as if Spartans among Greeks.‖ Peace might be interrupted elsewhere, but it was ever quick to rise again and flourish. "It is wonderful how his father, King Henry," says the biographer of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, "came to such serenity of peace, after finding all parts of the kingdom in confusion, from the cruel invasion of the Danes, Sclavonians, Hungarians, and the efforts of domestic foes! By his fortitude and benignity he repressed the one, and appeased the other."¶ "In the time of William," says William of Jumiège, speaking of the Conqueror, "the inhabitants of Normandy enjoyed peace and repose, and all held the servants of God in great respect. All the great rivalled each other in building churches on their domains, and in enriching the monks who should pray to God for them."** "King Henry, who succeeded William Rufus," says Orderic Vitalis, "governed during thirty-five years in peace and prosperity. In his time the church of God increased in riches and honors for the greater glory of God. This is attested by the monks and clerks, who gained so much in numbers, by the hermits who cultivate the deepest recesses of the forests, and who rejoice to

* Ap. Muratori Antiq. xxi. Ital. diss. † Ap. id. D. xxiii.
‡ Jacob. Malvecii. Chronic. Brixianum. Dist. v. c. 22. ap. Murat. xiv.
§ Hist. Med. tom. iv Rer. Ital. Script. Ildefons von Arx Geschichte des S. Gallen, i. 64.
‖ Thucyd. i. 70. ¶ Vita Brunonis à Ruotgero ap. Leibnitz. Script. Bruns.
** Hist. Norm. Lib. vii. 22.

see monasteries and palaces rise, and to hear in the calm of the heart, the glory of God sung in the very places where lawless banditti used to commit so many crimes. At this time a great number of new basilicas, and oratories, and vast cloisters of convents, were built in the English villages. All the religious orders enjoying peace and prosperity, applied within and without, to manifest their zeal in the worship of Almighty God. In the fervor of their devotions, the faithful demolished the ancient churches which had been built under Edgar, Edward, and other kings, in order to carry them to greater perfection in height and magnitude, and elegance of workmanship, for the greater glory of the Creator."*

Froissart says of the time when the Black Prince invaded it, that the country of Carcasson, Narbonne, and Toulouse, was rich; and that its good and simple people did not know what war was, having never before witnessed it.† "In the time of Otho," says an old writer, "there was throughout the whole of Germany the utmost peace and security, so that all men wondered how even in his absence such peace could be maintained."‡ In fact, a golden age began with Otho the Great, the son and husband of saints; for Matilda his mother, Editha his first, and Adelheid his second wife, were all three canonized, and ended with Otho III. surnamed the Wonder of the World, and Henry II. who merited the title of the saint. This period saw the deliverance of Europe, the restoration of the Church from its injuries, the conversion of the Hungarians, Moravians, Bohemians, Poles, and Danes. Then flourished the holiest bishops, the most learned men, the most eminent schools. Peace and prosperity, with renown, were simultaneously obtained.§ The local historians of the middle ages speak with delight of the peace enjoyed by cities. "In few words," says one in 1310, "I will relate what I have seen in the marshes of Treviso. Padua is free: full of infinite riches, adorned with towers and other delicate edifices. Strangers come to it from divers parts, as to an asylum. It is splendid with wise men, doctors in every liberal art, and religious men; and to conclude in brief, many bodies of saints are buried there, by whose prayers God has preserved Padua in peace for the last fifty years, ever since the death of Ezzelino."‖ Jannotius Manetti, Prefect of Pistoia, in the beginning of his history of that state, appeals to all the citizens to witness the peace and prosperity which they enjoy under him; adding, "for with this mind and resolution we undertook the government, that all our efforts should be directed to promote the public and private welfare, and moreover, the gratification of Almighty God, whom above all others we should desire to gratify; and hence our success seems wonderful to all, especially in that province, where party-factions had so long flourished."¶ Petrarch, addressing Thomas, of Messana, says, "that

*Lib. x. † Liv. iii. 104. ‡ Fragam. Hist. in Uristis.

§ Hock. Gerbert und sein Jahrhundert, 35.

‖ Hist. Cortusiorum de Novit. Paduæ, Lib. i. xi. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xii.

¶ Hist. Pistoriens ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxix.

they live under a king in such sweet and delightful peace, that they seek neither the fortune of Alexander, nor the ardor of Romulus, nor the magnificence of Ancus."* Moreover, in earlier times, at the most disturbed epoch, there were always some territories where, under pacific lords, the children of peace could find tranquillity. Thus under Fulco the good, count of Anjou, we read that the people enjoyed such peace and prosperity, that crowds of peasants flocked from all sides to live in that region. This was the count who used to go into the choir with the monks and sing matins; and who on the festival of St. Martin, in winter, after receiving the communion, while returning to his place in the choir, felt slightly indisposed, and presently expired in the arms of the clerks. But we must attend to the facts of a new order, to which St. Augustin alludes, as being so contrary to the ordinary events of wars, and which he ascribes to the Christian religion. Such was the conduct of the barbarians in the fifth century, sparing Toulouse, which offered so rich a prey, at the prayers of Exupère, its bishop. Such was the Church, becoming an immense asylum for the conquered, the Romans, and the serfs, and for the conquerors who fled into it, from the tumult of the barbaric life, and the violence of their own passions: for the serfs mounted to the priesthood, along with the sons of kings and dukes. The little and the great met together in Jesus Christ, while vast donations transferred the land from profane uses, to enrich pacific men, poor men, and serfs.† Such, again, was the peace enjoyed by that vast multitude, commemorated by the Church, who wonderfully pursued their way, keeping the divine commands, that they might be found uninjured amidst the mighty waters. After citing the constitutions of Rikhulf, bishop of Soissons, in 889, an historian of that city says, "these innocent exhortations to assiduity in the ecclesiastical duties, seem dictated amidst the most profound peace, and form a singular contrast with the real situation of a society, torn and disorganized to its centre."‡ He seems to forget that this profound peace was a reality in the worst of times for men of good-will, because, as Pope Innocent III. says to an injured queen of France, "patientibus patienter passio non est pati." Of Wolfgang, Theodoric, abbot of Fulda in 1550, a contemporary poet, sung,

"————hic tempora ferrea vidit:
At miti vicit pectore triste malum."§

After reading some modern historians of the middle ages, one would suppose that men were continually overwhelmed with a sense of present danger, and that they could not possibly have attended to any thing but their own deliverance. How contrary was the fact even when peace was most disturbed! "The great question which agitated the fourteenth century," as Michelet observes, "was not the wars of the English in France, the battles of Creci and Poitiers, but that of

* Epist. iii. 7. † Michelet, Hist. de France, i. 253. ‡ Martin, Hist de Soissons, i. 362.
§ Schannat, Hist. Fuldens, p. iii.

the Conception of the blessed Virgin." It was this most tender and delicate doctrine which then engaged the public mind, as well as the greatest intelligences that dignified the human race. It is true, however, one cannot open the writings composed in times of real desolation, without astonishment at the interior peace which must have been enjoyed, when men could translate the stubbornness of fortune into so quiet and so sweet a style. But the very phenomenon itself, of which St. Augustin speaks as formerly unprecedented, must be added also to these facts of our history; for what was originally the transient result of an involuntary impulse, was in the middle ages the permanent effect of legislation. Hear the law. "Let the man engaged in quarrel, find peace in the church, in his house, in going to the church and returning from it; and whoever shall break this peace, must pay nine times thirty solidi."* Those who took sanctuary, might be seized, however, if they attempted to defend themselves by arms; and if killed in the porch with arms in their hands, the sanctuary was not violated; but with that exception the churches and monasteries were asylums for the innocent during war, generally held inviolate, until the invasions of the false reformers, who respected nothing. The barbarians had introduced the custom unknown in the time of the Romans, of habitually wearing arms. In 1032, the bishops of France, not content with prohibiting it, decreed that in future no one should shed the blood of any Christian: on which occasion many supposed that universal peace would be established; but others, among whom was Gerhard, bishop of Cambray, argued that this was an unwise opinion, for that the race of combatants would ever exist among men, and that it was even necessary for the protection of those who prayed, and those who tilled the earth.†

If the total suppression of wars was impossible, still, however, much was done as an approximation towards peace. The Burgundian prelates obliged the barons of their duchy to swear, under pain of excommunication, to renounce all private wars of revenge. The interposition of the church in general caused a return of peace to many countries, as we shall see presently: but unquestionably the most remarkable of these new facts in relation to the mitigation of war, was the suspension of hostilities at stated times, of frequent recurrence for frighted peace to pant, while men without disturbance might assist at the divine worship: for this was obtained through the influence of the clergy, that peaceful people, whose life passed in a round of festivals and processions, and who only sought the innocent renown arising from their schools. The terms of one of the charges brought against Louis-le-Débonnaire, "that, contrary to the Christian religion and to his vow, without any public utility or certain necessity, he ordered a general expedition during the season of Lent,"‡ shows what was the general usage in that age.

* Lex Frision addit. Sap. tit. i.

† Hermanni Corneri Chron. ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Med. Ævi, ii.

‡ Ap. Duchesne, Ann. Franc. 1. 331.

Guido, bishop of Puy, in Velai, at the end of the tenth century was, however, the first who established the Treuga Dei, which was the origin of the great provision for peace, emanating from Cluny in the following century. The council of Clermont decreed that the truce of God should be observed during all the festivals and their vigils of St. Mary, and those of the apostles, as also from the Sunday before the beginning of Lent, till sunrise on the Monday after the octave of Pentecost, and from sunset on the Wednesday before Advent, till the octave of the Epiphany, and every week from sunset on Wednesday till sunrise on Monday.* The fathers of the council in 1041, at which presided the archbishops of Arles and Avignon, thus speak: "We beseech and conjure all you who fear God, and believe in him, and who are redeemed by his blood, to provide for the safety of your souls and bodies, and to follow the footsteps of God, having peace together, that you may deserve to possess with Him perpetual peace and rest. Receive, therefore, and hold inviolate that peace or truce which has been ordained, the mercy of God inspiring us, that from Wednesday evening till sunrise on Monday, there may be firm peace between all, and that during these four days and nights, every one may be secure to do what he chooses, delivered from all fear of enemies, observing the Thursday, through reverence of our Lord's ascension, the Friday on account of his passion, the Saturday through veneration for his sepulture, and the Sunday to honor his resurrection."† In 1155, at the council of Soissons, King Louis VII. and many princes assembled, revived and swore to observe the truce of God inviolably, and that all the churches and their possessions, all laborers and merchants in all places, and all men of every condition, should have peace and full security. But, perhaps, the most interesting memorial for this institution is, the letter of Ives de Chartres, to all the people of his diocese enforcing its observance. "We ask and entreat," he says to them, "and by the authority of Jesus Christ we prescribe that, mindful of your salvation, at least, these four days, on which our Lord and Saviour more evidently worked the medicinal sacraments of our salvation, you will hold for pacific, and restrain your minds, tongues, and hands during them, from all injury. Every disciple of the Christian religion knows that on the fifth feria, our Lord Jesus celebrated his last supper and instituted it for ever, and then washed the feet of his disciples, and the same day was betrayed, and on the same also in view of his disciples ascended into heaven, and in all things left us an example of peace; and that on the sixth feria, the first Adam was made of the earth, and the second Adam who came to redeem man, was made incarnate, and suffered, and thus restored peace to the world; and that on the seventh feria, God rested from all his work, to signify to us the future and eternal Sabbath of the just; that on the same day the flesh of Christ rested in the sepulchre, while his soul made war with hell, and brought back spoils from the ancient enemy;—O Christian, redeemed with the blood of Jesus, be not ungrate-

* Orderic Vital. Lib. ix. † Ap. Martene, Thus. Anecdot. tom. i.

ful or unmindful of these works of peace !—and that on the eighth feria, which is the first, the Lord rose from the grave, and left us an example of our double resurrection ; for all which and other reasons, our ancestors decreed that more especially on these days, peace should be preserved, under grievous penalties, proportioned to the quality and the crime of the violaters of peace ; and see how much is wanting to you of Christian perfection, when the days which should be devoted to celestial warfare, to the seeking of salvation, you compel to be remitted to you to exercise malice, and to find death ! See, brethren, if any one of you should during three days cut his flesh with iron, or burn it with fire, or afflict it with any other torture, and should only rest during four days, would he not be tied by his friends, and sent as a madman to physicians? How much more ought not one who wounds his soul, to be bound with the chains of Christ, that he might cease from inflicting wounds on his soul, and might attend to its life ! But since every age is prone to evil from youth, and that perverse men loving the wages of sin rather than those of justice, rise up, like madmen against physicians, expecting to hear better things of you and things nearer to salvation, we tolerate your imperfection, we dissemble your impiety, and since iniquity abounding we are unable to cure you perfectly, we would rather have you infirm and wounded than altogether dead ; therefore, we entreat and command you to observe these days of peace strictly."*

Many instances might be given of the farther enforcement of this observance. In 1209, we find the Lord Milo, legate of the Holy See, saying to the barons of France, " I prescribe that you observe amongst yourselves, the peace or truce as it has been enjoined on you."† But we must not remain longer here. The passages already cited, will justify the remark of a recent author, that this institution, the wisest and most humane on record, will be remembered to the honor of the Church, while human records exist.

* Ivon. Carnot. Epist. xliv. † Ap. Martene. Thes. Anec. i.

CHAPTER IX.

WHO can ever meditate on the peace of men in communion with the church of God, without having in his ears, "ut omnes unum sint,"* and the rest of that divine sentence not to be uttered by unhallowed lips, the fulfilment of which constitutes so astonishing, so unprecedented a fact in history, the most glorious result, as well as the most abundant source of peace, both internal and external, possessed by the pacific in ages of faith? "In the council of Nice the world had the first idea, and the first example of a society existing in different climates amidst local and private laws, and yet independent of the princes and societies amidst which it was placed, a people forming part of other nations, and yet isolated in the midst of them, sending their deputies from all parts of the universe, to treat upon affairs which concerned only their moral life, and their relation with God."† Our adversaries remark "this one great fact which characterizes the middle ages." "This fact," say they, "is the unity of the Christian society, independent of all the diversities of time, place, government, language, and origin. Singular phenomenon! at the moment when Roman empire disappears, when the political union perishes, the religious union rises up, and the church proclaims the most perfect unity of its doctrine, and the universality of its law. Glorious and fruitful fact, which has rendered immense services to humanity, from the fifth to the thirteenth century." Then after admitting that the unity of the church has maintained bonds between nations, and sentiments of a vast sympathy, they conclude that the result was, "the most extended and the purest idea which has ever rallied men, the idea of a spiritual society, for that is the philosophic name of the church, and the type which it has wished to realize."‡ Instead of the modern fashion of one nation with a variety of religions, there was then the spectacle of a variety of countries with one religion. As the church sings in her office of many martyrs, "one faith and one hope was in them." Pass through all the kingdoms that acknowledge Christ, interrogate the first you meet in each, or even the dead, whose voice is graven on their tombs, and when you ask to what nation they belong, they will reply as the souls in purgatory said to Dante, who asked, "if any soul of Latium dwelt amongst them?" "My brother! we are each one citizens of one true city."§

All generations, from the beginning of the church till the revolution of the

* Joan. xvii. † Chateaub. Discours Hist. ii. 13. ‡ Guizot, Cours d'Hist. § Purg. xiii.

sixteenth century, attest the fact. "Though the distance of territory makes the habitations of Christians different, yet," says Peter of Blois, "the society of holy charity under one pastor, Christ, makes them all one flock."* "One faith," cries Agobard, "one hope, one charity, one will, one prayer for all men, of all nations, and all conditions, invoking one Father, seeking one sanctification, demanding one kingdom. O celestial fraternity! O eternal concord! O inseparable unity! derived from one, and referred to one Author of all things, by whom the heavens rejoice, and the earth is gladdened! All are thus brethren—the servant and his lord, the poor and the rich, the ignorant and the learned, the weak and the strong, the humble workman and the sublime emperor. No one disdains another, no one is puffed up, since there is one bread, one body of Christ for all, whether Aquitains or Longobards, Burgundians or Alamanns, serfs or free. All are citizens of the saints, and servants of God, who hath made all one, making peace, and reconciling us to Himself by his cross, evangelizing peace to those who were afar off, and to those who were near, so reducing all to one body, that they are to be called Christ, rather than Christians."†

The chief Sophist of Geneva, of the last century, accuses the Christian religion of not being sufficiently national. Where religious unity is broken, the inhabitants of different countries are found sufficiently eager for claiming a nationality in the old pagan sense for themselves, and not slow disciples of Rousseau and the Abbé de Mably, who were great advocates for exciting nations to regard each other with hatred; but the fact undoubtedly is, that in ages of faith religion had so united all nations, that the very name to indicate separation was unknown. The precept which overthrew the system of national religions, changed the face of the world. Unknown to all the sects of philosophy, without antecedent or example, it alarmed even the apostles themselves. It was not till after the third prodigy, that they obeyed it; and St. Peter, after baptizing Cornelius, thought it necessary to justify himself by saying, "what, was I to resist God?" During the middle ages the nation of each Christian was Christendom. "In every country," as Michelet observes, "the popedom encouraged institutions universal, which were not confined to a locality. The people in Spain, till the year 1820, had never heard the word nation in the modern pagan sense. They understood what was meant by Spain and Spaniards, but as the sophists complained, the Spanish nation was a phrase unintelligible to them." So it was in every part of Europe, till those heretics rose up, through whose ill counsel in the world, no more one faith prevails, but each creed is to men of other nations understood by none. Europe was then disorganized, and as Saint Simon says, after describing the harmonious unity of all states in the middle ages, "one half of the Europeans emancipated themselves from the Papal chains, that is to say, broke the only political bond which attached it to the great society."

* Epist. lxvii. † Agobardi Epist. ad. Ludovic. Imp. 104.

This absence of a spirit merely national, must not be mistaken for the neglect of any social duty. Thierry remarks that, "a few simple sentences in the old chronicles, transcribed neither by Mézeray, Velly, nor Anquetil, say more to the praise of the townsmen of the middle ages, than long pages, pompously repeating the words people and nation."* The love of one's country was held by the great doctors of the school, to be included in charity, and one of its chief gifts,† so that Dante speaks of "the charity of native land, that in his bosom wrought."‡ St. Thomas expressly says, "that for his country's safety, a good man should be willing to die," and, in fact, never were there more glowing or pathetic examples of the power of that love, than during the middle ages. All its tenderness too was found. Peter of Blois, after twenty-six years spent in England, writing to Odo, bishop of Paris, to request that he may be recalled to France, that he may at least be buried in his native country, concludes with these lines:

"Me natale solum quadam dulcedine tangit:
Semper et immemorem non sinit esse sui."§

There is not wanting proof that this affection for the land of one's birth shed a delightful influence over the manners of Catholic states. The people of Pavia in 1330 are described as being affable and familiar to all persons: but if they meet with fellow countrymen in foreign parts, we are told that not only friends, but even enemies, whether of the city itself or of the surrounding towns and villages, receive each other with such benignity, that one might suppose they were beloved uterine brothers.‖ The union of nations under the church favored this love, inasmuch as it tended to strengthen all the charities of life, while on the other hand it did not exclude diversity of customs and laws. In the ninth century, the Romans were governed by the Roman law, the Francs by the Salic and Ripuarian, the Burgundians by the Burgundian, the Lombards by the Lombard, the Saxons by the Saxon law; but notwithstanding this variety, the great principle of unity prevailed, for the canonical legislation was one and the same for all the people, and the religious society was essentially one. In England, the Mercian, Danish, and West Saxon laws simultaneously prevailed, until they were collected into one body of the common law by King Edward the Confessor, but all the while the union of faith no less existed: all countries were within the pale: "the just were united in God," as Gilles, of Rome, observes, "while the whole kingdom of the evil, whatever may be their political or commercial bonds, is necessarily broken and dispersed;"¶ since, as Tacitus remarks, "faciliore inter malos consensu ad bellum quam in pace ad concordiam."** For war alone they can associate together, and like the Germans call each other brothers.†† There were no

* Lettres sur l'Hist. de France, i. † St. Thom. de Regim. Prin. iii. 4. ‡ Hell, xiv.
§ Epist. clx. ‖ Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ, 23. ap. Mur. Rer. It. xi.
¶ Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Princ. i. c. 3. ** Hist. i. 54.
†† Ægidii Tschudi Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologic. Epist. Cent.

strong national traits of character in the ordinary sense of the term; for, in fact, these are generally at the bottom, vices. If we attend to nature we find that children are the same every where. It is evil customs that introduce in after life these nationalities, which have so pernicious a tendency in estranging the inhabitants of one country from those of another, till they even contract the old Pythagorean notion, that the use of a foreign language is a thing to be condemned, and that no one should speak in any but his vernacular tongue. If we interrogate religion, the type is likewise every where the same. Hence, at Rome, there is nothing peculiar or exclusive, which Romans only can admire; because in the centre of Catholic unity it is the universal sense of enlightened Christians, which determines what is just and becoming. The consequences of this union of nations, though at times partially defeated, were upon the whole immense. In the first place it secured the world from the dangers of wars of opinion. There was one philosophy for all countries: so that in none was there a party sending armies from every side to impose its views of constitutions, or of moral wisdom. upon the people of other lands, as was so lately seen in Portugal. No country had that qualification which Guizot ascribes to France, the feeling that it has a right to reign over the world, to govern facts, that it is called to reform and to regulate facts according to its own reason. "This," he adds, "is what Italy wants;" and he must know that all countries that were Catholic wanted it. England, France, Spain, or Germany, would have revolted with horror from the idea of giving Europe a philosophic system, or any social amelioration, that was not identical or in harmony with the wisdom of the church, and the manners that were the consequences of faith. There was then no people insolently boasting that they could give law to Christendom, because the numbers of revolted spirits would fly to aid them; and as I before observed, no minister of a state avowing that he had in his hand the slips of war, the impious of all climates, whom he could let loose in an instant, on the pacific. If we look at the troubles of France, in ancient times, we find that they were disorders which did not involve the question of the duty of maintaining this unity.

The English wars with France were owing to a disputed succession: the wars of the house of Anjou, and the expedition into Italy, form no doubt a history full of tragedies: but there was no war against religion, to overthrow the work of all Christian ages, and to reconstruct the human society while attempting to place it on a new foundation. There were no revolutionary wars, no formidable phalanxes marching forth to subdue kings and people with unconquerable audacity, rapid like the lightning, and leaving behind them more fatal traces of their destructive passage: thrones were not seen on all sides tottering, respected princes belonging to ancient races, whose power seemed consecrated by time, obliged to fly into exile: the course of armies was not marked by the fall of all ancient and venerated things, by the overthrow of all former relations, institutions, customs, opinions, and manners. Whatever horrors attended war, there was always some

alternative for human prudence but despair, always some secure ground in the force of wisdom, virtue, and ability. Secondly, religious wars were excluded: and whoever desires to know the extent of this benefit, should refer to the writings of Florimond Raymon, Pasquier,* Paradin, and other writers, who as eye-witnesses describe them. What the moderns, forgetting Him who can cause men to agree, deem impossible, was accomplished, and not in vain rose from every altar the church's prayer that God would inspire the minds of the faithful with one will, causing them to love what He prescribes, to desire what He promises, that amidst the worldly vicissitudes their hearts might be fixed where true joys are found.† With the ancients, the privilege of isopolity was necessary to enable the inhabitants of one independent city to partake in the sacrifices and festivals of another.‡ The short periodical interruption of hostilities consequent on the Olympic festival, did not allay the animosity of warring tribes. There was, perhaps, no other occasion on which the Greek was so forcibly impressed with the consciousness of the separation between himself and other nations. The business of the festival itself ministered constant fuel to the selfish and malignant passions of rival cities. The separate treasuries at Olympia, as at Delphi, of different states, were often monuments of their mutual enmity.§ In ages of faith no nation had such festivals. There were no national religions, as with the moderns, who have returned to the Gentile notion in this respect, whose patriotism derives strength from their religious views, and whose religious views become exclusive as their patriotism, insomuch that the limits of their territory seem to serve also as the limits of their religious obligations. The social state was in ages of faith no longer the end, but the means of life. No one conceived the idea of bringing back the narrow and barbarous civism of the ancient pagan republics; for from the unity of the church, all people tended even in spite of themselves, to become one people. "I say nothing of the labor of the journey which I have undertaken," says St. Avitus, "because whatever may be the length of time, or the vastness of the distance, for which he leaves the habitation of his father-land, a priest can never be called a stranger or foreigner, wherever the Catholic church can be found."‖ The troubles of a journey, as we often observed, were then immense. Ives de Chartres says of his going to Rome, "if with youthful strength we could still proceed on foot over the broken ways of Alps, ride through precipices, and across the waves of intervening torrents."¶ The κελευθοποιοὶ παῖδες Ἡφαίστου, to use the expression of Æschylus, were not then seeking to connect nations together by rails of iron, but what perhaps was a greater triumph, Rome had so united them intellectually by the charity of faith, that thoughts and sympathies passed like lightning between the most distant members of the mystic body. In 1164, when it was reported in France that peace was made between

* Lettres, liv. iv. 12, 13, 15, 17. † Fourth Sunday after Easter. ‡ Niebuhr, ii. 50.
§ Thirlwall Hist. of Greece, i. ‖ S. Avit. Epist. ad Cæsar. Episc. ¶ Iv. Carnot. Epist. ccxix.

the holy archbishop of Canterbury and the king of England, a correspondent of the former assured him, that all men in that kingdom rejoiced for his peace, as if for their own, "omnes de pace vestra tanquam de sua lætabantur." The discipline of the church tended to make men forget the differences of nations, and to renounce those antipathies against which a law of the first Christian emperor was levelled, when the Roman emperors were permitted to form alliance with the blood of the Francs.* While some interested nobles and narrow-minded churchmen complained, the people were thankful that merit without regard to birth or local connections, might determine the choice of those who were to guide them.

England beheld without jealousy, Greeks, Italians, and Frenchmen, among her bishops, as Germany, Italy, and France bowed their heads under the pastoral staff of an Englishman or an Irishman. Some modern historians remark that these papal reservations had the advantage of rescuing great sees from the feudal influence which might have ill provided for them. Whereas, the popes used to select from a convent or the universities, some learned and holy man, to be made primate of the Gauls, or of the empire.† The sublime prayer before the eleventh lesson, on holy Saturday, alludes to this union of all nations in the common country of the faithful; for it addresses God as having united the diversity of nations in the confession of his name, and it seeks that there may be one piety of actions, as well as one faith of minds; so that making allowance for the genius of individuality, like that of the Celtic races, in all essential points, manners as well as principles were to be similar and universal. Catholic patriotism again, besides being delivered from the danger of religious wars, had also a conviction that no national wars to do offence and scathe in Christendom, could be ever just. As in early times described by Thucydides, there were local wars between cities, but no great national wars waged as such :‡ and not for the reason to which he ascribes the smallness of the ancient expeditions, the want of money, to which the world at present is said to owe its peace, but from the absence of any systematic hostility between divisions of the common family. The δεινὸς εὐκλείας ἔρως§

I never disturbed its peace: the conquerors of the ages of faith had not, therefore, to make complaints like those of Stephen Pasquier, where he says, that if you read an Italian historian, you will find the late French victories stript of their glory and bastardized; for in the renown of the true Christian warrior, all nations took an equal interest. It was not till the fourteenth century that wars changed their character from being the result of particular quarrels between lord and vassal, or vassal and vassal, becoming general wars of a people against a people, a government against a government. Previously, a war between Christians had a character of sacrilege. If the ideal of empire had not been counteracted by the passions of men, and the questions arising out of the feudal law, there would have reigned a universal peace: that idea excluded all cases of collision. Hence

* Constant. Porphyr. de Administ. Imp. † Michelet, iii. 495. ‡ Lib. i. 15. § Æsch. Eum.

the chronicles of St. Denis say that judgment was given by the Prud'hommes, on the differences between the kings of France and England, according to the laws and decrees which declare that, "the obligations and the alliances which are made against peace, should be considered null."*

The church and her peaceful solemnities had made all nations one family: so that no poet then would have dared, like the heathen satirist, to pray that tearful war and pestilence might be transferred to a foreign land,† when he was aware that millions of his own countrymen were saying in the bottom of their hearts to the men of that very land, with whom they were associated in the bonds of religious rites, and perhaps, personally too, by a thousand familiar ties arising out of them, "Propter domum Domini Dei nostri, quæsivi bona tibi." Talk not of rival interests, of the balance of powers. Tell me not in the heathen words: *Τὸν αὐτὸν φίλον τε καὶ ἐχορὸν νομιζέτω πᾶς τῇ πόλει.*‡ Plato would have other views had he written after the blessed limbs had been nailed upon the tree. What love can an earthly country have for me, if it revolts against charity itself? Alas! I may find what it is styled in verses that I read upon the tomb of Dante, and which he ordered to be inscribed over his bones:

"A mother of little love."

Can the prevalence of this conviction respecting the duty of maintaining peace between Christian nations be shown from history? clearly it can. All through the middle ages, we find that political peace was sought for on religious grounds. Charlemagne, in his letter to Offa, king of the Mercians, explains his motive in seeking alliance with him, in these words. "Since it becomes powerful and renowned kings to be united in the ties of friendship, and to congratulate each other in mutual joys, in order that in the bond of charity, Christ in all, and by all, may be glorified."§ The grounds of peace, therefore, in ages of faith, were very different from these that were established in later times, when political diplomacy was exclusively concerned in adjusting the pretended equilibrium of population and territory, in consequence of which doctrine sovereigns began to watch each other with a jealous eye, having that kind of mutual esteem and confidence which exist among those lesser powers, which are concerned with the highway;‖ being as ready to court alliance with a usurper and murderer, like Cromwell, as with a Saint Louis, having no scruple to cause a revolution in another state, if it could benefit their own, as when the emperor and king of Spain secretly favored that of England, with a view to separate England from France, and whose reply to any of the old Catholic arguments in favor of peace, might be given in the words of Northumberland, "that were some love, but little policy."

The religious republic of the Venetians, when oppressed with the weight of

* Ad. an 1113. † Hor. Car. i. 21. ‡ Plato de Legibus, xii. § Ap. Baluze, i.
‖ St. Victor, Tableau de Paris, iv. 1. 3.

their war with the people of Camertes, renounced a triumph over many princes, when Othoman, emperor of the Turks, offered them an army of 30,000 men, because they said they would rather fall under the standard of the cross, than conquer under the crescent.* Even Grotius extols the pious words of Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, to Charles the Simple, "who would not shudder," he exclaimed, "at finding you wish to contract friendship with the enemies of God, and by a detestable treaty to use pagan arms to the destruction of the Christian name! for it matters not, whether you be the ally of pagans, or the worshipper of idols." Cervantes ascribes this spirit to the young Spanish lover, Ricarede, who resolves within himself never to draw a sword upon those united with him in the bonds of the same faith. When Elizabeth, the English Queen, requires him to signalize himself by some heroic act in her service, that he may receive from her the hand of Isabella—he refuses. The thought of such hostilities fills him with horror, and he exclaims, "never will I engage in such a service." This was the old feeling: the heroes of the Carlovingian romances made war only in defence of Christians against the Mahometans, "and in this respect," says Fauriel, "they are only a mirror of chivalry till the end of the thirteenth century, while it was under the religious influence."† Don Antonio de Guevara, confessor to the Emperor Charles V., in a letter to a noble commander, reminds him of this distinction. "Lord Marquis, if your camp had been before Jerusalem, we should have esteemed your cause just, but since it is before Marseilles, we esteem it scrupulous. I hesitate not to declare that there can be no war between Christians so justified, as not to be ground for scruples. I wish to promote your salvation, and not to applaud you."

The complaint of Milton was the cry of millions in every country during ages of faith, whenever a king or feudal prince came forward to open the purple testament of bleeding war. We have their letters and their chronicles, their solemn pleadings and their official acts, all repeating words like his,

> "——O shame to men, though under hope
> Of heav'nly grace and God proclaiming peace,
> Yet live in hatred, enmity, and strife,
> Among themselves, and level cruel wars,
> Wasting the earth, each other to destroy."

When Gloucester asks Henry VI. if he is willing to establish peace with France, that king replies, "Ay, marry, uncle; for I always thought it was both impious and unnatural, that such immanity and bloody strife should reign among professors of one faith."‡ Expressions like these, I am aware, may be found on the tongue of poets, and of eminently just men at all times; but what is singular in the history of the middle ages is, that they were then strictly diplomatic phrases

* Palatius, Aquila inter Lilia, l. xi. † Origine de l'Epopée Chev. du Moyen Age

‡ Hen. VI. i. 5.

and practical maxims, adopted by rulers and statesmen, and by all writers, whose works were invested with a political and positive character.

Childebert being in Spain, having besieged Saragossa, made peace with the citizens for no other reason but from discovering by their processions that they were Catholics. Oderic Vitalis pretends that William the Conqueror used to admonish the Norman knights not to oppress the vanquished, who by the profession of Christianity were the equals of the conquerors.* What finally induced Lothaire to submit to Louis and Charles, and seek to conclude a lasting peace with them, was more than the horror of making war against his brothers, the consciousness of his offence against God in having caused discord between the people of Christian states.† Even Edward III., in his letter of defiance to King Philip, of Valois, in 1340, declares his desire "that our Lord may make peace more and more between Christians."‡ All thought of union and political concord in Italy in the middle ages, was a religious thought. It was under the title of St. Mary the Glorious, that Brother Bartholomew, of Vicenza, founded, at Bologna, the military order, the office of which, was to maintain in harmony the different Italian cities.

The Platonicians used to say, that the end of peace was friendship. In ages of faith, by peace was understood, not a cold political alliance, while covert enmity, under the smile of safety, wounds the world, but real Christian love. So in the chronicles of St. Denis, we read that Philip de Valois, in 1434, seeing the troubled state of his kingdom, began to be pensive and full of care, seeking how he could remove from his kingdom all hatred, and establish it in true peace. But let us hear the diplomatic acts. In the treaty of peace between the Venetians and the Count Sicard, and the people of Edessa, they say that they will observe with them, "peace and most true charity."§ The first article of the treaty between the Venetians and Paduans, in 1373, concluded with these words, "but now that the cause of evils has ceased, the effects ought to cease also, and both parties should rest in perpetual charity and peace, assisted by the clemency of Jesus Christ, who when about to ascend to the Father, said to his disciples, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you.'"‖ The treaty of peace made in the city of Lodi on the 9th of April, in 1454, between Francis Foscaro, doge of Venice, and Francis Sforza Visconti, duke of Milan, begins with a solemn invocation of the holy and undivided Trinity, and then proceeds thus: "since the word peace is sweet, and the thing itself most salutary, which alone in human affairs is named good and delectable, and since the enemy of the human race always watching to malignity, had sown certain errors, discords, and scandals, between the illustrious duke and dominion of Venice, and the illustrious duke of Milan, which led them to open war, which occasioned infinite robberies, burnings,

* Lib. iv. † Nithardi Hist. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi. ‡ Chron. de St. Denis, 1340.
§ And. Danduli. Chronic. Lib. viii. c. 15. p. 7. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. t. xii.
‖ Raphagni Caresini Contin. Chron. And. Dand.

wounds, homicides, and other horrible crimes, the parties desiring and intending to live pacifically in fraternal love, and to remove all matter of war, sent orators and delegates, and, at length, in the city of Lodi, by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, solemnly came in this manner to agreement and peace."* Again, letters of the Venetians to the doge of Genoa are to this effect, "Too long have we been waging hateful war against each other. What are you doing, dearest brethren? You are Italians, and what is a still greater bond of charity, Christians. You have not to contend with the perfidy of schismatics, or the blindness of Sarassins, or the ferocity of Tartars. We both adore the one God, the one Christ, one Redeemer, the testator of peace—of that peace which we seek from you. Lay down then your arms with which you offend God, and while you seek to conquer others, gain a victory over yourselves. Lay aside the anger in which you have more than sufficiently indulged, and grant to us your brethren, who lament with all our souls the calamities suffered by the people of both our states, the benefit of peace."†

The eloquent writings or harangues of modern authors and senators, who seem most satisfied with their argument for peace, when they have cited some heathen testimony,‡ have but little resemblance, in this respect, to those of Catholics in ages of faith. Let us take an instance from the latter. Paulus Guinisius, who by the aid of the duke of Milan had gained the chief power in Lucca, afterwards assisted the said duke in his war against the Florentines. When it was a question at Florence, of making war upon Lucca, not only for that reason, but also because he as a tyrant hated Florence, and that, therefore, it was a measure of safety to attack him, Nicolas Uzano spoke as follows: "It is the ancient sentence of the wise, excellent fellow citizens, that those who assemble in a place of this kind to deliberate, ought to be free from all mental disease, and obnoxious to no perturbation. To me he seems to be the best citizen, who, consulting for peace and tranquillity, refers all his thoughts to the public welfare. We ought all to agree in following that sentence, by observing which we can be secure of a happy issue; nor if there should appear any vain hope of future good, ought we to rush on to act in a manner for which we may afterwards have reason to repent. And of all wars the event is uncertain, especially of those which have no object but its lust. Renaldus has exhorted the people to this war, which he thinks useful and capable of being conducted at small expense; but it seems to me a better counsel to prefer peace, rather than the opinion of those who make light of sowing wars after wars, despising the advantages of tranquillity. Wars ought to be undertaken in order that we may live in peace, not that we should be involved in fresh evils; for it would be a continued calamity, if we were always to be eager for engaging in new wars, at the very name of which I wonder that we do

* Ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xvi. p. 1010. † Ap Martene, Vet. Script. i. p. 1587.
‡ Vide Schoockius de Pace, and Grotius, passim.

not all shudder if we remember what has passed. As for the arguments of Renaldus, that peace is to be suspected, I answer, that there is nothing which cannot be misrepresented. What more certain good, more salubrious, than peace? What virtue more acceptable to God? What more useful than leisure and concord, what more desirable than quiet? I truly prefer peace, and dread the prosperous fortune of the tyrant, when it is certain that God must favor those who resist, rather than those who commit an injury, those who defend themselves, rather than those who attack through cupidity. It is not a just cause which impels us to this war, unless the desire of domination be a just cause, unless the crime of ambition be an excuse. Paulus Guinisius has taken part against us in this war; but ought the innocent citizens to be punished for the crimes of a tyrant whom they detest? If we have cause of indignation against him, ought a whole city to suffer for what has been done by a faction? What will you have to answer to those who may be injured by this war, without having ever injured you? By no divine or human law are we permitted to seize what belongs to another. There is a just cause when we have to defend our country, and the issue of such wars is generally happy; but unjust wars are rarely crowned with victory. Infamy and hatred follow them. Therefore, I exhort you not to heed the counsels of those who advise you to this war, merely in order to make their profit by it, and who care not who conquer, so that it be protracted, that they may the longer receive pay. It is my opinion that we abstain from unjust arms, and that we should rather for sake of our own honor, endure the past injuries of the tyrant, with an equal mind, than through vengeance attack an innocent and deserving city. I pray God to inspire you with that resolution, which may conduce to the honor and safety of our country."*

See how many principles of the Catholic religion are here appealed to before senators;—the need of interior purity in political deliberations, the sin of wars for domination, the necessity for determining public measures by the rule of pleasing God, the good of quiet for a people, the duty of a nation to bear with the injustice of any enemy, rather, than neglect charity to his subjects, and the infamy of disturbing peace between Christian states.

* Poggii Bracciolini Hist. Lib. vi. ap. Mur. tom. xx.

CHAPTER X.

WARS, however, there were in ages of faith reputed just, of which the pacific in this world of cruelty did not complain; they may be divided into distinct classes, but it will be expedient in the first instance to investigate their general character and, perhaps, even those who turn with pain and shuddering from all ordinary records of the grating shock of wrathful iron arms, will stop to hear us tell with what pacific thoughts war in ages of faith was begun, carried on, and finished.

Wars were then begun by careful and solemn scrutiny of the justice of the cause. Thus we read of the Marshal Boucicaut, "before he begins a war, he considers well whether the grounds be or be not just and sufficient."* Speaking of the impiety of the Paduans in making war upon Venice, a contemporary writer observes, "that such discussions should not be committed to artisans and mechanics, or consequently to their representatives, who only look to their own chances of gain, but men should hear the continent and sober, who are not quick to determine on war in any cause; knowing that it can never be undertaken with integrity, unless for a great and just cause."†

"We earnestly entreat the royal majesty," says the Abbot Suger, in his letter to King Louis, "not to make war rashly against the count of Anjou, whom you have made duke of Normandy, without first taking counsel from the archbishops and bishops, or the chief men of the state; for if you do any thing hastily, you cannot afterwards escape from it with honor, or perfect it without great labor. But since you have convoked your men for this purpose, let there be delay until you hear the advice of those who are sworn to advise and assist you with all their strength."‡ The advice of such counsellors would resemble that ascribed to Vincent of Beauvais, in these words: "the prince ought to have peace with all foreign nations, far and near; nor ever ought he to make war, not even when they provoke it, unless through necessity, and for some very arduous cause. He ought carefully to consider what are the evils of war, what perils to the republic, what troubles of minds, what oppressions of the poor, what destruction of goods, devastation of vines and corn, conflagration of towns, slaughter of men, rancor and enmities in future, and the loss of innumerable souls."§

"Peace should result from the will, war from necessity," says St. Augustin.‖

* Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucic. p. iv. 4.

† Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‡ Sugerii Epist. cl. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv. § Spec. Mor. ‖ Epist. 207.

Such were the principles. The necessity, however, might arise, and accordingly, as the school remarked, Christianity sanctions the profession of arms. When our Lord received and praised the centurion, he did not require him to abandon it;* nor did the Prince of the Apostle require it in Cornelius after he had baptized him;† nor did the Baptist, who instructed soldiers, condemn their profession.‡ "Think not," says St. Augustin, "that no one can please God who ministers with arms of war. They were borne by that centurion, who said to our Lord, 'non sum dignus.'" "Be pacific in war, that you may lead those whom you attack, by conquering, to the benefit of peace," words cited by Anselm, of Mantua, defending Pope St. Gregory VII. against Guibert.

"Battle is allowed by the divine law," says the author of the Tree of Battles, "for battle, in its legitimate sense, is a medicine, having for its end to turn dissensions into peace." The judgment of the middle ages, however, was not calculated to make men think lightly of undertaking war. "If a man die in battle for the church," says the same authority, "and is not otherwise in mortal sin; or if he die in battle, in any just war, he is saved; but if it be in an unjust quarrel, he is in the way of damnation and goes to hell. Men of arms are not necessarily enemies of God, for by good works, maintaining just causes, they may acquire the love of God." So also Cæsar of Heisterbach says, "If men fall in a just war, or in defence of their country, no evil then befalls them."§ "Not every aggression of war," says Gilles of Rome, "but only just war makes men brave."‖ But no one was suffered to deceive himself on this point. "Some excuse their homicides in the late war of princes" says the Penitential of Ruban Maur, "as not being voluntary, because they were committed by order of their princes, and in conformity to the judgment of God; but it is necessary for those who desire to defend this nefarious slaughter, to consider whether in the eyes of God they can be excused as innocent, who through avarice, which is the root of all evils, and compared to the service of idols, and for the sake of the favor of their temporal lords, despised the eternal Lord, and disregarding his commandments, not by accident, but with full intention, committed homicide. Therefore, they must see whether by chance they may not be in the number of those to whom the prophet said, 'Woe to you who call evil good, and good evil, light darkness, and darkness light, bitter sweet, and sweet bitter.' He who expects pardon from God, without doing condign penance for evil works, is an erring penitent; and if he hasten to deceive others, he is bound by a double evil. But it is to be observed, that there is a great difference between him who endeavors to subvert the tranquillity of Christian peace, and him who contends with arms to defend equity against iniquity, of which many examples are found under the old law, and under the new testament, which can teach us what we are to think

* Matt. viii. 3. † Acts. x. 1. ‡ Luke iii. 14. § Illust. Mirac. Lib. xii. 15.
‖ Ægid. Rom de Regim. Prin. ii. 1. 9.

of such contention."* What then were the legitimate causes of war? On this point there was no want of instruction. "An army is constituted," says Dionysius the Carthusian, "to defend the country from external enemies, and from those who would cause internal seditions, or from those who would oppress the weak and the poor."† Hence, as De Bonald observes, "the military service of nobility was that on horseback, as being more defensive than offensive: society in ages of faith had to preserve what was its own, not to extend it."‡ The preference for a force of cavalry was deemed by the ancients to indicate an unstable and effeminate character. An infantry, in fact, as an instrument of aggression, has always been the force of democratic or despotic states; whereas a cavalry by the nature of its composition, is chiefly available in the defence of domestic hearths. The Romans, with their invincible infantry, invaded all nations who had only infantry to oppose to them; and they found an insurmountable barrier to their progress in the Parthian cavalry.§ An infantry, therefore, unless under the strong control of a public sense of religious obligations, is a source of danger for mankind, as was seen in late times, as soon as the old pagan spirit had gained the ascendancy.

That a war should be lawful, St. Thomas requires three things: the authority of the prince of the state, a just cause, and a right intention in the combatants, that they have in view the public good, or the defence of the Christian religion, or some other just cause. Therefore, the desire of injuring or of avenging, or the lust of rule, or the disposition to rebel, must be absent from the mind. "Ambition and avarice," says Dionysius, "easily grow upon men, unless they be extirpated by the fear and love of God; and domination is ineffably perilous. Therefore, wise princes will never seek to extend their territories, knowing the consequent responsibility. They will remember that, whatever is contrary to the spiritual love of God and their neighbor, is mortal sin, and, therefore, they will tremble at the thought of that tremendous judgment which awaits all those who attack the dominions of other princes, and disturb the people committed to them, and afflict the poor. Consequently, before a war a prince will diligently inquire from men who fear God, whether there be certainly a just and sufficient cause."‖ "The king who undertakes a war," says another guide, "ought not to confide in material force, as in the power of a great army, but in God; and he ought to begin by good counsel; for sense is better than force."¶ Guy de Bremen spoke the general sentiment of these ages when, in reply to the duke of Burgundy, who asked him, what he thought should be done with the hostages of Liege, which some proposed to put to death, he said, "My lord, I think that above all things we must have God on our side, and, therefore, we must deliver them." So Guillaume des Barres said to Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, "Dieu

* Pœnit. Rhabani, 4. ap. Canis. Lect. Antiq.
† De Vita et Regim. Prin. iii. 31.
‡ Legislat. Prim. ii. 4.
§ Ibid.
‖ De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 36.
¶ Le Livre de Pierre Salmon, 32.

vous aidera, car vous aves droit en ceste besoingne." And the Norman knights at Melfi replied to the herald of the Greeks, "We confide more in the mercy of God than in the multitude of our men." Murchardt, king of Leinster, hearing of King William's threat to make a bridge of ships wherewith to invade Ireland, asked of the reporter, after a long pause, "Hath the king added to his threats, 'If it please God?'" "No," was the reply. "Then," said he, "I fear not his coming."

The cause of war being proved just, we find that it was undertaken with every demonstration of loving peace, and hating war. "Kings and princes before making war," says Dionysius, "are bound to confession."* And King Henry, with our poet, says, "Let every soldier in the wars do as every sick man in his bed, wash every moth out of his conscience:" that is, they were to begin in charity with God and man. Solemn and significant customs prevailed to express this. Such was that visit to some holy convent before a war, to take leave of the martyrs there enshrined, and receive its pacific banner, to be borne as a pledge that the conscience was at peace with God. Louis-le-Gros was a valiant king, yet when he went to take up the peaceful oriflamb in the abbey of St. Denis, previous to hostilities, he was seen to weep; and when the emperor retreated without a battle, intimidated by the preparations of the French, the king rejoiced more than if he had gained a great victory, and carried on his own shoulders, in procession, the reliquaries of the abbey, shedding abundant tears.† The sobs and groans of Philip Augustus before the martyrs, when he was to receive the oriflamb, are expressly mentioned in the great official history of the chronicles of St. Denis.‡ "The cause, however, being just, the prince," says Dionysius, "not proudly trusting in himself, may go forth to battle with magnanimity, that is, with cheerfulness and delectation to fight; for to contend and die for justice is meritorious of eternal life."§ Hence, the principle of all chivalry, according to the language of Provence, was what was termed joy; which meant a generous magnanimity, enabling the soul to rise superior to all the miseries and vices of the world: and thus in the Spanish code joy is prescribed as a duty to knights, which explains the Italian word "un tristo" to signify a wicked man. It is in this sense that the sword of Charlemagne was called "joyeuse."‖ Accordingly we behold such warriors receiving on their departure the benediction of the sons of peace, whose impressions on those occasions are so beautifully described by the poet who represents the old monk after the embarkation of Bruce.

"As up the hills his path he drew,
He turn'd, his blessings to renew;
Oft turn'd, till on the darken'd coast
All traces of their course were lost;

* De Vita Militari, 3. † Hist. de Suger, iv. 280. ‡ Ad. an. 1190.
§ De Vit. et. Reg. p. iii. 38. ‖ Ampère, de la Chevalerie

Then slowly bent to Brodick tower,
To shelter for the evening hour."

With this prudent, just, and in desire peaceful commencement, the conduct of war was strictly to correspond; and here it is to be observed, that the pacific spirit evinced by Constantine to the soldiers taken in war was a new feature in military history.* "The prince and his army," says Dionysius, "before and during a just war, must be in charity, and for this end they should have cordial contrition for their sins, and go to confession, and then they may go securely to battle, having a right intention, viz. to fight for the common good, to please God, and to be remunerated by Him, all which motives are necessary to soldiers, for otherwise they would be in mortal sin. In battle they must, above all things, take care, lest they should feel any envy against their adversaries; for if they were to admit such passions, they would sin mortally, and be eternally damned if they should be slain."† "Every Christian," he says, "is bound to love with a true and spiritual love every man living in this world; that is, to wish their eternal salvation. Therefore, the prince and his army, when about to engage in battle, ought on no account to cease from this spiritual love of their enemies, whatever they may have done, otherwise they would be fighting in mortal sin. Thus Charlemagne, while fighting against the pagans," that is, defending Christian peace against them, "loved them, and sought their conversion, as did Oger, when combating the Danes."‡ In his treatise on the military life, he speaks thus: "Vegetius says, that a general should endeavor to sow discord amongst his enemies; but this does not seem lawful to Christians, for it is contrary to charity; and it is a perilous thing for a man to act so, especially when in such danger of death. Moreover, Vegetius says, that a general before a battle ought to excite his soldiers to a hatred of the enemy by representing all that they have done against them; but this again is unlawful for Christians, who are bound to desire the eternal salvation of their adversaries, and to love in them every thing but what is opposed to justice and to peace."§ These were not the speculations of a recluse unrealized in the military profession, or in the deeds of princes. That absence of hatred in the midst of battles, that forgetfulness of self, that direction of the intention—all these Christian virtues which he requires, were knightly and kingly qualities, the existence and exercise of which are incontrovertible facts of history. The designation of Bologna in mysterious lore, "Pia civitas in bello," was not the exclusive merit of one state. Our Henry III. had many wars with St. Louis, king of France; "yet," says an historian, "they never broke in upon the Gospel as to brotherly love. And, though King Louis, by the great advantage he had over King Henry, often obliged him to make submissions, (a thing not very agreeable to persons exalted in power,) yet this was so

* Euseb. de Vit. Const. ii. 13. † De Vit. et Reg. Prin. iii. 39. ‡ Id. iii. 42.
§ De Vita Militari. 12

far from exasperating the latter, that, in any other matter not regarding the point in debate, Louis was the great friend and adviser to whom he applied himself." Now to observe how soldiers in the very battle acted, let us hear Orderic Vitalis: "King William penetrated into France as far as Pontoise, and with a great army laid siege to Chaumont, ordering his steel-clad soldiers to carry it by assault. The illustrious soldiers of the place defended their fortifications with vigor, and did not lose sight of the Lord, and the duties of humanity. They spared with care and goodness the persons of the assailants, and directed all the fury of their anger against the horses of the enemy, of which they killed more than 700; so that many knights who had crossed the Epte gloriously on foaming charges were obliged to return on foot with their king." On the death of the Conqueror, Gaultier and Haimeri, besieged in the citadel of Mans by Helie and Foulques, count of Anjou, after some days, proposing a truce, spoke as follows to Helie, who had permission from them to approach safely as often as he chose, clad in white: "We keep this citadel," said they, "which our master confided to us, well provisioned, and we fear neither you nor your machines. We can hit you with our arrows and stones, because, being on this high tower, we are so much above you, but, through fear of God, and through friendship for you, we spare you."* The public opinion in the middle ages agreed with the sentence of Cervantes, "The most honorable victories are those which are the least bloody." "Truly," says Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Inigo de Velasquez, Constable of Castille, "I find no greater victory than that which is gained without effusion of blood. Believe me, Seigneur Constable, clemency and piety never broke a lance in war, but a sanguinary captain is either slain or sold." We are told with surprise that the war song of the Spaniards, who in our age have been compelled to arm in defence of their country, might be taken for a hymn to peace.

"Viva la paz! viva l'union!
Viva la paz y Don Carlos Borbon!"†

In this respect the soldiers of Zumalacarregui only evinced the desire which was formerly evinced in all just wars. One might take for a monastic chant, invoking rest and security, the rhythm that used to be sung by the soldiers who guarded the city of Modena about the year 924, when the Hungarians invaded Italy:—

"O tu qui servas armis ista mœnia,
Noli dormire, moneo, sed vigila.
Nos adoremus celsa Christi numina,
Illi canora demus nostra jubila.
Illius magnâ fisi sub custodia,
Hæc vigilantes jubilemus carmina.
Divina, mundi Rex Christe, custodia,
Sub tua serva hæc castra vigilia.

* Lib. x. † Henningsen's Campaign.

Tu murus tuis sis inexpugnabilis,
Sis inimicis hostis tu terribilis.
Te vigilante, nulla nocet fortia,
Qui cuncta fugas procul arma bellica
Tu cinge hæc nostra, Christe, munimina,
Defendens ea tua forti lancea.
Sancta Maria, mater Christi splendida,
Hæc cum Johanne, Theotocos, impetra.
Fortis juventus, virtus audax bellica,
Vestra per muros audiantur carmina :
Et sit in armis alterna vigilia,
Ne fraus hostilis hæc invadat mœnia.
Resultet Echo comes : eja vigila,
Per muros eja dicat Echo, vigila."*

"The Paduans," says an ancient historian, "becoming effeminate through riches and luxury, began to seek aggrandizement and glory, and hence, unjustly took up arms against the Venetians, whose conduct on this occasion showed admirable forbearance and a strong desire of peace. To their first outrages upon the borders, the Venetians replied by calm remonstrances; but their embassadors were sent back with insult. Nevertheless, the senators, without being moved by the furious words of the Paduans, sent other embassadors, who spoke these words, 'It is not right to lay stress on doubtful things until they have been justly discussed, lest, perchance, a little matter should grow into a great controversy; therefore, excellent men, whom the immense ambition of novelty torments, avoid doubtful cases of war, lest through the pride of prosperity you should have God against you. Suffer us to live quietly, and to use without molestation what was conceded to us of old by your authority.' The Paduans remaining obstinate, and both sides being prepared to use force, Peter Gradonicus the doge sent letters secretly to apprise the Paduans of the very day in which he intended to invade their territories, which he did in hopes of deterring them, but in vain, for they resisted to their own discomfiture."† Let us hear the great manual of warriors in the middle ages to remark what peace was provided for multitudes even amidst the calamities of war. "If the king of France be at war with the king of England," says the Tree of Battles, "and there should come a student from London to Paris to study and take degrees, can he be made prisoner? I answer, certainly not; for the law gives express privilege to scholars, and forbids any grief or displeasure to them, commanding on the contrary, that all honors and reverence should be shown to them; for it would be discourteous and outrageous to do displeasure or villany to a scholar who comes from far and strange countries, leaving relations, friends, so many delights and worldly pleasures, in order to learn science; and it would be cruel and inhuman to do them any outrage, seeing that they are thus naked, powerless, far from their own country

* Muratori Antiq. Ital. xl. ‡ Ferreti Vicentini Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

among strangers. The servants of scholars should be similarly exempt from arrest. If an Englishmen should come to Paris to see his son, a student, who is sick, he ought not be made prisoner; for God knows if a Frenchman had a son in such a predicament in London he would do as much for him, and we ought not to do to others what we would not have others do to us. If a father should come to Paris to bring clothes, books, or money to his son, he ought not to be made prisoner, nor if his brother or near relation should come to the scholar should they be arrested. A madman should not be kept prisoner, for he is to be considered as no one's enemy. An old man upon hostile territory, having strayed to hear mass in some chapel, should be suffered to return free, as should also a blind man, for he is a privileged person, and a child, for he is ignorant and innocent, and whoever would demand ransom should not be styled a gentleman, but a robber.

"Can the French is a just war imprison a bishop or abbot, or other monk of England? I answer, they cannot, for such men cannot aid their seigneurs in war. Why then should they be arrested? for the office of clergy is separate from all human wars, for the service of God, and they cannot wear arms, so that it would be little prowess in a Christian to assault or imprison them, since their only weapons are tears, and business to administer the sacraments to the people of God; but if any clerk should go of his own accord to war, and be taken, he may be required to pay ransom; or if a bishop should advise his king to war, and afterwards be taken, he may be required to pay great ransom and penalty, to be determined, however, by the pope, for it was his duty to have exhorted his sovereign to live peaceably, without wishing to have war with any one. As for pilgrims who fatigue their bodies in order to contemplate and revere holy places, or saints there, these are under the special safeguard of the holy father of Rome, and may proceed to accomplish their vow in any country throughout Christendom wherever their devotion may lead them. Equally secure are they in war, or peace, or time of truce, and in this all laymen have the same privilege as churchmen; and this is decreed through reverence of God and of his saints, whose pilgrims they are; and whoever lays a finger on them goes against the ordinance of the pope, and sins mortally, and incurs excommunication: so that the richest merchant of London may travel to St. Denis in time of war without any safeguard from the king of France. Finally, all laborers may securely pursue their occupations in time of war without any molestation to themselves or to their animals: and a man of arms who should touch the poor unarmed peasants would be not a knight, but a wolf, and unworthy of all knighthood. So that, in short, bishops, priests, chaplains, deacons, and other clerks, mendicant friars, recluses, hermits, pilgrims, and laborers, are at all times in safety, whether it be war or peace, and need no safe conduct." Here then we see how many of the pacific were partially exempt from the consequences of war; for it must be remembered that, before the use of modern in-

ventions the calamity did not necessarily fall upon all persons within his reach: so that the persons expected by the fathers of the council of Rheims in the twelfth century could reckon with confidence on a real positive result. They said, "Let clerks, monks, convertites, strangers, women, and those who belong to them in their company, be in perpetual peace. Let flocks, herds, husbandmen, dressers of vines, and merchants be always at peace, independently of what is called the truce of God."*

In Switzerland we find the custom noticed of giving previous notice before commencing war, and of publishing the laws of war. The contending powers swear through their chiefs to plunder or burn no church, to injure no women, or child, or man dedicated to religion, and without permission not to spoil the vanquished.† The virtues of peace were not suspended in time of war, but seemed only to have acquired fresh vigor. After describing the ordinary alms of the Paduans, a writer in 1330 adds, "from these and similar works of piety no adversity of wars, no rapacity of exactions, withdraws them, unless they or their churches are totally despoiled."‡ Thus, in 1314, amidst the desolation of war, we find the chancellor of France, John de Dormans, bishop of Beauvais, making a foundation wholly pacific for the good of the people of Soissions, to aid the college of the diocese.§ In England, during the more warlike reigns, we find foundations of peace rising up every where. "It is scarcely credible," says one historian, "that a nation distracted by continual wars should give so much attention to the cause of religion as we find was done during this reign of Stephen." Charity burned in war itself; for nothing was more common than to see men then trusting their lives to their personal foes with a confidence of being treated as brothers, as when Paul Leca was delivered by his mortal enemy, Judicelli Casamaciola, when he fled to him from the Genoese, as is related by Cyrnæus in his history of Corsica.‖

With respect to men who were personally to be engaged in wars, it should be remembered that in the middle ages there were exemptions which no longer prevail. After public penance it was contrary to the laws of the church that any one should return to the military profession, as Pope St. Leo declared to Rusticus of Narbonne. Here then were others consigned to peace. Muratori is convinced that under the Longobards, even in times of war, all men were not obliged to serve in arms. He thinks it certain that the Longobard kings evinced moderation in the choice of soldiers. Under the Carlovingians the exemptions were more difficult; but servants and men who could plead poverty were excepted, though the former were enlisted as soldiers by the Visigoths. In 1340, the custom of exempting all but such as were hired soldiers is praised as among the laudable institutions of the Viscontis.¶ The possessors of ordinary fiefs as Castel-

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii. † Ildefons Von Arx Geschichte, S. Gall. ii. 616.
‡ Anon. Ticinens. de laudibus Pipiæ, 15, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.
§ Hist de Soissons, ii. 234. ‖ Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv. ¶ Antiq. It. Diss. xxiv.

lains, were only bound to a service of forty, or at most of sixty days. Fiefs of knights owed only twenty, and those of halberts only ten days' service. One effect of the communes was, that neither the king nor the feudal lord could require the military service of any inhabitant unless in defence of the city.* In 1315, the nobles of Champagne told the king of France that they doubted whether he had the right to lead them to war beyond their province.† "The serfs who labor in the fields for the corn and vines cannot be compelled by their seigneurs to go to war," says the Tree of Battles, "for they must not be subjected to a new servitude." In the seventeenth century in France the enrolment of soldiers was voluntary on their part, and only for three years. The mode of raising recruits was the same as that still used in England; but there was even a difficulty in being received, for there were many cases of exception in favor of districts and employments which rendered men ineligible.‡ Revolutionary wars had not then commenced, when men of arms were to approach the foot of the altar to tear away the children of the choir for conscripts. "If it appear strange," says Stephen Pasquier, "that in our time a king of France can hardly raise an army of thirty or forty thousand men, and that the ancient Gauls reckoned their armies by a hundred or two hundred thousand, I answer, that the cause of it is the difference of police, the one teaching principally to brandish swords, and the other to manage a pen; for as our ancestors marched in such crowds to battle, so our kings could sooner raise two hundred thousand men of literature than thirty thousand men of arms."§ In the cities of the middle age we find no provision made for the residence of armies within their walls. The evil of universal soldiership, deplored by Cowper, was unknown in ages of faith; and he might well deplore the innovation; for "man, associated and leagued with man by regal warrant, or swarming into clans beneath one head for purposes of war, becomes a loathsome body most at variance with all moral good." As for men, so for days there were exemptions. "Battle cannot be given on a festival, excepting in cases of necessity." Such was the rule,‖ though St. Thomas extends these so as almost to invalidate it. Philip Augustus and the French barons were unwilling to fight at Bouvines on a Sunday. "I am less anxious to fight," said the king, "because that sacred day should not behold effusion of blood." At the Naves de Tolosa the Sarassins were ready to fight on Sunday, but the king of Spain was unwilling through reverence for the holy day. In 1288, the citizens of Cologne sent to their enemies to say that they would give them food for two days if, for the honor of God, they would abstain from fighting on the next Sunday, and for the sake of His mother on the present Saturday, that they might celebrate them worthily; which offer was, however, rejected at the instigation of Henry, count of Luczenburg, who exclaimed, "Alas! we are not to have a glorious battle this day on account of a timorous

* Script. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. p. 480.
† Michelet, iii.
‡ Monteil, Hist. des Français, vii. 93.
§ Recherches de la Franc, i. c. 3.
‖ L'Arbre des Batailles.

clergy." They fought, and this count was slain.* Philip de Valois was dissuaded from fighting the English at Buironfosse on his arrival, because it was Friday.† The truce of God was, therefore, founded on a general sense of the duty of sanctifying many days. But, at length, the force must be exercised. Let us see with what spirit it was animated. The laws, and duties, and reasons of war were treated on in the middle ages, as Grotius remarks, by those who made sums of cases of conscience.‡ At the religious revolution of the sixteenth century these ancient guides were of course abandoned; and certainly, from that epoch the consciences of men seemed to be but little concerned in any question of military operations.

To explain his motive in writing, Grotius says, "I saw through the Christian world a shameless license of making war; for trivial or no causes men running to arms, and then showing no reverence of divine or human law, but, as if by edict, committing every kind of wickedness with fury."§ His own work, however, in many points, presents a contrast to the scholastic treatises. Contrary to their sentence, he decides that an innocent citizen may be given up to destruction to save a city when a superior force requires it;‖ while they had provided even for the deliverance of the state, in such a case, saving its honor, by teaching that the innocent citizen ought to give himself up rather than cause the destruction of the country. Again, he seems to think that the plunder and violation of churches is lawful in war, supporting his opinion by heathen testimonies;¶ and speaking of some most atrocious heathen laws respecting prisoners, he only says, "I do not dare without distinction to approve of them."** Towards the close of the middle ages, however, some works appeared expressly on the subject. It was by order of King Charles V. that the Prior Honoré Bonnor wrote, under the title of L'Arbre des Batailles, the first treatise on peace and war. The Rosier des Guerres was composed in the reign of Louis XI. Still the schoolmen were the chief authorities. The blessed doctor, to explain his having taught the art of war, concludes with these words, "Supposing, therefore, that kings and princes have a just war, and that their enemies unjustly disturb the peace and common good, it is not inconvenient to teach them all kinds of warfare, and all ways by which they can conquer their enemies, all which they should ordain to the common good and peace of the citizens; for if their intention be so directed, they will deserve that eternal peace in which is the supreme rest which God who is blessed for ever and ever, has promised to his faithful."††

In this very art itself, as taught in the middle ages, the influence of pacific thoughts can be traced opposing irrational fury and the reckless destruction of human life. Soldiers were excited to combat, not like animals, by noise and instruments of Turkish invention to act upon the organs of sensation, but as men

* Gesta Bald. de Luczenburg, ap. Baluze, Miscel. i. † Chroniques de St. Denis, 1339.
‡ Prolegom. § De Jure Belli et Pacis, proleg. ‖ Id. ii. 25. ¶ Id. iii. 5. ** Id. iii. 21.
†† Ægid. Rom. de Regim. Prin. iii. p. iii. 23.

under the control of conscience, by eloquence and poetry; for valor was to be grounded upon reason and the result of calm resolution. "The general," says Dionysius, "should encourage his soldiers before the battle with magnanimous words, full of divine hope, as did Charlemagne, Roland, Oliver, Guilielmus, Oger, and others."* Such were those of the prayer offered aloud by Philip Augustus before the battle of Bouvines, and those which he addressed to his army, saying "Our trust is in God. Otho and his host, as enemies and destroyers of the Church, lie under the pope's ban. The tears of the poor, the sentence of the Church, the sighs of the monks, rise against them. We, though sinners, are in the communion of the church: we fight for the freedom of the clergy, and, therefore, we believe that God will give us victory." The reproach of Achilles to Æneas, "you who threaten *οἰνοποτάζων*,"† could hardly have been addressed to a general of the Catholic school. Charles and Louis, before the battle of Fontanet, after representing to Lothaire the horror of the intended battle, and their ardent desire to avoid it, proposed to prepare for it by fasting. It was the ancient custom for combatants to go to confession, and receive their Saviour before going to battle. After becoming obsolete it again revived, and continued through the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, as may be seen in the historians of the battle of Bouvines and of the crusades. As Scipio used to lead philosophers and poets in his expeditions, lest he should be influenced more by popular opinion than by virtue;‡ so in the Christian camp were found monks and holy almoners, whom a sense of duty brought to dubious verge of battle, to direct, to shrieve, and to console. The chaplains of regiments were generally Franciscans.§ On the manner of making war in the middle ages, Muratori treats.‖ Not every mode was then deemed just. If the old knight described in Gyron le Courtois were now to rise up and repeat his question, "Comment sont maintenant les chevaliers qui se deduysent et soulassent en la mortelle chevalerie?"¶ he would be horror-struck by the information that would be given to him; not so much, perhaps, from hearing that the individual is now regarded only as a cipher in the account, (though remembering Richard the Lion-hearted's boast in a letter to the bishop of Durham, "with a lance we prostrated Matthew de Montmorenci,"** even this discovery might pain him,) as from finding that encouragement was given to a reckless indiscriminate slaughter of men, and that all scientific contrivances for effecting it, were in a military point of view deemed fair.

In the second Lateran council under Pope Innocent II. in 1139, the use of arrows and cross-bows against Christians was forbidden, under pain of anathema. The words of the 29th canon are, "artem autem illam mortiferam et Deo odibilem Ballistariorum et Sagittariorum adversus Christianos et Catholicos, exerceri

* De Vit et Regim. Prin. iii. 40. † Il. xx. 84. ‡ Cardan de Sapientia, ii
§ Montel, Hist de Francais, vii. 120. ‖ Antiq. It. Diss. xxvi.
¶ Gyron le Courtois, f. ccxxxvii. ** Rym. Act. i. 31

de cetero sub anathemate prohibemus;" and Muratori proves, that the prohibition was intended to hold equally, whether the war were just or unjust. Until that time, the Franes in battle used only the lance and sword; but when they returned from the crusades, they brought back with them the use of arrows and javelins, and other missiles, against which the Lateran council raised its voice, as being too deadly. That the French long after abstained from it is clear from William the Briton, who describes the war of Philip Augustus against the count of Flanders, in 1184; for he says expressly, "that the king had not in his whole army any who carried such weapons." Yet Muratori proves that it was not a novelty at the time of the council of Lateran, so that the fathers only sought to extirpate a usage which was beginning to be more prevalent, in consequence of the communication with the east. The bow or balista used by the Saxons had fallen into disuse in England, as Grose remarks, till revived by William the Conqueror. In consequence of the decree of the Lateran council it was again laid aside during the reigns of Stephen and Henry II.; but it was revived by Richard I. in his wars against the French, and his death by an arrow was deemed in consequence a divine judgment.

Finally, wars were terminated with a pacific spirit, as even material monuments attest; as when at Bouvines, according to the general custom, a chapel was erected in the field of battle, in which mass was ever afterwards said on the 27th of July, for the repose of the souls of the slain. Sometimes even retreats for the pacific arose upon the field, as at Battle in Sussex, where a stately abbey marked the spot where Harold and the Saxons fell by the Norman spear. Wars were terminated with humility in the conquerors, and without malice or envy in the conquered. In 1406, on the fall of Pisa, Ginus Capponius, the Florentine, spoke in these terms to the vanquished: "All things whatsoever He wished God hath done in heaven and on earth; nor is it for us to know why God wisheth this or that. We know only the effect and the event, from which it is clear that God wished the Florentines to conquer the Pisans; which whether for your sins or for our merits, we know not, God knoweth it. We wish to keep possession of your city, merely in order that along with us you may have rest and peace, which experience shows you cannot hope for while divided. Nor should you fear our domination, for the Florentine people has not wished to exercise the right of war, but to preserve you in all things. Therefore, your city being conquered by so great an army has sustained no injury; nor have the conquerors otherwise behaved than as the most continent of Christian men. From such a beginning you should confide in the future. Lay aside all anger and jealousy, and submit to what God has willed; and we have often seen peace and lasting friendship follow war. The fathers of our republic have decreed, that all injuries shall be forgotten, and that henceforth they will ever salute you as their children." Then Bartholomew Piombino replied in the name of the Pisans. "The great benignity of God our Saviour hath appeared, who not for the works that we have done, but according

to His great mercy has saved us. These words should be pronounced with a sincere heart by all the Pisans, who must remember that whenever we have fallen into the power of the Florentines, they have always evinced towards us in their victory not only kindness, but a most singular love. It is a great thing to conquer powerful cities, and great and rich states; but to temper victory, and preserve the conquered, is almost a divine virtue, for it resembles the mercy of our Saviour, who forgave his enemies. Therefore, we all return thanks to the people of Florence, and if any should foment discord, we denounce them as impious; for, in wishing to keep what you have now acquired, you only do what we ourselves would have done if similarly circumstanced. We hope that after such grace, the Pisans may remain ever faithful and affectionate to Florence."*

But it is in the men themselves who were employed in war, that we have the most remarkable proof of the influence of the love of peace. We must now consider, therefore, what was the ideal and reality respecting the profession of arms in ages of faith. The change in the military character which resulted from the change of religion, or from the loss of faith, has been often remarked. The Catholic Church formed the men whom we shall shortly see, whose souls were their own, while monarchs had their duty; Protestantism made captains, brave, indeed, and virtuous, like La Noue, but often cruel in cold blood, and austere less in manners than in spirit. It formed Gustavus Adolphus, Charles XII., and Frederic.† It is to a type and practice of the military profession, wholly different from theirs, that we must now direct our attention.

"Soldiers are instituted for this end," says Alanus de Insulis, "that they may defend their country and repel from the Church the injuries of the violent."‡ Such was the definition in the twelfth century. The exercise of arms, even for the defence of one's country, and of religion, was thought to require a religious vocation, without which, it was not lawful to draw the sword.§ "The duty of a soldier," says John of Salisbury, "is to defend the church, to resist the perfidious, to guard the poor from injury, to pacify the province, to shed his blood, and lay down his life for his brethren. The sword is in his hand, not to serve fury, vanity, avarice, or his own will, but that he should do the will of God, and serve the public good; and this is also the glory of the saints; and soldiers doing this are holy, and promote their own real glory, by seeking in all things the glory of God."‖ Such was the universal doctrine. Michael Savonarola, writing even so late as in 1440, has only praise for such soldiers as serve from a desire to defend their country, and to deliver the poor and weak, who are no small part of their country, from oppression."¶ And Don Antonio de Guevara, in his letter to Don Inigo de Velasquez, constable of Castille, tells him not to trust to the justice of his cause, in war, unless those who conduct it are themselves unspotted,

* Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. xix.
† Chateaubriand. ‡ Sum. de Arte Prædicat. c. 40. § Joan. Sar. de Nugis Curial. vi. 7.
‖ Id. vi 8. ¶ Comment. Savon. Ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xxiv

so that Shakespeare makes our Henry the Fifth excuse himself by a plea which the school had judged unsound.

The pacific instructions given to soldiers in the middle ages, disclose a wonderful disparity in the opinions of those times with later. "A soldier," says one teacher of the duties af military life, "must always pardon offences against himself, and disregard personal injuries, and aim only at defending the general good."* "Soldiers," he continues, "are to contend for justice, and to be ready to lay down their lives in resisting the enemies of the common good, in defence of the Christian faith, and of the public peace, and to protect the weak and the miserable: therefore, to soldiers must belong an especial and great perfection of charity; and if slain in the exercise of such duties, they are counted amongst martyrs, as was shown to St. Thomas when he desired to know the state of his brother's soul, who had been a great baron, and slain in the defence of justice and of the liberty of the Church. The office of a soldier consists principally in the exercise of mercy, for it is his office to protect the poor, and all weak, wretched persons against oppressors, and to resist the enemies of their temporal and spiritual welfare: and as this is the highest charity, we must conclude that it includes the perfection of the Christian religion."† Ratherius, preceptor to Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, the brother of the Emperor Otho I., speaks as follows: "Do you wish to be a Christian, a good Christian, out of many Christians, and are you a soldier? Then attend to the advice of St. John the Baptist to those of your profession. But if you cannot get wages for militating, then gain your food by the labor of your hands, and fly from plunder, homicide, and sacrilege; for the Lord will exercise vengeance on all who commit such things; and think not to make friends of the mammon of such injustice, for God will never accept your oblations, if made from the spoils of the poor."‡ St. Stephen, of Grandmont, used to give this counsel to soldiers: "My brother, if you wish, you may gain Christ, when you go forth to plunder; but let it be the constant intention of your heart, to keep a vow in this manner: O my God! I am going thither not to injure another; nay, I consider myself on this expedition only as your soldier, seeking to save all, companions and strangers. Meanwhile, when thus compelled by your earthly lord to join these parties, hasten on as if you were a plunderer, and cause every one that you see to fly, or if they must be taken by some one, do you be the first to seize them, in order that afterwards you may set them free: and so now while you observe this custom, you are a monk of Christ concealed under a shield."§ You perceive how alive were the guides of these ages to the evils naturally belonging to the military life, recognized with such precision by the ancient philosophers and poets, as when Plato speaks of the value of mercenaries without approval,‖ and Plautus of that Ephesian hero:

* Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, 5. † Id. c. 2, 3.

‡ Ratherii Veronensis Episcop. Præloquiorum, Lib. i. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ix.

§ Vita St. Steph. Grand. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vi. ‖ De Legibus, i.

"Gloriosus, impudens, plenus perjurii atque adulterii."*

What is singular in their history, is the success with which the true pacific labored to counteract them. But exist they did in every form, from that of the "cankers of a calm world and a long peace," to that mentioned by St. Bernard, saying, that "while men usurp glory they disturb peace." There were the soldiers of our Norman kings, thus described by Peter of Blois: "They are nourished in delicacies, and more eager for plunder than for fighting. When they return from an expedition without a scratch, they set-to at a drinking bout, they slander innocent men, God's servants, comparing their wonderful labor to the easy life of priests." There were the "Societies" in Italy; there were the Ribauds, on whom the crime of the massacre at Beziers must be imputed, as appears from a poem lately published by Fauriel; there were men like the soldiers of Cæsar after Pharsalia, when at his voice, blind with the thirst for gold, they madly prepared to rush over the dead bodies, and trample on the mighty dead;† there were others like those whom Spain and Portugal have lately witnessed, who thought it mattered little to the fame of a soldier whether he fought on the wrong side or on the right, provided they fought boldly and received their pay. There were the soldiers of the heretic Eccelino de Romana, who evinced a ferocity unheard of in Christian times,‡ worthy followers of that monster whose character is summed up by the monk of Padua in these few words: "he was the enemy of peace, and alien from the Catholic faith."§ But all that could be expected from the church and the friends of peace, was conceived and realized in the middle ages. In the first place the evil was denounced, so that ignorance could not be a plea. The Catholic religion had decided that no kind of life was more flagitious than that of men who militate merely for pay, without respect to the justice of the cause, to whom, "ibi fas ubi plurima merces."‖ O forbid it, God, would be the cry, "that in a Christian climate, souls refined should show so heinous, black, obscene a deed!" Hence, the indignant words of Godfrey, when, as conqueror, he refused the spoils:

"I set no rent on life, no price on blood
I fight, and sell not war for gold or good."¶

"To militate is not a crime, but to militate for the sake of booty is sin," say the decrees of Ives of Chartres.** "If a man of arms goes to war for the sake of pillage, can he demand pay? I reply that he cannot," says the author of the Tree of Battles; "for no obligation of law or equity can result from things dishonest, wicked, and condemned. Companies who go to war in unjust quarrels without a prince, like those who do not know why they are in the field, are

* Mil. Glor. † Lucan, vi.
‡ Rolandini de factis in March. Tarvis. v. 10. ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. viii
§ Mon. Pat. Chronic ap. id. viii. ‖ Soto in v. Bellum, i. ¶ Tasso xx.
** Decret. p. vi. c. 125.

enemies of God, as are all who pursue wars from avarice, to gain honors and riches, or through disobedience, as when subjects are proud and unwilling to live at peace with rulers. Can a man who goes to war for vain glory, demand pay? Suppose a knight, wishing to show his valor, attacks a proud knight, who wars against some lady widow; can he ask pay? I answer no; for I cannot discover in what form he could draw up his petition. He could not allege a command, nor the having rendered her a service, since his chief motive was to render himself a service in demonstrating his valor and strength, which he has done. What more then can he ask? Certes I know not how he could ask pay." "What do you think of soldiers?" asks the disciple in a dialogue ascribed to St. Anselm. The master replies, "Few are good; for they live by plunder, whence they purchase lands and possessions; and of these it is said, Defecerunt in vanitate dies eorum, ideo ira Dei ascendit super eos."*

But it was not enough to denounce the evil. It was to be corrected, and nothing could be more simple than the manner in which the clergy and the ministers of peace proceeded to accomplish their task. The plan may have been suggested by an observation likely to be made by them, which is thus expressed in the Tree of Battles: "Through many motives are men valiant; for one will be valiant to win vain glory, another because he sees the brave honored, another to serve his seigneur, another from being accustomed to wield arms, another from having good armor, another from confidence in his leader, another merely by natural fury, another through ignorance, another through avarice, another from the hope which he has in God. Now you should know for certain, that among all these men, he alone is virtuous, who is brave through right knowledge, and from a will directed to justice." In these words, one discovers the whole secret of that chivalry which played such a memorable part in our history.

"Chivalry, in its first development," as Fauriel remarks, "was an attempt by the clergy, to reform in the interests of religion and society, the feudal and warlike class." The council of Clermont, in 1025, after the first crusade, decreed, that every noble of more than twelve years of age, should swear before the bishop of the diocese to defend the weak, to protect widows, orphans, women, whether married or not, and travellers. This was to impose chivalry on all through charity; and, in fact, chivalry and charity were to be synonymous. Chivalry, never exclusively aristocratic, for in its purest age it received recruits from the popular class,† was an institution of peace; to protect the victims of war, and to obviate by individual exertions its necessity.

The formula of the military profession delivered in 1252, at Frankford, to William, count of Holland, on being elected king of the Romans, shows its religious character. "This is the rule of the military life; daily to hear the celebration of our Lord's Passion, to deliver the holy church from its oppressors,

* Elucidarii, Lib. ii. 18.

† Ampère de la Chevalerie.

to protect widows and orphans in their necessity, to avoid unjust wars, and to reject iniquitous stipends. Such were the terms."* Knights were generally created on great festivals, in order that the multitude of people assembled, might, by their prayers to God, obtain graces for them to enter well upon their career. The whole of the ceremonial bespeaks the object to which it was directed; and the history of many centuries bears witness to the good which resulted. On the defects of the chivalrous character I had occasion to speak in the first book; upon its virtues we have not space at present to dilate. The dissertation of Muratori upon the institution of knights may be consulted.† That generosity of a Du Guesclin to enemies, which so endeared him to them—that love and respect evinced for each other by men who were opposed in war, as when the English lamented his death, and the marquis of Pescara that of Bayard—that willingness to admit the merit of an adversary, as when the old knight in the Romance of Gyron le Courtois, declares that the most perfect knight he has ever seen, was his personal enemy, for whose death he has wept and mourned, till he thought he should have died,‡ that deep consciousness of fulfilling a ministry of love and honor, which every office of the church contributed to strengthen and exalt—these were features of the military character in the middle ages, which fully justified the remark of Don Antonio de Guevara, that "to be a knight and to be a good Christian, are two things which agree very well together in the law of our Lord Jesus Christ. Believe me," he adds, "Seigneur, heaven is filled with knights, and hell with fools." The romances of chivalry, as Fauriel remarks, are in one sense historic sources, inasmuch as they represent an entire system of manners which really existed.§ The Carlovingian Romances, which are still for the most part contained in old manuscripts difficult to decipher, represent the first age of chivalry when it was thoroughly religious. Those of the Round Table indicate an alteration, their object being to magnify love; though religion still occupied too much place in the world, not to enter into them of necessity as an accessary. In many of these, love is treated according to the purest and most delicate ideal, free from sensuality, and offending not marriage. However, the champions of peace disappear in them, to make room for men who are only the counterparts of Achilles; who will resign treasures without fighting for them, but who, if there be an attempt to touch that on which they have set their heart, will resist to the last, and suffer no one to take this from them. Thus the eternal opposition between the priest and the warrior, was only silenced for a time, and chivalry itself became in opposition to the church, in later days, when his gallantry predominated.

The distinction between the chivalry of the Graal, and that of the world, or of the Round Table, will explain many passages of history which might otherwise

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. v. 97. † Antiq. It. 53. ‡ F. xciii.
§ Origine de l'Epopée Cheval. du Moyen Age.

lead to misinterpretation and error. Nevertheless, that even independent of the chivalrous system, a pacific mind had characterized the military character during ages of faith from the beginning, is clear from innumerable examples. They occur early, as under the old civilization in St. Victor, the warrior of Marseilles, and St. Martin, and that celebrated conqueror of the Goths, Narses, who never gave battle without having wept the night before, in some church into which he had retired. Similarly among the barbarous warriors, on first embracing the Christian religion, many illustrious instances are found. Witness the noble Ecdicius, of heroic fame, who, no less charitable than brave, fed four thousand poor during a famine, with the produce of his estates.* Vectius was another of these soldiers. "His whole household," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "imitates his virtues. Nothing of corruption in his indulgence, nothing of harshness in his severity, which is so tempered as to be melancholy rather than sad. He reads the holy Scriptures frequently, above all at his meals: he recites the Psalms often, and sings them oftener. It is a kind of life quite novel. It is an accomplished monk under the tunic of a warrior." Speaking of Robert, duke of Normandy, a true peacemaker, the chronicles of St. Denis say, "he was greatly renowned for his victories, and for his works of mercy."† William of Jumiège describes Drogon de Coutances, son of Tancred de Hauteville, as eminent for Christian sentiments, as well as knightly valor.‡ We find many soldiers praised for their pacific works. Obizo, that glorious warrior of Brescia, in 1180, whose charities and gracious acts might be read of in the convent of St. Julia, used to go into the woods and cut down timber, and carry it on his shoulders to the cottages of the poor.§ Speaking of the restoration of the church of St. Saviour, at Blois, Peter of Blois says, "Gaufridus, the soldier, though with slender means, but eminent for nobleness of soul and blood, a most faithful imitator of the Samaritan in the Gospel, has shown mercy to the clergy of Blois, whose sorrows priests and levites despised in passing by. His name shall be in memory from generation to generation, and his house shall inherit a blessing for ever."‖ When we see men building churches, it is as natural to conclude that they loved peace as to believe that they are pacific, when we find them devoted to gardening, like Girardot, who after being a musketeer of Louis XIV. conduced so greatly to the advance of horticultural science in France. Bertrand, born in the castle of Setio, son of Raymund, and of the daughter of the count of Toulouse, who was surnamed Cut-steel, when a soldier, sedulously followed the manners of blessed Martin, studying by every mode to relieve the misery of the poor, doing no evil to any one, pious, modest, peaceable, remote from all movement of anger, provoking no one, despising no one, so that he was loved by noble and ignoble,

* Greg. Tur. Hist. ii. 24. † Ad. An. 1031. ‡ Lib. vii. 30.
§ Jacob. Malvecii Chronic. Brixianum, Dist. vii. 65. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xiv.
‖ Pet. Bles. Epist. lxxvii.

rich and poor.* Another of these pacific soldiers was blessed Hugo de Lacerta, in the twelfth century, who was afterwards disciple of St. Stephen of Grandmont. In all the wars in which he was obliged to serve, it was his constant resolution to do nothing contrary to the law of God, rendering to God the things which are God's, and to Cæsar those which are Cæsar's. He used to make fly those whom he was unwilling to capture, and to be the first to seize those whom others would have captured, in order that he might dismiss them in safety.† The reader will recognize in this description the attentive scholar of St. Stephen, whose instructions we heard above. Of Henry, mareschál of France, in the time of Philip Augustus, the chronicles of St. Denis say, "that he was a man worthy of praise in chivalry, and who, above all, feared God."‡

Over the gate of the castle of Castelleti was an inscription to commemorate the virtues of John Lemeingle, mareschal de Boucicaut, who built it; and in this there was express mention of his love of peace: for one line was

"Trans hominem solers, et pacis cultor et æqui."§

The book of the deeds of this pacific warrior, as a true picture of chivalrous manners down to the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, possesses a great historical importance. Let us hear its testimony. One great object of his life is to procure peace for the Church by pacific means; "for in matters that relate to the soul and conscience, no one should be constrained by force, nor ought one to wish to do it; for it should come from pure free will, nor does God wish to be served through force."‖ "He is void of cupidity, and liberal of his own. Whoever aspires to high degree must be without cupidity to amass riches. Never, in all his life, did he acquire seigneury, lands, or heritage, and even he makes small account of his own patrimony. So it is clear his thoughts are elsewhere.¶ His conversation is always on God and the saints, or on some good example of chivalry; and never does there escape his lips a word in the least injurious to another, nor will he listen to such."** "The virtue of justice shines in him wonderfully. No one can better practise it, though he never uses undue rigor or cruelty to any creature born; and it is marvellous to consider how, by the means of one knight, so many insolent and rebellious people, accustomed to fear nothing, can be brought to discipline and peace."†† "He is not alone just, but pitious and full of compassion, as ought to be every brave man. Never does he refuse any one, whatever evil he may have done him, if he asks mercy."‡‡ "He rises very early, in order to employ the greatest part of the morning in the service of God. He spends three hours in prayer. After the business of the day he goes to ves-

* Vita St. Bert. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.
† De Vita B. Hugonis de Lacerta, ap. id. tom. vi. ‡ Ad. an 1214
§ Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Murat. Rer. It. Script. xvii.
‖ Le Livre des Faicts du M. de Boucicaut, p. iii. 3. ¶ Ibid. iv. 6, ** Ibid. iv. 7.
†† Ibid. iv. 8. ‡‡ Ibid. iv. 9.

pers, and spends the rest of the evening in conversation, and then retires to finish his service. On Sundays and festivals he makes pilgrimages on foot, and hears read fine books of the lives of saints, or speaks to persons of devotion."

In Spain and Italy men of precisely the same type were found. What pacific warriors were Francis Carminiola, who commanded the Venetian army, and Francis Sforza, general of the Florentines; the latter of whom re-established peace among all the princes and republics of Italy with the highest praise and glory; and after all his wars governed the people with such mildness, justice, and incredible charity, as to be worthy of everlasting renown and honor.* Who would omit mention, while pursuing this theme, of Obertus Doria, so often victorious at sea, and so glorious for governing Genoa with holiness and justice? Who of Lucian Doria, who gave the silver cups of his table to relieve his needy men; and when one rower asked assistance, and he had nothing else to give, took off the stud of his own belt and gave it to him? Who, again, of Guillelmo Embriaco, a name not to perish, who commanded the fleet of Genoa in Palestine, and was the first to mount the wall of Cæsarea, and who chose nothing for his share of the spoils but that emerald vase from Solomon's temple which is still preserved in the cathedral of St. Lorenzo?† Shall I remain here longer, waiting, like Ulysses, on the shores of the dead, to see

——— εἴ τις ἔτ' ἔλθοι
Ἀνδρῶν ἡρώων, οἳ δὴ τὸ πρόσθεν ὄλοντο.‡

We must not delay. Let us proceed with the assurance that each of these brave men, who so often walked in meek procession under banners breathing only penitence and peace, would under colors, too, have repeated from the bottom of his heart the words of Nestor:

Ἀφρήτωρ, ἀθέμιστος, ἀνέστιός ἐστιν ἐκεῖνος,
Ὃς πολέμου ἔραται ἐπιδημίου, ὀκρυόεντος.§

As Cato said of the Roman citizen in the olden time,

"Prætulit arma togæ; sed pacem armatus amavit."‖

In conclusion, we may remark that blazon, that pompous reminiscence of the tented field, while under Catholic influence, besides inspiring religious thoughtfulness, was not without symptoms of the pacific desire. Some of the ancient mottoes, though cries of arms, were full of amiable poesy, and seemed to bring the remembrance of peace into battle. Such was that of the cry of the Sire de Prie, "Chants d'oiseaux;" and that of the Sire de Cullent, "Nôtre Dame au peigne d'or!" Those of the dukes of Burgundy, Bourbon, and Gueldres, of the counts of Foix, Vergy, Auxerre, and Hainault, and of the Sire de Coucy,

* Benedict. Accolti Aretini de præstantia virorum suæ ævi Dialog. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital.
† Jacob. Bracellius de Claris Genuensibus, ap. Ant. It. i. ‡ xi. 627. § ix. 64. ‖ Lucan ix.

were "Our Lady," with the name of their fief added. The symbolism of pride, in some countries, has survived that of Christian peace, which found men to bear it meekly but steadily amidst the wars and disorders which desolated society in the middle ages; but one cannot altogether reject such testimony to the truth we are here investigating.

We may now proceed to consider the three kinds of war which pacific men waged and sanctioned in ages of faith, which were wars for justice, wars for mercy, and wars for peace.

To the first that blessed thirst we before spoke of no doubt contributed, while peace itself required them. The Platonician of old says, that "the end of war is justice." Such was the avowed and real object of many wars in the middle ages. Thus it was the love of justice which determined Duke Lewis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, to engage in long and costly expeditions to defend the rights of his subjects and avenge their injuries. Hence, in 1225, he passed into Poland, and besieged the castle of Lubantsk, because some of his merchants had been robbed near it; and some time after he marched into Franconia, to obtain reparation for injuries inflicted on a pedlar.* You smile: but so alive were men to a sense of justice in those times, that no sacrifice seemed too great when it was a question of redressing a wrong inflicted on the weak. When the crossed knights of Thuringia returned with a resolution to reinstate St. Elizabeth and her son in her domains, we read, that they feared if they were not to do so, lest they should merit the eternal fire of hell. The words of the Sire de Varila, who commanded them, to the usurper, Duke Henry, show how necessary it was thought to correct injustice by all means possible. "Alas! young prince," he exclaimed, "what have you done? Fi! what shame! I blush to think of it. Know that you have offended God, dishonored all the country. A rude peasant would not have wrought such felony against an equal. Your act cries vengeance to God; and I fear his wrath will fall on the whole land unless you do penance. Reconcile yourself to this lady, and restore to your brother's son what you have usurped." The young prince burst into tears, and promised to restore every thing. "'Tis well," replied Varila; "there is no other way of escaping the anger of God."† Similarly, when Venice sent to interpose between the Paduans and Eccelino de Romana, one of their envoys, Marcus Quirinus, told the tyrant to his face, in presence of his brother Alberic and his friends, that men invested with power, if they desire glory, must abstain from unjust wars; and that if they do any thing against justice, they must be quick to retract and give satisfaction.‡ Even for some deplorable contests which afflicted society in the middle ages, it is but fair to remark that justice was the avowed object of the combatants, although they may have misunderstood the

* Montalembert, Hist. de S. Eliz. 97. † Id. 192.
‡ Laurentii de Monacis Ezerinus, iii ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

cause. After the death of Louis-le-Débonnaire, Lothaire rested his pretensions on the title ascribed to him of emperor, and the justice of maintaining the unity of the kingdom. Being defeated in the terrible battle of Fontanet, near Auxerre, by his two brothers, Lewis and Charles, the victors spared the fugitives, and promised oblivion to all past offences. Finally, the two kings and the army, afflicted at having come to battle with a brother and with Christians, asked the bishops what they ought to do in consequence. The bishops assembled in council, and delivered this judgment: that, having fought for justice, they were exempt from guilt; but that if any one, according to the testimony of his own conscience, had counselled or acted in this war through anger, or hatred, or vain glory, or any other sinister motive, he ought to confess the sin, and perform whatever penance would be imposed on him.* Lothaire continuing to make war, his two brothers met at Strasbourg, and declared, in their address to the two armies, that it was not an unjust ambition which made them act so, but that they wished if God, by means of their army, would, at length, give them rest for the public welfare. The oath taken by them to sustain each other began with these words: "For the love of God and for the Christian people," "Pro Deu amor et pro Christian poblo," which showed, at least, on what avowed principles they acted.

Again, it is but fair to observe that the wars of Edward III. and Henry, in France, had so much claim to be included in this category, that, as Stephen Pasquier remarks, some Frenchmen lost their lives ignominiously for asserting the justice of their cause. Suger, indeed, alluding to some pretensions of William II., had well said that it would be neither just nor natural that the French should be subject to the English, nor the English to the French; but when Philip de Valois received the crown, it was by virtue of what the Flemings called a new law, the Salic being then known in no other nation. Its origin in Gaul was doubtful: there had never before been occasion to apply it, the crown having always descended to male heirs. It was not in force in the duchies and counties which were members of the crown of France, as was seen when Matilda, mother of Henry II. of England, inherited the duchy of Normandy; and when Leonora, his wife, brought to him by her right Aquitaine and Poictou; while the right of women to govern France as regents was unquestioned.‡ That the grounds for these wars were insufficient, we have already seen. It is only argued now that there was some excuse for them; and that, at least, the object alleged in their defence at the time was nothing else but the resolution to maintain justice. Let us proceed to consider the wars which were carried on through mercy. The justice of these, which it pleases some modern theologians to place in rather an equivocal light,§ has been admitted by the gravest authorities among those opposed

* Nithardi Hist. Lib. iii. ap. Script. Rer. Franc. vi. † Vita Ludovic VI. ap. Duchesne, iv.
‡ Recherches de la France, liv. ii. 18. § La Houge de Ecclesia, 211.

to the Catholic Church, as to Grotius, who defends and extol. their real principle.* The men who heard Foulque de Neuilly and St. Bernard had a difficulty of another kind; for what perplexed many of them was the call to forsake amusements and vices and iniquitous wars for the ways of penance and of charity. That they were about to be cruel and intolerant by taking the cross would have been a very convenient thought for some, but unfortunately such a pretence never occurred to any one; for the true grounds of the crusades, which rendered it impossible, were always shown."

"By what right," asks the author of the Tree of Battles, "can we make war against the Sarassins or other infidels? I will prove that we cannot do it lawfully on account of their being infidels; for God has made the goods of the earth for all human creatures indifferently, for the bad as well as the good. The sun is not hotter for one than for the other; the land of the miscreants produces as good corn as that of the Christians, and God has given them empires and kingdoms. But if God has given them this, why should Christians deprive them of it? Moreover, we should not, and cannot, according to holy Scripture, oblige infidels to embrace the holy faith and baptism, but must leave them with the free will which God has given to them. Therefore, we cannot make war upon them to compel them to embrace the holy faith, 'car par force ne doit homme estre contraint à la foy croyre:' but since the infidels have taken possession of the country and oppressed the Christians who are in it, the Christians may recover it from them by arms." The religious question, indeed, had been decided by the decrees of councils; as by that of Toledo, which forbade force to be employed for such a purpose, adding, "cui enim vult Deus miseretur, et quem vult indurat." The political, or rather the question of mercy, required only a statement of facts to be decided by the common voice of Christians, as men. Hear how one who had witnessed the condition of the Christians in the east, speaks of the dangers to be apprehended. "Behold how we are pressed on all sides. How shall we be able to live securely in this corner of the land of the west? We shall have nowhere to fly but to the sea. That is the end. Alas! if you had zeal for God, you would compose your differences, and arm in defence of the Church. Why do you exercise yourselves in these tournaments, which are forbidden, cruel, expensive, and to souls very dangerous."† Not intolerance or blind religious zeal, but mercy, therefore, led to the crusades, which were originally undertaken through compassion for the Christians oppressed under the yoke of the Sarassins, and from a desire, according to the tradition of all Christian times, to redeem them from slavery and the extreme peril of losing their souls, consequent on their position. The ambassadors of the Emperor Alexis, in the council of Placentia, convoked by Urban II., represented only the afflictions of the faithful in the east, and the terrible servitude with which they were menaced if those of the west did not succor

* De Jure Belli et Pacis, ii. 15. † Nicole, Le Grand Voyage à Jerusalem, f. cx.

them. In all the treaties made with the infidels the redemption of captives was always one of the first articles;* and the success of the faithful in this respect is attested by the number of those treaties concluded with them to that effect.

Innocent III., who had the crusades so much at heart—who commanded that vessels only of wood or earthenware should be placed upon his table, during their continuance, and had the gold and silver plate of his household melted down to supply money for the armament—began his pontificate by instituting the order for the redemption of captives, and giving the cross to them before any of the warriors whom he sent to Palestine; and finished it in the same manner when he saw the failure of the Christian arms, by sending monks and briefs to all the princes of Europe, to excite them to deliver their brethren. The argument he used was to remind them of the terrible maledictions pronounced by the prophet upon those who lived in abundance, seeking only to satisfy their love of repose, and who remained insensible to the affliction of Joseph. "Remember," he said, "how the Lord has sworn their destruction, which shall be so entire that there will not be found a man to bury their bones;" and certainly it indicates no spirit inconsistent with the blessed pacific, when having their minds filled with such reflections men left their lands and castles to suffer for their brethren in the east, who were stretching out their hands to them for assistance. "Woe to us, woe to us," cried the fathers of the council of Clermont, when they heard an account of the cruelties inflicted on them by the Sarassins. The universal Church, assembled in councils, wept at the misery and peril of the captives. If she armed princes to deliver them, it was from the same motive which induced her to send monks to redeem them. Hear the terms of the indulgence published by the sovereign pontiff to the faithful in the council of Clermont. "Let every one who has zeal for the glory of God unite with us. Let us help our brethren; let us break their bonds. Let us cast off their yoke. Cancel, by a work so agreeable to God, the robberies, fires, and homicides, which exclude from the kingdom of God; in order that by pious works and the prayers of the saints you may obtain indulgence. Have compassion on the afflictions and labors of your brethren, for we are all members, one of another, heirs of God and co-heirs of Jesus Christ."† The letter of Alexander III. to princes, knights, and all the faithful of Christ, is no less explicit as to the motive which should animate the crusaders. It begins with these words: "Amongst all things which in the course of mortal affairs the divine wisdom has disposed for the exercise of charity, not easily can any case be found in which charity can be exercised with more fruit and merit than if the necessity of the oriental Church be provided for, and the faithful Christians of the east defended from the attacks of the pagans; for if the Creator of men and angels bowed the heavens, and came down and underwent the death of the cross for our salvation, it remains that no one should live any longer for himself, but for Him who died

* La Tradition de l'Eglise pour le Rachat des Esclaves, 118. † Guill. Tyr. i. 15.

for us and rose again, and delivered himself up for us as an odor of sweetness unto God."* "The sufferings of the Christians in the Holy Land," saith St. Gregory VII., in one of his letters, "make me wish for death."

That the bearing assistance to oppressed Christians as to fellow members of one mystic body, was the real principle of the crusades, appears evident also from the spirit of the princes and people who obeyed the summons of the popes. Hence, in ancient works, as in the chronicle of Halberstad, the crusade is named "Mysterium," as of an imitation of the passion.

The chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of Philip Augustus, say, that when the king heard the sad news from Palestine, "he had much great pity and much great compassion for the Christian faith, which in his time had suffered such ignominy."† The crusaders did not forget, as Walafried Strabo remarks in his sermon on the subversion of Jerusalem, "that as Jesus drew near to it, seeing the city, he wept over it."‡ Suger had advised King Louis VII. against the crusade; but subsequently, when he learned the distress of the Christians in the east, and felt for the late disasters, which would inspire the infidels with fresh courage, after vainly endeavoring to convince his countrymen of the necessity of making a new crusade, he came to the extraordinary resolution of making one himself, and of bearing assistance to Palestine as abbot of St. Denis, under the standard of the abbey. He made his vow and took the cross, but secretly, until he procured consent from the pope. Then he selected a body of picked troops, and laid his plan of crossing over at once by sea, so as to avoid Greece. He soon found noble warriors anxious to share in the expedition, but his own death arrived before he had commenced this heroic act of penitence and mercy. The historian of the crusaders of Pisa, who begins with these words, "We have undertaken to record the things which Almighty God has deigned to affect by the Pisan people," shows clearly that of these brave men who gave the spoils to the Church of Pisa, the ruling motive in assisting at the taking of Jerusalem, and again in making war upon Mazaredech, the tyrant of Majorca, was the desire to deliver the Christians who were in captivity.§

Every war against the infidels had the same origin. The letters of Adelgorius, archbishop of Magdebourg, in 1110, to the bishops of Saxony, France, and Lorraine, imploring them "to sanctify a war and call the nations to protect that infant Church from the idolaters," dwell for this reason on the cruel sufferings of the faithful.‖ Similarly the noble letter of Pope Alexander IV., in 1260, to the archbishop of Bordeaux, desiring him to call a council of his suffragans to deliberate on the best way of resisting the Tartars,¶ exposes a case for theexercise of mercy, and not of the passions, which lead to unjust war. The Sarassins, whom Charles Martel defeated in the plains of Tours, had come out of Spain in such

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 747. † Ad. an. 1192. ‡ Ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq.
§ Ap. Mur Rer It. Script. tom. vi. ‖ Martene, Vet. Script i. 625. ¶ Ibid. vii.

numbers that no one could estimate them; and with all the provisions for effecting a permanent conquest of the country, ravaging all before them with savage cruelty:* that victory, with the battle of the Naves de Tolosa, achievements which supply a theme worthy of as many tuneful or eloquent lips as Marathon and Salamis were triumphs of mercy and of all her dearest interests; for what would have become of the merciful if the crescent had then conquered? The wars of the Normans in Sicily may be included in the same category. Roger, count of Calabria, in his diploma to the Church of Catana, in which he says, that by God's assistance, without which he could not have succeeded, he has with his army labored incessantly to acquire the land of Sicily for the work of God, in which labor the number of his soldiers that are dead is known only to God and to his saints, but to him and to all other men unknown,† does not speak like one insensible to the virtues of peace. "I, Roger," these are his words, "have myself planted in this land, which I give to the Church of Catana, forty thousand vines." In the preface to his diploma, in the Church of Messana, he says, "the Lord beheld with an eye of mercy the misery of the Sicilian Church, which suffered so long under the oppression of the Sarassins. Happy the day, and for ever glorious, in which the Norman first arrived on the Sicilian shores; for then the Church of God was strengthened, the Christian name exalted, and the clergy and people augmented. Happy land, in which the Christian name and the Christian people have recovered their dignity."‡ Innumerable places had reason to bless the memory of such warriors. When Lisbon was possessed by the Moors, and besieged in 1147, by King Alfonso, who delivered it, there were in that war many foreign knights from various parts of Europe, who came there to fight, we are told, for the sake of religion;§ that is, in fact, for the interests of mercy in the truest and highest sense of the term. Of such a war the pacific cannot complain; though it was for them in later times to raise their voice to denounce other foreign soldiers who met before the same city with arms in their hands, not "religionis causa," but rather recklessly to destroy the works of religion, moved by the ignoble passion, against which society can only be protected by scaffolds and the galleys. But, as Michelet says, we have crusaders and a religion of a new kind. We have faith in gold, and the modern hero will risk as much to gain a sequin as Richard the Lion-hearted for St. John of Acre. After making all due abatement in consideration of the abuses which crept in, the character of the knights who engaged in these wars for the deliverance of oppressed Christians cannot, on the whole, be regarded with suspicion or displeasure by the lovers of peace.

The first care of the Norman knights, on arriving in the south of Italy, was to repair to that famous church which was built in the fifth century on Mount

* Chroniques de St. Denis. † Ap. Sicilia Sacra, i. 521. ‡ Ibid. i. 495.
§ Damiani a Goes Olisiponis Descriptio.

Gargano, to return thanks for having been conducted by the holy archangel in safety. After delivering Gaimar, the Lombard king of Salerno, from the Sarassins, who had landed with twenty thousand men to demand their annual tribute, that virtuous prince offered them a splendid recompense if they would remain to defend his people; but the noble knights refused his recompense. "Mes li Normant non vouloient prendre merite de deniers de ce qu'il avoit fait pour le amor de Dieu." They promised, however, on their return home, to send out others to defend him. What a compassionate spirit breathed in that Hermann Von Salza, elected master of the Teutonic order in the twelfth century, whom we shall meet again among the blessed peacemakers: and in the old mareschal of the order Dieteric Von Bernheim, one of the companions of Hermann Balk, who first entered the land, and of whom the old chronicle says, "He was wholly magnanimous—a Ulysses in heart, and a Hector in courage."* To have been impelled to war by passion or their own will, these men would have deemed a crime deserving of signal punishment from God. The chronicles of St. Denis, speaking of some Bretons, who took the cross in 1193, say, "they were men who followed their own will; and, therefore, their undertaking failed."

In 1099, when the nobles and people of Milan collectively assumed the cross on the capture of Jerusalem, injuries were pardoned, mortal enemies kissed each other in the public streets, and a wonderful peace was made, which lasted many years, so that nothing, we read, happened afterwards worthy of notice.† Thus pacific was the commencement of these wars; and those who have made a study of history will conclude that the consequences of the crusades were pacific in blending together the different classes of society; for to the day when the seigneur and the serf departed without distinction, the grounds of more Christian peace between them may assuredly be traced. Warlike, indeed, was the tone of poets and historians when alluding to these trials. Tasso, inflamed with ardor for the deliverance of Greece, urges the Christian princes to read his poem on the recovery of Jerusalem, adding,

> "And in this legend, all that glorious deed
> Read, whilst you arm you; arm you whilst you read."‡

"I do not believe," says Orderic Vitalis, "that ever a more glorious matter was offered to philosophers in warlike expeditions than that which is furnished by the Lord to our poets and writers, when He triumphs in the east by the arm of a small number of Christians.§ 'Ah! be it not told that we forsook so fair a chevisance,' was the general cry.

> "None thought it grievous, for so good an end,
> Their honors, kingdoms, and their lives to spend."

* Dusburg. 36. † Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediol. 153. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi
‡ Book i. § Lib. ix.

Here was, no doubt, heroism; and hence the pseudo-reformers were at great pains to prove the crusades inconsistent with the gospel of peace. Certainly, as Catholics replied to them, it was more valorous to make war far from one's country in the unknown sandy plains of the east than in the valleys of France to excite subjects against their princes, to surprise them at Meaux, to besiege them at Paris, and to fill all Europe with murders and carnage.* But still, it cannot be justly inferred from the difficulty and grandeur of their enterprise, that those who undertook it ought to be excluded from the number of the pacific. These men, who went to fight, to win or die for Christ their Lord, might have truly said, in the words of Godfrey to the Egyptian ambassador,

> "Think not that wars we love, and strife affect
> Or that we hate sweet peace, or rest denay."†

Indeed, the care which the crusaders took before leaving their ancestral towers in Germany, France, and England, to provide for their sepulture in some abbey which they especially loved, might alone convince us that peace was written at the bottom of their hearts. Many take leave of the pacific brethren with sighs and tears, and show, by gifts to monasteries, that wherever they may roam their affections are fixed there. Baldwin, count of Flanders, setting out for the crusade, and making such donations, says, "Since through the pious memory of my predecessors I began from the flower of my first youth to love the convent of St. Nicholas at Furnes."‡

What a tender religious scene was the departure of the young Duke Louis, husband of St. Elizabeth, from the monastery of Reynhartsbrunn, when he set out for the crusade! After assisting at Complins, he placed himself at the door by the side of the priest who gave the holy water, and as each monk passed he embraced him affectionately: even the children of the choir he took up in his arms and impressed a paternal kiss on their innocent foreheads. What an affecting look back to one of these houses of peace did the Sire de Coucy cast when he was dying of melancholy after a long captivity in Bithynia, having been made prisoner at the siege of Nicopolis in 1397. Perceiving his end near, he wrote his will, and demanded to be buried in the convent of the Celestins of Villeneuve, which he had founded, and his revenues to be employed in finishing the buildings.

The generally-esteemed holy and innocent character of these wars is proof that they were not found inconsistent with the love of peace. John of Salisbury, speaking of the Knights Templars, says, "who almost alone of all men carry on legitimate wars."§ Hence, in the very sanctuaries of peace their trophies were unfurled; as in the abbey of St. Denis, where on a window Suger caused to be painted the chief exploits of the first crusaders. But let us hear how their enterprise is described by contemporaries. Their pro-

* Advertisements des Catholiques Anglois aux François, 40. † Tasso, ii. 87.
‡ Miræ Opp. Dipl. 563. § De Nug. Cur. vii. 21.

clamations of war seem to be invitations to peace, for thus they speak to the warriors around them: "Heaven directs you on the way of peace and safety, and you choose a way of dissension and death. All the ways of the Lord are beautiful, and all his paths peace. Beware, lest the words of the psalm become applicable to you, 'Misery is in their ways, and the way of peace they have not known.' We seek meekness, and not wars, for the Lord will scatter the nations that delight in war, and direct the meek in safety. O how blessed is he who can say, 'God, who hast girded me with strength and made my way immaculate.' O how unlike the sons of Adam, who fight for a transitory kingdom, who, not choosing to have peace with Christ by a just judgment, cannot have peace with each other. 'Levate signum in nationes.' Some, alas! are signed; but the light of thy countenance, O Lord, is not signed in them. If they were signed they would mourn for their sins; but they can receive this sign of Tau only by the ministry of angels. O that He who is the form of beauty, the figure of glory, the seal of life, may seal our hearts with the light of his countenance, and be our portion for ever. I speak not to the rich who cannot receive my words. I turn to the poor. Let the poor hasten, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven. The angels will receive them; yea, the Lord of angels. As yet His house is not filled. Let no one be discouraged by the difficulty of this peregrination. It is a way of penance; but only by violence can we take heaven. Despicable is the possession of earthly things to us whose portion is in the land of the living. If the emperor of the Romans and the king of France had proceeded with a chosen few, in devout humility, they would have abolished the yoke of the oppressor, and confirmed perpetual peace upon earth. May He who is the way, and the truth, and the life lead back from error those who are signed, and cause them to walk in his ways."*

"Mansuetudinem quærimus, et non bella." Such was the war-cry of our red-crossed knights: can the pacific refuse to recognize them as their brethren? Even where they began with the evil dispositions denounced by St. Bernard in his admonition to the Templars, with many the result was a divine peace, reconciling them with God. "The holy war," says the Cardinal Bona, "preached by St. Bernard by the authority of the chief pontiff, and confirmed by signs following, had, nevertheless, to the eye of men, an unhappy end. Men proposed to themselves the recovery of the kingdom of Jerusalem; but God intended the eternal salvation of those who were slain in that expedition for the faith and for the Church. St. Bernard expressed the affliction of his soul to Pope Eugene, but God consoled his servant when men condemned him as a false prophet: for John, the venerable abbot of Castelmare, wrote thus to him: "I have been told that you are much afflicted at the result of this expedition to Jerusalem, because the Church of God has not received that glory from it which you desired: but it

* Petr. Blesens. De Hierosolymitana Peregrinatione.

seems to me that Almighty God has caused much fruits to follow from this expedition, though not such as the pilgrims expected. Had they prosecuted it as became Christians, justly and religiously, God would have been with them to crown their efforts with success, but as they fell off to evil things, His providence converted their malice into an occasion of mercy; for he sent amongst them persecutions and afflictions, by which, being purged, they might attain to the kingnom. That I may open myself to you, as to my spiritual Father, in confession, from divine revelation, I say, that a multitude of angels have been restored out of the number of those who were slain." How many, in fact, are recorded to have fallen, exclaiming, like the marquis of Milan in the old romance, "I would rather die with my friends than renounce the faith."*

"Theodoric de Rulant, a powerful and rich noble, went to Jerusalem," says Cæsar of Heisterbach. "Prostrate before the holy sepulchre he prayed thus: 'O Lord Jesus Christ, who knowest all things, if I am not to amend my former vices, permit me not to return to my country, but grant that I may die here.' A knight overheard him, and said, 'My lord, you have not prayed well. To whom will you leave your wife and children?' 'It is better that I should desert them,' he replied, 'than lose my soul.' After a few days he died, and was joined to the citizens of the heavenly Jerusalem."† But if the spirit of the crusaders generally was thus pacific in the midst of war, that of the religious orders of knighthood in particular was most eminently and avowedly so; for the express object of their institution was to procure peace for the oppressed Christian people. The king of Jerusalem, we read, granted permission of dwelling near the temple to some poor noblemen, who were thence called Templars. Of these Pope Alexander III. says, in his letter to the archbishop of Rheims, "They are instituted for this end, that they should not fear to lay down their lives for their brethren."‡ In furtherance of this object, their whole intention and mind were to be at an infinite distance from any desire of renown. Their glory was wholly independent of the result of battles. "From the affection of the heart," says St. Bernard, addressing them, "not from the event of war, can we judge of the danger or of the victory. If the cause of the combatant be good, the end of the battle cannot be evil; neither can the end be judged good where a right intention did not preside in a good cause."§ Neither high birth alone nor royal interest could procure admission to the order of the Temple without the personal qualifications required, of which one was a spotless descent. Obedience was as strict as in a monastic order, and no instance of its violation ever occurred. King Alfonso I. of Arragon, dying in 1133 childless, left by will his kingdoms of Arragon and Navarre to the Templars and knights of St. John, who faithfully protected them from the Moors. Such confidence did this order inspire, that kings and great men used to

* Livre de Baudoyn. Conte de Flandre. Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. ii. 883.

† Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Memorab. Lib. xi. 24.

§ Exhort. ad Milit. Templi, prolog.

deposit their treasures in the houses of the Templars. In France, and in England, the Templars were guardians of the state treasure. Hence the reports, as Hugbertus Monachus relates, that at their suppression secret orders were given to bury their riches either under their monasteries and castles, or in the woods and fields, in old sewers and wells. Certain it is, as St. Antoninus observed, that the Templars became odious to princes on account of their riches, of which they wished to rob them. It availed but little to allege their charity to the poor, to say that thrice each week alms were given to all comers at the gate of the Temple in Paris. Their crime was unpardonable. In such haste were men to spoil them, that, while in custody in Paris they had to pay every time that their irons were put on and taken off for examination, and also for the boat in which they passed from prison to the tribunal. The solemn act which they presented was singularly bold. They asserted that the religion of the Temple is holy, pure, and immaculate before God. The regular institution and observance have been always and are still in vigor. , All the brethren have but one profession of faith, which throughout the universe has been always observed by all from the foundation to the present day. "Et quicumque aliud dicit, vel aliter credit, errat totaliter, peccat mortaliter." One Templar had been tortured to make him confess the amount of the treasure brought from the Holy Land, as if a treasure was a crime. In many countries the decisions of councils were favorable to the Templars. They were declared innocent in 1310, at Ravenna, at Mayence, at Salamanca. The sacrilegious Philippe-le-Bel evinced the consciousness of crime throughout the whole of his proceedings against them.

Aimeri de Villars-le-Duc declares, that after seeing the fifty-four Templars led to the pile, his fear of the flames was such that he would have said he had killed our Lord if they had wished him. John de Pollencourt, being encouraged and promised protection if he would say the truth, declared that what he had confessed before through terror was false, and he said that he had been to confession to a friar minor, who enjoined him to bear no more false witness. Only in France were their persons thus inhumanly treated. In England the severest punishment on their refusal to plead guilty was to be confined in monasteries, often merely within their own gates. When the council assembled at Vienne, the bishops refused to condemn them without hearing them. All the prelates of Italy, with one exception, all those of Spain, Germany, Denmark, England, Scotland, and Ireland, refused, as did also those of France, with the exception of the archbishops of Rheims, Sens, and Rouen. The order, in fine, was sacrificed without the judgment of the council. The execution of the grand master at Paris without the knowledge of the judges was, as Michelet observes, a sheer assassination. It was a stroke to revenge a personal insult—the revocation of the previous confession of his guilt. The question suggested by the fate of this illustrious order of pacific warriors agitated the minds of men long afterwards. "Protesting," says Trithemius, "that we mean to utter no calumny against the Holy

See by recording what was done with consent of Pope Clement, I proceed to transmit to posterity the suppression of the Templars, whether justly or unjustly exterminated it is not for us to say; but to the divine judgment, which cannot be deceived, we commit the cause."* Gaspar Jogelinus, while admitting that all provinces could not have been contaminated, the innocence of many houses being, indeed, unquestionable, pretends that the sense of nearly all men condemned them. The contrary was nearer to the fact. While those that were tried before the pope's commissioners in Spain, Germany, and England, were all acquitted, the people in general, even in France, believed them to have been innocent, which is a striking circumstance, considering the proneness of men to credit horrible charges against the powerful when fallen. A chronicle in the fifteenth century, after describing the constancy of the knights in maintaining their innocence, adds, "in consequence the lower kinds of people were led into great error." Many persons collected their bones and honored them as those of martyrs. Trithemius says, "that God touched the hearts of some who had thirsted for their goods, who afterwards gave up to the poor what they had gained from them." Many who felt remorse founded soon afterwards colleges and hospitals. If the order was condemned by Volaterrar, Platina, and Dupuy, it was acquitted by St. Antoninus,† Navelerus,‡ Sabellicus,§ Henry, Pentaleo, Papire Masson,‖ Father Jacques Dubreuil,¶ Herold Villani,** Lenglet Du Fresnoy, and a host of others. Touron the Dominican speaks, though cautiously, as if convinced of any thing but their guilt."†† Saint Victor does not disguise his being partly confirmed in his unfavorable opinion of them by observing the character of the men who have lately come forward in their defence:‡‡ but so grave a question ought not to be affected by such considerations; and from a calm examination of the evidence collected by Michelet, who omits no observation that can incline men to credit the charges against them, the impression, I think, upon the whole, must be in favor of their innocence.§§ But we must not remain on this ground so often traversed. Let us proceed to consider the third class of wars sanctioned and waged by the pacific in the middle ages, which cost no just man a repenting tear.

* Ad an. MCCCVIII. † Par. iii. Hist. Tit. 21, chap, iii.
‡ Par. ii. Chronograph, Generat. xliv. ad an. 1207. § Lib. vii. ‖ Liv. iii. Annal. Franciæ.
¶ Antiq. de Paris. ** Lib. v. c. 13. Contin. Belli. Sancti a G. Tirgo.
†† Hist des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. S. D. i. liv. viii. ‡‡ Tableau de Paris, ii. 1097.
§§ Hist. de France, tom. iii.

CHAPTER XI.

THE wars which the pacific waged and sanctioned, having peace expressly for their immediate object, were of two classes, wars on the borders to repel invaders, and internal wars to subdue the disturbers of peace. Of the first I need not speak further, than to observe that they include the expeditions of Charlemagne, which sophists of late years have taken such pains to misrepresent. The anterior history and the social state of the Saxons and Frisons, prove the necessity which existed for these wars.* The treaties of peace concluded at the end of each of these campaigns, fully disprove their assertion, that he forced the Saxons by arms to embrace the Christian religion; but, as Fauriel observes, "his object was to secure peace and civilization by making war upon the barbarians beyond the Rhine, who were always disposed to pour upon Italy and Gaul, and so perpetuate the horrors of their first invasion. The war was provoked by the Saxons. It was," he says, "a struggle in which humanity was interested. It was the question whether the German tribes in the rear still pagan, beyond the Rhine and the Alps, were to force, at length, those two barriers, and take possession of Gaul and Italy, or whether the chiefs of the Christian monarchy were to succeed in restraining the Germans within the limits, which for three centuries they had been endeavoring to burst, and in placing them on the common road of European civilization," that is, comparatively of peace.†

To the second class, therefore, we are to confine our view, and the subject unhappily will be ample enough to occupy an entire chapter. After the invasion of Gaul by the barbarians, in the fifth century, many powerful Roman Gauls, stript of their offices, retired to their estates, and found an analogy with their former conditions, while residing there at the head of their laboring clients. Many through fear of the barbarians withdrew into desolate places, where they concealed and fortified themselves. Long before, besides their superb villas in the most picturesque spots on the banks of a river or lake, or on a hill-side, crowned with pines and chestnuts, they possessed also places of security, like castles, on mountains, and in savage wilds, difficult of access; and some nobles had several. Some of these castles dated from an earlier time, when the barbarous chieftains of the Celtic population warred against each other. These became again of importance, and were restored when the Romans were obliged to yield to the barbarians in the fifth century. Others had been built as a protection to their villas, by the

* Mœller. Manuel d'Hist. du Moyen Age, i. † Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 315

Roman proprietors before that epoch. The castles of the feudal lords of the tenth century, which abound in all the gorges of the south, are, therefore, of Gallic-Roman origin, and their existence in such savage places can only be explained by the necessity of those times of barbaric invasion.*

The author of the chronicle of Vulturno, speaking of the times of Louis-le-Débonnaire, says, "at this time castles were few in these regions, but towns and monasteries were multiplied. There was no fear or prospect of wars, since all men enjoyed profound peace until the times of the Sarassins. But when the Normans came into Italy, they began to build castles, to which they gave names." Many diplomas exist of different emperors to bishops, abbots, and abbesses, granting them permission to build castles: the occasion of which was the necessity of defending their churches and convents from the persecution of pagans, that is, of Hungarians or the Sarassins.† Ere we proceed, it may be well to return once more and take another glance at these ancient abodes, which we have so often visited with different impressions. It cannot but inspire pleasure when we figure to ourselves a castle in the majesty of a forest, of which the secular chestnuts rose as high as the battlements, and in which the stags would graze by night at the feet of the towers, till the daybreak, and the horn from the portal would chase them into the depth of the wood. What hours of thoughtfulness and a peaceful contemplation might the wardens have enjoyed, when from the top of the towers they used to sit and listen to the murmur of the forest rising through the midnight air, interrupted only by the howling of wolves against the moon! In point of art too how admirable! The tower of Coucy, built in 1052, was two hundred and fifty-eight feet in height, three hundred in circumference, and its walls were thirty-two feet thick. Mazarine blew up the outward shell, but the walls yielded only to an earth-quake, which split them from top to bottom. After riding three leagues through the forest from Compiegne, without meeting a human form, so that I could easily understand the terror of young Philip, afterwards Augustus, when he lost his way there while hunting a wild boar, as is related in the chronicle of St. Denis, the sudden appearance, at an abrupt turning, of the castle of Pierrefonds, in all its terrible array of battlements and gigantic towers, absolutely startled me. How would it have looked if Rieux had his hold there? No road, no river passes near it: the aspect of the place announces feudal power: the castle had seven towers, each of which is a hundred and eight feet in height; the corner-stones of the castles are rivetted with iron cramps sealed with lead. Beneath the rock on which it stands in grim majesty, are immense vaults; in the floor of one tower I observed the entrance to a dungeon, at sight of which, the boldest would turn pale. When Marechal Biron, under Henry IV., besieged this castle, his eight hundred discharges of cannon produced no other effect but to whiten the walls. When its destruction was decreed, in the time of Louis

* Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. i. 558. † Ap. Mur. Antiq. It. xxvi.

XIII. it was found impossible to demolish the walls: the roof was, therefore, removed to expose the interior to the weather.

One cannot remember without taking an interest in the ancient castles, that it was their walls which witnessed the departure and the return of the crusaders, the mourning and the joy which belonged to those great events. When Philip Augustus arrived in his castle of Fontainebleau, on his return from Palestine, the poet Helinant says, "that the horns sounded on all the turrets to announce the happy news." The feudal towers have a charm when one reflects on the illustrious and holy men who came from them. Albert the Great and St. Thomas had left the castles of their noble ancestors, for the shade of the cloisters of St. Dominick. May the author of these books presume to add that for him they have a personal interest; for the play of his childhood was among the grey ruins of a castle on an isolated mount, which had belonged to his forefathers: the first flowers he culled were from those broken walls, and the first mysterious affections of his heart for history were awakened by the discovery of certain apertures in the ground at some distance, which led, he was assured, to chambers that had once been trodden by an ancestor of still popular renown through all that barony, whose portrait, showing a lady all in strange solemn weeds, with finger on the text proclaiming the resurrection of the body, seemed to gaze awfully upon him from the wainscot of his father's hall. His sisters, alas the day! already slept at the foot of the green hill on which the castle stood; his father and his mother were soon to follow them: his brother, who loved all solemn and inspiring recollections so as to be guided by them in his choice of a dwelling, was after short space to die on the ancestral spot, close to the ruins; he felt himself as a plant of the soil that was to flower and to fade upon them: and so ever since, the solitary wall of ruined castles in any land awakens recollections in him, beyond utterance, of departed friends. But why lead my reader thus aside to hear a private history? why thus revive it to myself? Sure he that made us, looking before and after, gave us not that capability to end in any retrospects. Let us proceed with what never makes one sad, the contemplation of the divine government on earth,—dark and often inexplicable, but still ever calmly fulfilling the eternal counsels.

Towards the close of the ninth century, many castles which had been built in more ancient times by kings, to be a protection to the country, were taken possession of and inhabited by robbers, who laid waste the neighborhood.* Moreover, the action of the feudal nobility underwent a considerable change, so that it is against the proprietors of these castles as disturbers of the public peace, that the wars of which we are now to speak were principally directed. According to Michelet, there are three ages to be distinguished in the feudal system. In the first it saved France and Europe when the seigneurs built castles and towers, stopped

* Mirac. S. Angilberti II. ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Ben. iv. 1.

the Normans and other invaders, and defended their vassals. In the ninth century the feudal lords were the protectors, not the oppressors of their vassals. "If a man of the country," say the ancient laws, "should be made prisoner, the Seigneur of Ohsenstein must, though bare-foot, mount on horseback, even without waiting to have the saddle put on, if the horse should be unsaddled, and without waiting to put on his shoes, he must pursue the enemy until he shall have delivered the man. If one freeman or more should fly under the right arm of a Seigneur de Rieneck, there should be peace and safe-conduct. If a poor man should be emigrating with his little stock, and my gracious Prince Elector should be passing on horseback, two of his servants ought to alight and help the poor man by pushing the wheel behind; and if his grace should meet him thus entangled in the mud, he ought, if alone, to dismount himself, and help him out of it."* Among the feudal lords of this period, two families were most eminently distinguished by their defending the country against the Normans; and these were the Plantagenets, counts of Anjou, who afterwards ascended the throne of England, that illustrious house, in which the last spark of chivalry expired, and the Capetians, whose title dates from Robert-le-Fort, who was slain fighting against them. In the second age, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the seigneurs having no longer to defend themselves, degenerated too often and became disturbers of peace, brutal and ferocious oppressors of the churches and of the poor, though still they levied no taxes on the people. During this period, it was the ecclesiastical power which saved the people, and procured peace by the sword of the king, who, of himself, could do but little.

In the third age, which comprises the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, they demanded even money, and became so intolerable, that kings took advantage of their position to reduce their power. In his sombre picture of the castles of the middle age, Michelet says, "that in passing under the walls of Taillebourg, or Tancarville, or in the heart of the Ardennes, in the gorge of Montcornet, his heart shudders, and that there is no need of reading old histories, for that the souls of ancient generations still vibrate within us, and we feel the sufferings of those who so long languished at the feet of these towers."† The fact is not exaggerated. A terrific description of some castles built by Norman plunderers in England, is given in the Saxon chronicle. They had dungeons full of adders and snakes. In many were things loathsome and grim, called sachenteges; and no one, it adds, "can tell all the wounds and pains which they inflicted on wretched men in this land. The bishops and learned men cursed them continually, but the effect thereof was nothing to them; for they were all accursed and forsworn, and abandoned."‡ Matthew Paris styles castles "very nests of devils and dens of thieves;" and William of Newbury says, "there were in England as many tyrants as lords of castles." The Abbot Suger, speaking of the garrison of one

* Michelet, Origines du Droit. † Hist. de France, iii. 402. ‡ P. 367

of the castles, says, "they were excommunicated men, and altogether diabolic."* There were often traditions of mystery attached to castles, which gave them a kind of infernal fame. The castle of Boves, which commanded the road to Amiens, was celebrated in the annals of chivalry, as having seen the birth of the magician Maugis. The war caused by the castle of Gisors, between the kings of France and England, was ascribed to the influence of the castle of Planches, a league distant from Gisors, at which place their parliament met to decide the question, when there were between them many words to sow discord, by the felons who are accustomed to foment quarrels between honorable men. This castle was said to be of bad adventure and evil fortune, for the old men of the country testify, say the chronicles of St. Denis, that none who ever assemble there can make peace unless it be by very great chance.† The author of the history of the monastery of St. Florentius in Saumer, shows what was thought of those who built castles, when, speaking of the excellent and pious Count Theobald, he says,

> "Qui vivens turres altas construxit et ædes,
> Multaque construxit, quæ non sine crimine fecit.
> Verum conventum construxit, in hoc benedictus."‡

Duke Louis, the husband of St. Elizabeth, on departing for the crusade, had one scruple after all his pains to put his soul in good estate, and it arose from his not having destroyed the castle of Eyterburg, which had been built to the prejudice of the neighboring convent, and he besought his brother Henry to demolish it. Peter the Venerable relates a vision in a forest to a monk of Cluny, in which the spectre of a wicked nobleman named Bernard, who had been converted in his last days, described its chief concern as arising from the circumstance of his having built shortly before death, a castle which was a scourge upon the neighborhood.‖ Finally, we may remark that in the miniatures of Italian manuscripts, the entrance of hell is generally represented under the form of the portals of a feudal castle. In the ancient narratives whose awful theme records the spirits whelmed in woe, we are presented with visions that reveal the doom of some who built and held such castles. "Væ qui congregat ut sit in excelso nidus ejus, et liberari se putat de manu mali!" Many were the traditions to verify this woe pronounced by heaven.

"In Endenig, near Bonn," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "lived a certain noble knight, Walter, a friend to our monastery. On occasion of a sickness, being tempted of the devil, he repulsed him: but he asked him, saying, 'Where is the soul of my lord, Count William, of Juliers, lately deceased?' 'You know the neighboring castles of Wolkenburg and Drachenfels?' answered the demon. 'Well, if they were iron, both castle and rock, and placed where his soul now is,

* Vit. Ludov. vi. ap. Duchesne, iv. ‡ Ad. an. 1109.
‡ Hist. Mon. S. Flor. Salmar. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. t. v.
§ Montalembert, Hist. de S. E. ‖ De Miracul. Lib. i. c. 40.

before you could knit your brows together thus, they would be melted.' 'Where is the soul of Henry, count of Seynens?' asked Walter. 'Certes we have him,' said the demon, but he did not mention what was his punishment. 'And where is my father?' asked again the knight. 'We had him,' replied the demon, 'for twenty-one years; but that one-eyed hag, and that bald pate, and that beggar, took him from us,' meaning his wife, who wept for him till she lost an eye, and his son Theodoric, who was a monk."* The end of Walter was similar. Leaving his castle of Niedeck, he went to Cologne, about an insult offered to him, and on his way back he was taken suddenly ill on the road. "O!" he cried, "I shall never again see Cologne!" The physician told him of his danger, and advised him to take back his wife; but he refused. Then he besought him to release a certain soldier, whom he kept incarcerated, but he replied, "he shall never get out while I am alive." "Then he will be out before to-morrow," answered the physician, and his words came true, for Walter died, and an abbot of our order saw him, in a vision, in the place of torment. Some persons, it is said, walking on Mount Gyber, heard a voice, "Prepare a fire, a great fire, for our choice one." "For whom?" answered voices, and they then heard, "For the duke of Zeringia;" and news came afterwards, that the duke, who was a great tyrant, had died that day and hour.†

On a former occasion, when speaking of the feudal manners, we only sought a chance for the great to escape exclusion from the number of the meek, and I think it was then proved that many were truly humble men and devout sons of the holy Church. We might, in this place, easily demonstrate, had we not already shown it, that many of them were also truly pacific. Pierrefonds, whose grim towers we have described, had its pacific lords: Nivelon I., therefore little known; Drogon I., his grandson, who so embellished it. What pacific virtues in Agatha de Pierrefonds, countess of Soissons, last descendant, in the twelfth century, of that great house, which had also furnished two excellent bishops to the diocese ‡ It has been observed, by a recent editor of the chronicles of St. Denis, that it is unjust to hold up the tyrants we are about to see, as representatives of the ancient knights and barons. If such had been the general manners of castellans, Suger would not have spoken as he has done respecting the indignation of Louis-le-Gros against Hue de Pomponne, and the war which ensued.§ "You will say," says Peter of Blois, writing to a certain count, "that such manners in youth are hereditary; but iniquity lieth to itself; for that great count Theobald and many others of your progenitors, even before manhood, shone with great virtue; and your uncle, the archbishop of Rheims, had the gravity of age from his youth, and began from the first to ascend to perfection."‖ Still it is unquestionable that the evil was of immense extent and of continual occurrence. Within sight some-

* Illust. Miracul. Lib. xii. c. 5. † Id. xii. ‡ Hist. de Soissons, ii. 44.
§ Vol. iii. p. 242. ‖ Pet. Bles. Epist. xv

times of the towers of these holy barons, adored by monks and by the poor—by the side of these young amiable seigneurs, loved by women, loved by the Church, loved by poets, loved by the people, the observed of all observers, were reckless and cruel enemies of peace, brutal—still more, had one more names for badness—men of such distorted wills that they gloried in malice; who were strong in iniquity, like those to whom the Church alludes on the vigil of an apostle; who built for themselves solitudes, as is said in Job; and who entrenched themselves there to carry dismay and desolation over the country around. These are spoken of in the histories of the middle ages as being of a cursed race. The family of Talvas, for instance, in the conqueror's time, was said to be cursed. "It nourishes crime," says Orderic Vitalis, "and prepares for it as if by an hereditary right. Hence, the horrible ends of these men, none of whom were seen to die in an ordinary way, as other mortals. This race possessed the castles of Bellême, Urson, Essai, Alençon, Domfront, Saint-Ceneri, La Motte d'Igé, and other places of great strength."*

Suger, speaking of Count Odo of Corbeil, says, "a man not a man, because he was not rational—but an animal, son of Burchard, that most proud count."† The castle of Montagu, Monsacutus, in the country of Laon, came by marriage into the hands of Thomas de Coucy, Seigneur de Marle, a lost wretch, hateful to God and man, whose wolf-like ferocity increasing on his acquisition of this impregnable fortress, terrified all the surrounding country. His own father Enguerrand de Bova, an honorable man, endeavored to deprive him of it; but some time after, by the divine will, he lost by divorce the castle and his wife, the marriage being stained by the crime of incest.‡ Herbert, count of Maine, by his nocturnal incursions in Anjou, gained the surname Eveil-chiens, the Dog-wakener. Such men of brutal ferocity used to be often called Isengrin, which was the name of the wolf in old fables. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writing to Leuthric, styles Herbert, count of Mans, the precursor of Antichrist, because he will not suffer the bishop of Angers to remain at peace.§ A similar tyrant was the Count William of Chalons, who so persecuted the monastery of Cluny, and made slaughter of the monks.‖ In 1358, Radigois de Derry, an Irishman, master of the castle of Mauconseil, pillaged all the country round Noyon, and stood a regular siege.¶ The seigneur of the castle of La Roche Guy or Du Glin, on the Rhone, who used to stop and ransom travellers, was so audacious that when St. Louis, on his first crusade, after leaving Lyons, had arrived near it, some of the garrison sallied down and plundered the king's people, who had gone in advance to prepare lodging for the army. So late as the reign of Henry IV. the castle of Pierrefonds was the terror of the country. Rieux, and afterwards Villeneuve, who held it, used to rob the diligences on the high road, and carry off every thing.

* Lib. viii. † Vit. Ludov. vi. ‡ Ibid. § Fulberti Epist. vii.
‖ Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1163. ¶ Hist. de Soissons, ii.

The castle of Montlhéry was built in the time of King Robert, by Thibaut File-étoupe, of the house of Montmorency. When this castle came by the marriage of his son Louis into the hands of King Philip I., all the people of the surrounding country rejoiced as if the beam had been taken out of their eyes, or as if one had unbarred the gates of a strong tower in which they had been in close prison. This castle had caused such pain to the king, that, according to his declaration, it had turned his hair white. "Guard well, my son, that tower," said he to Louis, "which has caused me such labor; in attacking which I am grown old, and by reason of which I could never have peace or health; for from the castle of Corbeil, which is half way from Montlhéry to Chasteaufort on the right, the country was wholly exposed; and such confusion was between Paris and Orleans, that inhabitants of the one could not pass to the lands of the other for merchandise or other business without the consent of these traitors, or unless with a great force of men."* In the twelfth century two families of feudal dynasty were above all violent and cruel, the Coucys and the Montforts. The famous Chatellain de Coucy was only an officer, who had charge of the castle, as the title indicates. No barons, in all feudality, were more ferocious than these; they used to cut off the feet and hands of their prisoners. The pitiless Thomas de Marle was son of Enguerrand de Coucy. On the first day of his campaign against the people of Amiens, he slew thirty men with his own hand, and burned many churches. The name of his castle of Crécy figured in many popular tales of horror. The Montforts were less cruel; yet it was a Montfort who, in revenge, advised a baron to mutilate the king of England's hostage, who was a child. In Italy and Spain many castles acquired a celebrity no less infamous. The Paduans trembled at those of Eccelino. One of the most famous was named Malta. Divine Providence punished the wretched architect, who desired, as a favor, that he might be permitted to build the dungeon in Padua. This man applied all his mind to the work: he used to fast many days, that he might accomplish what he had conceived; and he used to be constantly entering it to see lest any glimmering of light should be able to pierce into it, for he wished it to be pitch dark, horrible, and deadly. This wretch, taken afterwards, was shut up in the very prison he had thus contrived, and left to perish with stench and hunger, like a wolf howling in the infernal place.†

The catalogue of local tyrants in Spain, in the reigns of Don John and Don Henry alone, were dismal enough. Then we read of the Castellan of Castronugno, Ferdinand of Zenteno, the Captain Zapico, the duchess of Villaba, the Mareschal Pietro Pardo, Alphonso Trusillo, Lopez Carasco, and Tamaio Mancino, and many others. It must be remembered, also, that besides disturbing the public peace by their oppressions of the Church and people, many of the feudal nobility were in the habit of levying war against each other, and even against the king

* Chroniques de St. Denis, ad an. 1104.

† Rolandini de Factis in Marchia Tarvis. v. 10, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

himself. "O how many princes and nobles of the empire," exclaims an ancient writer, speaking of an invasion of Austria in 1278, "are corrupt and made abominable in their studies! Yet generally not the nation, but the princes of the nation, sinned: but now a great battle was at hand. O miserable appetite between Christian princes, between lords and vassals. O cruelty detestable! Now in the shock of arms it was easy to discern the brave from the base; for many who had nourished the causes of discord, and who before the war had boasted the loudest of their desire to engage in battle, showed themselves the saddest and most timid. Here we may learn by experience that plunderers and disturbers of the public peace, who rage against the poor, and who like Bacchanals rave against the churches, in the time of need, when it is necessary to fight for the public safety, are of little worth."* Formidable, however, were many such men, not only to the clergy, but to the royal authority. Three great families encompassed the Isle of France—the houses of Normandy and Anjou, and that of Blois and Champagne. Besides these the Coucys, Rocheforts, and Dupuisets, were always opposed to the king. From Paris one could only ride securely as far as St. Denis. Beyond the abbey was the vast and sombre forest of Montmorency, in which one could only ride with lance on thigh. Of the feudal families some, like the Montforts, being what Michelet terms eccentric, that is, resolute in resisting the influence of monarchy, resisted and perished; others being rapidly centralized, like the Montmorencys, were soon lost in royalty. Others, from being very eccentric in feudal, became very centralized in later times; and, like the Coucys, courtiers more kingly than the king. These last, in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries possessing Amiens and other towns, besides one hundred and fifty villages, were often formidable to the cities of Rheims and Laon. They shed their brightest lustre in the seventh Enguerrand, who perished in war against the Turks. From these causes Suger found the king of France a little prince; though he left the son of Louis-le-Gros a mighty monarch, having by marriage obtained for him the greatest part of France. Against feudal oppressors the cry of the Church has long ascended, and the monastic line,

"Nobiscum Dominus, Dæmon procul atque Tyrannus,"†

shows how familiarized were minds with a sense of the danger resulting from them. The Mass against tyrants, published by Muratori, dates from the year 950. The prayers are as follows: "Hear, we beseech Thee, O Lord, Thy Church, not alone worn down by the persecutions of pagans, but also miserably afflicted by the depravity of evil Christians; and mercifully grant that they who refuse to be subject to earthly power may be cast down against their wills by the right hand of thy Majesty, through our Lord Jesus Christ." "O God, the father of orphans and the judge of widows, behold with compassion the tears of Thy Church, and

* Chronic. Salisburgense, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i. † Hist. Monast. S. Florentii Salmar.

mercifully save her whom no earthly power defends." At the secret the words are, "Receive, O Lord, the prayers of thy Church, with the oblations of hosts, and in defence of Thy faithful people work the ancient miracles of Thy arm, that the enemies of peace being overcome, Christian liberty may serve Thee in security." For the preface were these words: "Almighty and eternal God, look down propitiously on the countenance of Thy Church, which groans for the sufferings of her members. For it would be more tolerable if she were delivered over to the Gentile sword than to be destroyed by the incursion of wicked Christians. Lest eternal punishment, O Lord, be accumulated on the wicked, and that we should be burdened by their crimes, suffer not any longer their severity to prevail, through Christ our Lord." The post communions are these: "O God, who with wonderful sacraments dost continually refresh Thy Church, redeemed with an ineffable price, mercifully grant that what she laments from the external persecutions of the wicked may internally, without ceasing, by Thy consolations, be repaired. Repress, we beseech Thee, Almighty God, the laws of tyrants, and of those who are adverse to Thee, that they may know Thee to be the protector of Thy Church, redeemed with such precious blood."*

In the monastery of St. Maximin, at Treves, at the end of a text of the Gospels, Dom Martene found a prayer entitled "Clamor adversus Persecutores." It is as follows: "In the spirit of humility, and with a contrite mind, O Lord Jesus Christ, we come before Thy altar, and Thy most sacred body and blood, and profess ourselves to be guilty before Thee of our sins, for which we are justly afflicted. Thy poor servants and handmaidens, the ministers and husbandmen, are constrained to live in grief and straits: our goods, on which we ought to support ourselves in Thy holy service, and which blessed souls left to this place for their salvation, are dispersed and violently carried away. This Thy Church, O Lord, which in former times Thou hast founded, and in honor of St. John the Evangelist, and of the saints Maximinus, Agricius, and Nicetius, hast exalted, sits in sadness. There is no one who can console or deliver her, unless Thou our God. Arise, O Lord Jesus Christ, and come to our assistance, and judge our cause, and comfort and defend us. Fight those who fight against us; break their pride and their ferocity, who afflict and desire to afflict this place and us. Justify them, O Lord, as Thou knowest how, and in Thy virtue cause them, we beseech Thee, O Lord, to recognize their evil deeds, and in the multitude of Thy mercies deliver us. Despise us not, O Lord, crying to Thee, but for Thy glory and the magnificence of Thy name, Almighty Father, visit us in peace and in Thy salvation, and save us from the present straits and from all the evils which they prepare against us; that all may know, loving Thee and invoking Thy holy name, that thou art God alone, who savest thy suppliants for sake of Thy great mercy. Cast down, we beseech Thee, O Lord, by Thy virtue, those who conspire against

* Murat. Antiq. It. diss. liv..

the firmament of the plenitude of Thy right arm, that iniquity may not prevail over justice, and that the falsehood of all the reprobate may be ever subjected to truth, through Christ our Lord."*

Having invoked Heaven, the clergy then implored assistance from kings or from virtuous barons who could procure peace for the people and the churches. About the year 1020, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, writes to King Robert to inform him of the evils caused by the Viscount Gaufrid de Châteaudun, who had rebuilt the castle of Galardon, that had been demolished by royal order : of which he observes, " I can say, ' Ecce ab oriente panditur malum !' Besides this he has presumed to build another at Isleras, of which I can truly say, ' En ab occidente malum !' Now then, we implore your assistance; for such is our grief at these acts that we are obliged to intermit our signs of gladness, and celebrate the divine office in our church in miserable, depressed tones, and almost, in silence. We beseech you that Count Odo, by your authority, may order the destruction of the said machines of diabolic inspiration."†

On occasion of the wars between two nobles of the Rhine, Baldric and Wicmann, we read that the bishop of Utrecht, Adelbold, fearing lest by their temerity the people should be injured, convoked an assembly, and then declared his horror at these wicked contentions, by means of which the people are hurt, the lands depopulated, and declared that by the imperial power they should be constrained to live at peace.‡ Churches and monasteries had, indeed, their advocates or especial local protectors, who had a double office ; for they were as agents to defend them by litigation, in which the monks were not themselves to engage, and they were as soldiers to protect them against violence by arms, and insure their tranquillity. Peace against ferocious neighbors was, in fact, sometimes purchased, when a baron, under the title of vidame, or patron of the monastery, bound himself to protect it ; at others it was obtained by the voluntary good offices of a Christian noble. Thus Odo the Abbot, and all the monks of Ferrers, write in these terms to the illustrious man Lewis : " As often as we are shaken by any storm of perturbation or necessity, we fly to the port of your benevolence, which repels no one who seeks refuge."§ Nevertheless, there was cause for the prescriptions of Louis-le-Débonnaire, that these advocates should be good men, not cruel, not greedy, but fearing God and loving justice.‖

In the middle ages many orders or brotherhoods existed for the purpose of resisting the disturbers of peace. Early in the reign of Philip Augustus was formed a confraternity of peace ; the members of which wore on their breasts the words, " Agnus Dei, qui tollis peccata mundi, dona nobis pacem." They were bound to oppose the enemies of peace, Routiers, Cottereau, and Brabançois. One of the mo-

* Voyage Lit. de Deux Bénéd. 291.
† Fulbert Carnot. Epist. iii.
‡ Alpertus de Diversitate Temporum, Lib. ii. c. 8.
§ Lupi Epist. xxiii
‖ Murat. Antiq. It. Diss. lxi.

tives assigned by Philippe-le-Bon in founding the order of the Golden Fleece, was that the public tranquillity might be defended and maintained to the glory of our Creator and Redeemer.*

In the abbey of Feüillent, Dom Martene found the rules of an ancient military order, under the name of the order of Faith and Peace, which was subject to the abbot of Feüillent. In the prologue we read, "If I had learned the style of Josephus and the language of Jeremiah I should not be capable of describing the scourges of fire, and sword, and persecution which have afflicted the province of Auch. But the ruins of castles, cities, towns, churches, and monasteries can bear witness. O grief, greater than any sorrow, that a land, once so rich and fertile, should be brought to such desolation by the sins of the inhabitants; when he is counted the most noble who boasts of the most ignoble deeds; where no one spares the orphan and widow; where youths and maidens, old men and children, priests and bishops, are wounded, plundered, and slain. At length, in 1229, in order that in the church all might say, 'Gloria in excelsis Deo, et in terra pax hominibus bonæ voluntatis,' the clemency of God inspired the hearts of his servants Amaneus, archbishop of Auch, and of his suffragans, who resolved, after the example of the Templars and knights of St. John, to establish a new order to defend peace, by whose powerful arm, with the Divine assistance, peace might be preserved in this province. Which resolution being communicated to the nobleman. William de Monte Cathano, viscount of Bearn, that prince, being magnanimous, wise, and benign, praised it as holy, and liberally endowed the order with rents from certain of his castles: moved by whose example, other princes, barons, and knights of the province did the same, and bound their posterity to assist the said order, from which, we trust, there will result to the people justice and the abundance of peace."† The members of this order were also bound to pray for the peace of the Church and for the conversion of the enemies of peace.

Often, however, it was necessary to call in the assistance of the royal power, and we find that kings, acting as the advocates of abbeys, were not slow to bear the needful assistance. Thus Louis-le-Gros defended St. Denis against Bouchard de Montmorency, the Church of Beauvais against the Seigneurs of Mouchy and Beauvais, that of Orleans against the lords of that city; and so elsewhere. The frequency of such occasions may be estimated from the words of Dionysius the Carthusian that "the military office is very necessary for the repression of the cruelties of petty tyrants."‡

Wars against such disturbers of peace were deemed a religious duty, insomuch that Louis IV., landgrave of Thuringia, waged them through a fear of losing his soul by suffering the oppressions of the poor by his nobles. His sieges of their castles were so many fruits of his conversion to God; for his resolution to humiliate them arose from his remorse at having so long suffered them to devour the

* Helyot. Hist. des. Ord. † Voyage Lit. de Deux Bèn. ‡ De Vita Militari.

poor. In the beginning of his career he had been one of their number, and more a monster than a man, being termed the iron landgrave, from his custom of always wearing armor. From being, however, a robber and a tyrant he became a devout man, and thenceforth employed his power in restraining other malefactors. But Cæsar of Heisterbach relates a vision, from which it would appear that the fate of his soul was doubtful. His son and successor, Louis V., was said to have been convinced of his perdition, so that he renounced the world, and became a monk in a Cistercian convent. An ancient chronicler, however, who relates his death in 1153, says that he was pious and benign, and, therefore, despised by his nobles, who esteemed him useless and effeminate. Being provoked by their acts, he made war upon them, captured them, but would not slay them : he only had them harnessed like horses to plough the fields, which caused him to be much dreaded.* After his death the nobles whom he had subdued were so changed that they feared to disobey his last orders, and, therefore, carried him on their shoulders, wrapped in the Cistercian habit, to Reinhartshorn, where he was interred.

In Italy, in the eleventh and twelfth centuries, the cities and communes, having established their liberty, made war upon the seigneurs of castles in the country, and subdued them utterly.† The nobles were even made to swear that they would have a house in the city, and inhabit it part of the year, which was constituting themselves citizens ; and the forms of these oaths in the twelfth century still exist. Thus Gerard de Carpeneta swears that he will remain each year two months in Modena in time of peace, and three months in time of war ; but Muratori gives many other similar charters.

The Emperor Otho III., being moved at the conduct of the Italian nobles who disturbed the public peace, came to Rome, and on the steps of the church prepared a great banquet, and ordered that when the guests were seated they should be surrounded by men secretly armed. Then he began to complain of the violators of peace, and commanded their names to be read aloud ; after which, he ordered them to be decapitated on the spot, and the rest to feast on ‡ The Emperor Conrad II. spared no enemies of peace, so that Godefrid Viterbo says of him,

> "Conradus pro pace duces deponit honore,
> Et pacis sancita facit constare favore."§

Count Lupold, who was one of them fearing death, fled into a remote forest, and there lived in a hut with his wife. It happened that the emperor, while hunting, came to the spot and passed the night with them. That night the count's wife brought forth a son, and the emperor dreamt that the child then born would be his heir. As the same dream recurred thrice, he was greatly troubled, and

* Chronic. terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. German. ii.

† Muratori Antiq. Ital. xlvii.

‡ Ricobaldi Ferrariensis Hist. Imperatorum, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

§ Godef. Viterb. Pantheon, ap. id. tom. vii.

next morning he commanded two of his servants to kill the child. They took it away, but, being moved to compassion by its smiles, they placed it under a tree, and brought back a hare's heart to the king. A certain duke, passing by soon after, found the child, and took it home to his wife and adopted it as his own. Long afterwards the emperor, being with this duke, and hearing him relate, as a forest adventure, the history of this boy, who was then present, began to suspect that the victim had escaped. Being confirmed in this opinion, he took him into his service as a page, and then sent him with a letter to the queen, in which he charged her, on pain of his displeasure, to have the bearer put to death. The youth set out, and after travelling seven days, came to a certain priest's house, who received him to hospitality as God commands. This priest was struck at his comely air and at his travelling so far alone; while he slept he looked at his letter, and discovered the horrible fate which awaited him: so, erasing the writing, he substituted for it these words, 'This is the youth whom I have chosen for the husband of our daughter. I charge you to give her to him quickly.' Next morning the lad awoke refreshed, and said, 'Adieu, dear host,' who replied, 'Remember me when you are king.' The boy only laughed, esteeming it a jest; so he departed. On arriving at Aix-la-Chapelle he delivered the letters; and so well did the stratagem succeed, that when the king wrote soon afterwards to ask if his orders had been obeyed, the queen assured him that the nuptials had been celebrated with great celerity, as he had desired. The Cæsar could not believe his eyes when he read her letter. Mounting his horse, he rode off immediately, and travelled with great speed to Aix-la-Chapelle. On his arrival the queen presented their daughter and son-in-law. For a long time the emperor seemed lost in astonishment, and uncertain what to do. At length nature prevailed, and he exclaimed, 'The will of God cannot be resisted.'

"Quod volui, jam non potui, Deus ispe negavit
Quæ Deus instituit, nos patiemur, ait.'

Then he compelled the two squires to reveal what they had done, and the count to come from the Black Forest and receive back his son with peace from the emperor, who left him his heir, and who succeeded as Henry II. On the spot in the forest where the child was born was erected afterwards the noble monastery of Hirschau."*

In France the expeditions of the kings against the castles of these feudal tyrants were multiplied for a long period, and gave rise to most singular accidents. The chronicles of St. Denis and the work of Suger are full of examples. "Such," says the latter, "was the zeal of Philip I. against the Baron Ebalnus of Ruciac and his son Guischard, and other lords of their party, who tyrannized over the clergy and people of Rheims, that while in that country he scarcely ever rested

* Godefridi Viterbiensis Pantheon, ap. id. vii.

from arms, excepting on Fridays and Sundays. Thus did he besiege the castle of Lion, Seigneur de Meur, who devastated the country of Orleans. The castle was taken by storm, but Lion took refuge in the chapel of the castle, and tried to defend himself; but in vain: he and sixty persons were received on lances as they threw themselves from the burning tower, and thus," adds the chronicle, "did their souls descend to hell."*

t Rochefort, ten leagues from Paris, towards Chartres, stood the castle of Guy-le-Rouge, of which some remains are still left; at Chateaufort, five leagues from Paris, was another castle, of which two of the towers are still standing. The Prince Louis demolished all these castles when the Sire de Montlhéry and his lineage returned to their usual disloyalty.† The towers which remain have still a black and threatening aspect, though tottering to their fall. Hue de Pomponne held the castle of Gournay sur Marne, three leagues and a half from Paris. He took horses from some merchants on the king's highway, and led them to his castle, upon which Prince Louis besieged it, but did not take it till after much time and labor.‡ In 1108, Louis-le-Gros was urged by many to punish a certain knight, named Hombaus, who held the castle of St. Sevère on the river Indre, three leagues from La Châtre, for the wrongs and outrages which he committed on the people of the lands of Bourges. This castle was much renowned for its chivalry and its garrison, and from old times it had always good knights. On the approach of the royal troops Hombaus sallied forth against them, but was obliged to retreat. Then in great fear he rendered up the castle and his lands. Louis then led him away prisoner to the tower of Estampes.§

Louis-le-Gros could not forget his custom to sustain the churches, and defend the poor people, and maintain peace if he could; but there were so many disturbers, that he had much to do. Amongst others were Gui-le-Roux, and his son Hues de Crecy, a young bachelor, and brave, but very acute and malicious to do evil, to prey and rob, and burn, and trouble the kingdom. This Hues had strangled his cousin german, Raoul de Beaugenci. Through shame at having lost the castle of Gournay, he was the more eager to assail the king, and because his brother Odo, count of Corbeil, gave him no aid in this quarrel, he took him prisoner as he was hunting without guards, and put him into close prison in La Ferté-Baudoin at Aleps, four leagues from Estampes; at which outrage the knights of Corbeil were very indignant. On their complaining to the king, he promised to assist them. Then, with some who were of the castle of La Ferté-Baudoin, they corresponded, who agreed to admit them secretly. The king arrived by stealth with a small escort; and at the same hour the people of the castle were sitting round the fire, and telling stories together, when suddenly they heard the neigh of horses and the sound of knights. Much they wondered, and issued forth: and this was after supper, at bed-time, and the darkness of the

* Chroniques de St. Denis ad an. 1104. † Ad an. 1104. Ad an 1107. § Ad an. 1108.

night caused much embarrassment to the assailants engaged in narrow ways. At first the garrison succeeded in making prisoner the king's seneschal and some others; but on the arrival of the king in person, close siege was laid to the castle; then had Hues de Crecy great fear of losing it and his prisoners. After a vigorous defence it was taken, and the prisoners delivered.* Hues was deprived of his estates, shaved, and confined in a monastery.

"On the banks of the Seine," say the chronicles, "stands a castle altogether too strong and too proud, and it is called La Roche Guyon, 'horridum et ignobile castrum.' The sire of this castle was Guy, a young bachelor, expert at arms, who had laid aside all the treason of his predecessors, a virtuous and just man, who wished to live without injuring others, as he would if he had lived longer; but he had a relation, a Norman, named William, one of the most disloyal traitors in the world, who pretended to be his friend, till he surprised him by treachery in his castle. It was on a Sunday evening that this traitor entered the church, which was on the same rock with the castle, along with other traitors, all armed secretly under their cloaks, and made semblance of adoring God, though all the while he was only spying how he could penetrate into the castle. At length, he discerned the door by which Guy used to pass into the church, through which, he and his troop suddenly rushed with drawn swords. Guy, not prepared to defend himself, was slain. His wife, seeing the treason, ran to him, without fear of death, and fell on him, and covered him against the strokes of swords, and cried out, as if mad, 'Kill me, me, disloyal murderer, and leave my lord.' Many of the blows dealt at him fell on her. The traitors seized her by the hair, dragged her from her husband, and then left her drenched in blood, and as if dead. Returning, they repeated their blows till he expired, and then slew also all the children whom they could find. Then did that poor lady raise her head, and when she recognized her lord's body, by force of love, all weakened and wounded as she was, she crawled towards him, began to kiss him as if he were alive, and then, with tearful chant, she sung his obsequies, and, while crying, fell as dead. Meanwhile the murderers examined the castle, and admired its strength. The chief, putting his head out of a window, called the natives, and promised them much good if they would do him homage; but no one would enter the castle. As soon as the intelligence spread, the barons and knights of the country assembled full of rage, and laid siege to the castle, and then the traitor made great offers to some of them if they would make peace with him, but they all refused, and vowed to revenge the treason. The castle being taken, he was hanged, and after some time his carrion thrown into the Seine."†

The proud Bouchart sire de Montmorency, count of Corbeil, was at this time chief of the disloyal and excommunicated. His son Eudes resembled him, at whose death the kingdom had peace, while he and his war descended to the pit

* Id. ad, an. 1108. † Ad. an. 1109.

of hell.* In 1114, Louis-le-Gros marched into Burgundy right to the castle of Haymon, which was called Germegny, which surrendered at discretion. The Rochefforts on the Marne were incorrigible. Louis attacked and subdued them. "In the country of Leon," say the chronicles, "is a castle called Montagu, founded in very ancient times, and wondrously strong, for it is seated on a high round rock. This was held by Thomas de Marle, whom we have already mentioned, a man disloyal beyond measure, whom God and all the world hated for his great cruelty. So it came to pass that Enguerrand de Boves, sire de Coucy and count of Amiens, his father, desired to put him out of the castle, in justice to the complaints of all the country round. With this view, he and Eblon, count of Roucy, assembled a force, and besieged the castle, but the disloyal tyrant had great fear, and contrived to escape from it by night, and fled."† This Thomas de Marle, whom Suger terms "a lost wretch, disloyal, and mad, and traitor beyond measure," laid waste the countries of Noyon, Amiens, and Rheims, raging with a wolf-like fury, having no fear of the ecclesiastical vengeance, and showing no mercy to the people. From the abbey of St. John, at Laon, he seized two good towns, Crécy and Nogent, and fortified them with ditches and towers, as if they were his own, and made them a den of dragons, and a robber's nest. For his innumerable crimes, and cruelties, and extortions, he was struck by the sword of holy church, being by sentence of the council at Beauvais excommunicated. In revenge he stabbed the bishop of Laon in his own palace, upon which the king degraded him, and cited him to appear. The following year at the council of Soissons further measures were taken to repress his fury. At the prayers of the clergy the king gathered his forces and marched against him. His castle of Crécy was taken as easily as a peasant's granary, and his men destroyed without mercy for having shown no mercy. You would have seen that castle burning as if a prey to infernal fire. Then marched the king to Nogent, and took the castle, and spared only the innocent.‡

In 1130, as the cries of the clergy and people still rose against the tyranny of Thomas de Marle, the king, bent on signal vengeance, marched against him, and resolved to destroy his castle of Coucy; and though his spies told him that the castle could only be besieged from a great distance, still he would persevere. The way was difficult and heavy, amidst forests and deserts, without a road, for the tracks were all cut off by the partisans of the tyrant, so that it was not till after much wandering here and there that they reached the castle. Thomas, being wounded in an attempt to escape, was led prisoner to the king, who took him to Laon. Though his wound was mortal, he could not be induced to deliver up the merchants and treasures he had concealed in his dungeons; and when his wife approached him, he seemed to grieve more for this restitution which was re-

* Id. ad an. 1111. † Ad an. 1104. ‡ An. 1114.

quired, than for the death which was so near him. He pretended to repent, however, and died before he could receive our Lord's body.*

"Lewis," says the Abbot Suger, "as in youth, so in age, never ceased from laboring to defend the peace of the kingdom." One of his last acts in his infirm state was to destroy Chasteau Renart, four leagues from Montargis, and to burn and demolish also the castle of St. Briçon-sur-Loire, the seigneur of which used to rob merchants and intercept the roads. I have given but a rapid sketch of his expeditions against castles: one of them, however, presents such remarkable incidents, that, while repeating tales of iron wars, I shall be pardoned for relating it at length. The castle of Puiset stood between Estampes and Orleans. The countess of Chartres, speaking to Louis-le-Gros, said, "This castle was originally built in the midst of the land of the saints, by Queen Constance, to be a defence to the country." Far different was its character in the year 1110, when it was held by Hugues de Puiset, grandson of that Evrard, who, in 1092, imprisoned his bishop, Ives de Chartres. This Hugues du Puiset surpassed his ancestors in tyranny and rage, fearing neither the king of France nor the King of all, and depopulating all the territory of the countess of Chartres, who, with her son Theobald, count of Blois, a handsome youth and most brave knight, could never approach within eighteen or twenty miles of his castle of Puiset, where he had imprisoned nobles and even bishops; for though few loved, many by force served him. This castle was thus the terror of the whole country between Paris, Chartres, and Orleans: thither he used to conduct all his plunder, for his continual occupation was to ravage the lands of his neighbors, and carry off cattle, fruits, poultry, and wine, sparing nothing, neither sacred nor profane. If any one dared to resist, he was seized, loaded with chains, and thrown into a dungeon in the castle; then it was an affair finished, and no more was ever heard of him. Evrard du Puiset, father to this baron, had even obliged King Philip to raise the siege of his castle, when he fell upon his army, and made many prisoners. The provostship of Toury, in consequence of the ravages of Hugues, had ceased to be of any value to the abbey of St. Denis. Suger, being appointed provost by the Abbot Adam, felt it shameful to permit the continuance of such disorder.

The countess of Chartres, the archbishop of Sens, with Suger, and numerous other persons, having called the attention of Louis to the necessity of providing a remedy, the king resolved on putting an end to it. Nevertheless, the council of state determined to act with all the forms of justice. The accused was, therefore, first cited, and, on his turning a deaf ear, was tried and condemned. Suger, by command of the king, returned to Toury, fortified it, and prepared for the king's coming, who received no other answer from Hugues to his summons to surrender than, "My castle shall be for him who can take my sword." The siege was laid in form, and a most curious account is given of the progress. Two regular attacks

* Id. ad. an. 1130. † An. 1131.

were made: the first commanded by the young count of Blois, son of the countess of Chartres; the second by the king himself. More than 100,000 arms were raised to aid him besides those of his soldiers; for no sooner was it heard that the king was going to execute justice on the baron du Puiset, than all the world ran to take part in his punishment—men, women, children, monks, and priests, all came to bear assistance. The strength of that place consisted in a round tower and a dungeon of wood raised on an eminence, fortified by a rampart, defended by a palisade, and a ditch with a parapet. Along a second ditch was a great curtain flanked, and guarded with turrets. The troops endeavored to scale the mound, but a shower of arrows and the steepness of the acclivity baffled their efforts, and after great slaughter they were obliged to retreat. All kinds of rustic implements were then collected, and mixed with oil and fat, and fire being set to this mass, which the wind bore towards the castle, another assault was made, but the flames prevented the assailants from advancing, and a fall of rain soon extinguished the fire. The besieged raised shouts of joy, and the king seemed reduced to the mortifying necessity of abandoning his enterprise. Among the multitude collected from all sides was the curate of a neighboring parish, whose heart was set on the king's triumphing. The next project of a mine seemed to him to require too much time. Bareheaded he mounted alone on a different side, gained the foot of the palisade, by his extraordinary force of arm burst through and signed to his companions to follow him. His parishioners, who loved him, ran with hatchets to his succor, and made a breach before the besieged were aware of their attempt. Then the troops rushed to the assault, and, in spite of the desperate resistance of the garrison, carried the place, and hoisted the standard of the count. The Seigneur du Puiset, with a few men, retired into the wooden dungeon, but being wounded at the entry surrendered his sword. The king spared his life, put up to sale by auction all his furniture, dismantled the castle, preserving only the principal tower, and conducted him prisoner to Chateau-Landon.* Suger adds, that the castle was razed to the ground as a place of Divine malediction.

Louis VII., who succeeded his ather, had frequent occasion to wage similar wars for the sake of peace. Thus he razed the castle of Monceaux, belonging to the count of Montmorency, and at the entreaty of the abbots of the province marched an army against the count of Claremont, in Auvergne, and his nephew, William, Count of Puy, and against the Viscount de Polignac, who by the instinct of the devil were accustomed to pass their lives in plundering the churches, capturing travellers and pilgrims, oppressing the poor, and depopulating the country.† These men he captured, and kept in prison until they swore to renounce their habits. Some time after, William. count of Challon, following their dia-

* Dom. Gervaise. Hist. de Suger, Liv. ii.

† Hist. Ludovic VII. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 417.

bolic footsteps, with the aid of the bands vulgarly called the Brabantins, ravaged the country, and mercilessly slew the monks of Cluny with a number of the people who came out processionally to meet them without weapons, but only armed with their sacred vestments, and crosses, and reliquaries. At the fame of this barbarity, the king marched against him, and took possession of his castle, and divided his lands between the duke of Burgundy and the count of Nevers.*

The remonstrances of the clergy were not, however, always effective, nor was it sufficient to have aid from a distance where the disturbers of peace were multiplied and active. In the year 1020, Bouchart à la Barbe held a castle in an island of the Seine, from which he greatly injured the abbey of St. Denis and its people. The Abbot Vivien complained to King Robert, who admonished that lord to cease, and on his continuing, the king demolished the castle. Then for the sake of peace, and by consent of the abbot, he permitted the erection of a fortress three miles from St. Denis, at Montmorency, near the fountain St. Walery, on condition that he should do homage for it to the abbot. This was the feudal castle of the abbey, called Montjoie, which became the war-cry of the kings of France. The church, therefore, scrupled not to use force in defence of the people, and to procure peace, and hence arose the custom of bishops and abbots having castles, which are antiquarians, like Grose, have noticed, without explaining the cause. From the fifth century we have seen that some castles were erected for the maintenance of security and peace. Such was the origin of many that date from the middle ages. Speaking of Leopold, duke of Austria, surnamed Glorious, and also father of the clergy and of his country, the celebrated Thomas Ebendorferus de Haselbach says that he was so much a prince of peace, that even beyond the limits of his own dominions he erected, with consent of Lewis, son of Otho, duke of Bavaria, the castle of Scheneding, and efficaciously delivered monasteries and other places dedicated to God from divers oppressions.† Similarly the reason why Guillaume de Roches, seneschal of Anjou, built the castle of La Roche-au-Moine, on the Loire, was in order to protect the road from Angers to Nantes; for before it was built robbers used to issue from a very strong castle standing on the other side, named Rochefort, belonging to Paien de Rochefort, a knight of great valor, but addicted to rapine, and to take from his neighbors, and the laborers, and merchants, and others that travelled that way.‡ The building of castles was, therefore, not necessarily unbecoming in pacific men, and accordingly we find castles in the hands of churchmen, who built or held them for the sake of obtaining peace. They had first tried all gentle methods of protection: they had legislated, for no plunderer, or usurer, could make a testament:§ and the ob-

* Hist. Ludovic vii. ap. Duchesne, tom. iv. p. 417.

† Thom. Eb. Hasel. Chronic. Austriacum. ap. Pez. Rer. Aust. Script. ii

‡ Chroniques de St. Denis, an 1214.

§ Concil. Parisiense, an MCCXII. ap. Martene. Vet. Script. vii.

lations of those who oppressed the poor could not be received.* The council of Paris made a distinction in favor of the plunderer's wife, which is most remarkable. "Let her live sparingly," says the decree, "of the things which her husband ministers to her from his spoils; not that he can give them to her, since they are not his own, but because she is the advocate of those that have been plundered, to ameliorate their cause, softening the heart of her husband, and inducing him to make condign restitution: but if she find the heart of her husband impenitent and incorrigible, and that she cannot prevail on him to make restitution, she is then bound to seek separation of board from him, and to beg from friends or others for her maintenance rather than partake of such deadly profit: and if she come to sickness or decrepitude, or to such destitution that no one would give her bread in the article of death, then in that necessity she may take food foom her husband, not with an intention, like his, of rapine, but with the intention of restoring it when God grants her opportunity." The clergy had also appealed to their advocates, or to the king. Invested as they were, with seigneural power, it only remained for them, when all these means were insufficient, to provide by such forcible measures as were authorized by law personally for the security and peace of the people, so as to verify the prediction that the Lord would not leave them without assistance in the time of the proud.

The laws of the last Roman emperors had given bishops an absolute power over the municipalities, which, on the ruin of the empire, subsided into a feudal seigneury, the inhabitants, in order to escape the tributes and service required by the neighboring counts and barons, anxiously placed themselves under the crosier of the prelates, which Thierry designates as a paternal despotism,† and Fauriel, "a government eminently popular, resulting from necessity; the bishops by the force of things, becoming the chief temporal magistrates of cities."‡ Extraordinary circumstances had also established in Germany a number of ecclesiastical sovereignties, the gentle and pacific character of which, may be estimated from the old German proverb, "Unterm Krummstabe ist gut wohnen." We may remark by the way, that never in these pacific governments was it a question to pass capital sentence against the spiritual enemies of the power which reigned. Against the disturbers of peace, they were, however, energetic; and these were of two kinds. When the communes were forming in the twelfth century, the bishops were often induced to resist the proposed innovation; and this brought on grievous altercations and combats. In the south of France, it is true, the bishops were generally disposed to favor and protect the communes,§ but in the north they opposed them in many places, as at Cambrai, Laon, where the Bishop Gaudri was more a soldier of fortune than a prelate, and where his Archdeacon Anselm sympathized with his fellow citizens; and at Rheims where. however, Guillaume

* Statuta Canonica, ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii. † Lettres, xv.
‡ Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. i. 385. § Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Méridionelle,

de Champagne restored the privileges of the citizens. Yet in the insurrection of Cambrai, in 1024, the Bishop Gerard, we read, had great compassion on his subjects, and desired to exercise towards them mercy and not justice.* After a later attempt, in 1107, the Bishop Gaucher interceded for his revolted subjects before the Emperor Henry V.

At Noyon, in 1098, Baudri de Sarchainville, the bishop, had no aversion for the institution of communes, but on the contrary preferred complying with the wishes of the citizens.† At Amiens, in 1113, the Bishop Geoffrey, whom the Church honors as a saint, yielded without effort, and gratuitously, to the wish of the citizens, concurred with them in the erection of a municipal government.‡ On the other hand, the atrocious and impious manner in which these insurrections were made, as at Mans, Laon, Rheims, and Liege, may explain the conduct of other prelates, as also the language of St. Bernard, Guibert de Nogent, and the chroniclers of St. Denis, were unable to perceive the justice or expediency of measures which had such advocates. The contests between the bishops and citizens of Liege, from the thirteenth till the eighteenth century, indicate more the existence of turbulent spirits among the latter, than the faults of the former, who made common cause with the citizens against the nobles until their demands became exorbitant. When the duke of Burgundy first attacked them, he appealed to the fact of their impious and cruel conduct, whereas the beneficent and liberal acts of such bishops as John of Walenrode, John of Hinsberg, Erard de la Marck, and Louis de Bourbon, could not be denied by their enemies. Where the fault was on the side of the prelate, the case has been contemplated and accounted for from the earliest times of the Church, as when St. Augustin said: "All who desire earthly things, and prefer earthly felicity to God, and all who seek their own and not the things of Jesus Christ, pertain to that state which is mystically called Babylon, and has a diabolic king; and all whose affections are set on things above, and who meditate on celestial things, who are mild, and holy, and good, pertain to the spiritual Jerusalem, whose king is Christ. These two states are for the present mixed together, so that sometimes those who belong to the Babylonian state administer the things which pertain to Jerusalem; while, again, those pertaining to Jerusalem administer sometimes the things which belong to Babylon."§ The protection of peace was an object of episcopal solicitude in early times. In the annals of the monastery of Nuys, on the Rhine, a house seven leagues from Cologne, we read of Adelwin, archbishop of Cologne, in 690, that "he deserved praise for being studious to preserve peace and public tranquillity."‖

The feudal tyrants, in later times, formed another class of disturbers of peace against which the power of the bishops and abbots might be exercised without compromising their pacific character. Let us hear the old chronicles. Baldwin

* Script. Rer. Franc. tom. xiii. 476. † Thierry, lett. xv. ‡ Id. xix. § In Ps. 61.
‖ Annales Novesienses, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

de Lutzelinburg, on being elected archbishop of Treves, came as an angel of peace to heal the troubles and discords of the diocese. His first act was to give strict orders to all officers that not by tyrannical rigor, but by striking, salutary fear, they should compel all persons to live at peace. Then, on the holy day of Pentecost, in all the sweetness of peace and concord, he made his solemn entry into Treves while the clergy and people sung "cives apostolorum pacem portaverunt, patriamque illuminantes hodie advenerunt." His love of peace and justice was, indeed, memorable. He built many castles near those of the robbers, by means of which he kept them constantly besieged, and thus compelled them to leave the people in peace. Every where he was extolled as the defender of merchants and the enemy of the unjust, sparing not even his own brother when he was convicted of a crime. Thus he lived, ever defending the cause of the poor, appeasing discords among his subjects, and quickly terminating every process. As another Solomon, he deserved the title of "Sapiens et pacificus." The splendor of his court is then described; but what is remarkable, we find that on his tomb was commemorated, among his other merits, the number of castles he had built, and of robbers' castles which he destroyed.

"Gelsbergh damnavit, Rufinberch ædificavit,
Heynselbach stravit, Helekrus Sasztoch nichilavit;
Pacis et erector, rector, jubar utile turbis
More beatorum construxit claustra bonorum.
Atque tyrannorum destruxit castra malorum."*

Speaking of Bruno, archbishop of Cologne, an old writer says: "As soon as this son of peace entered to be guardian of the churches, it would be impossible to describe the despair of all who in the kingdom were the enemies of peace." "Under his government," says another, "such peace and justice prevailed, that it seemed to be a return of the golden age. When he was at leisure, no one seemed to be more occupied; and when he was occupied, he seemed to be at leisure." On his tomb was this line:

"Bruno pacificus vir bonus atque pius."†

A similar testimony was on that of Otho, archbishop of Milan, of the Visconti family:

"Intrepidus pastor, quem moles nulla laborum
Ardua devicit, populo latura quietem."‡

A monk, after describing the horrible devastations and sacrileges committed by the Lord de Salmis, and the firmness and goodness of James, archbishop of Metz, through whom they fully expected deliverance, adds: "Nevertheless, since the

* Gesta ejus, ap. Baluze' Miscell. i. Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.
† Vita ejus à Ruotgers. ap. Leibnitz, Script. Brunsvic. Illust.
‡ Chronic. Francis Pepini, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

time of having mercy upon us had not yet arrived, and that it might be more clearly shown to us, 'quia melius est confidere in Domino, quam confidere in homine: et quia maledictus est qui ponit carnem brachium suum,' the assistance of Bishop James is immediately withdrawn from us; and because we too much trusted in that bishop, we were made to experience that 'bonum est sperare in Domino, quam sperare in principibus.' For when we hoped to be delivered from the hands of the Lord de Salmis by that bishop, he took to his bed and died of an internal inflammation."*

Muratori says, that there was no bishop who had not, at least, some one castle, and many had several. There were few monasteries of great name which had not also castles under them, which were either the gifts of kings or the offerings of contrite nobles, or the fruit of purchase. Some also were built by abbots.† The tower of Garigliano was built in the ninth century, by the monks of Monte-Cassino, to be an asylum in the event of an invasion from the Sarassins. In the tenth century, when the Huns or Tartars came into Germany, aided by the domestic feuds of the nobles, and carried devastation before them, Engelbert, abbot of St. Gall, by the advice of the holy Wiborad, built two castles, one at Sittern, on a hill in the forest, about two hours distant from St. Gall; and the other on the island of Wasserburg, in the lake of Constance, which he furnished with arms and provisions, and materials for making shields and arrows: he sent the books to the island of Reichenau, the oldest and youngest monks into the castle of Wasserburg, with the injunction as far as possible to keep open the communication by the lake with boats, while he placed himself, with some of his boldest men, in the castle of Sittern, where the peasants and all the inhabitants of the abbey took refuge. None remained but the virgins, enclosed at St. Maugis, rather than leave whose beloved walls they chose to die; and Heibald, a monk of noble origin, but weak in intellect, who refused to depart with the rest, on the ground that the treasurer had given him no leather for shoes. The Huns arrived on the 1st of May, 925, their advance being foreshown by the smoke of burning houses, to which they set fire on their way. At St. Gall they hunted for concealed treasure, burned two of their company for having thrown down from the tower the gilt image of St. Gall, raised it up again, and took their repast sitting on the grass. Then they commenced a martial game; and having a priest in their company as interpreter, they forced him to cut off his tonsured crown with his own hands in a ludicrous manner; after which they were about to behead him, when they suddenly received intelligence that there was a castle near full of armed men, upon which they set off for Constance. On their departure, abbot Engelbert sallied out, intercepted their road, attacked and routed them, and made one prisoner, who had been wounded. The nuns and Heribald meanwhile had fled to the

* Chronic. Senoniensis. Lib. v. cap. 8. ap. Dacher Spicileg. iii.

† Mur. Antiq. It. diss. lxxi.

nearest mountain. The Huns joined the main body of their army on the Rhine, and descended upon Alsace and Burgundy, but were finally annihilated. When the abbot was assured of their departure, he returned to the abbey, had the church and abbey again blessed by Noting, bishop of Constance, and the Hungarian prisoner instructed in the Christian religion by the monks, who, with Heribald, had come into the castle, baptized and placed him in a condition to marry and leave posterity.*

The abbots of Lobbes built at Thuin a castle, in order to protect their abbey of Alne. James de Basoche, a holy and charitable bishop of Soissons in the thirteenth century, rebuilt the castle of Sept-Mons, forming a mass of towers of different dimensions, commanded by a lofty dungeon.† John, archbishop of Treves, acquired many castles from different noblemen, and built others, in order to secure peace and defend the people from the robbers' castles. This was the prelate who, during the troubles of succession which ensued on the death of the Emperor Frederic, governed with such admirable prudence and religious circumspection, that the peace of his diocese was preserved. Perplexed between law and king, he walked so cautiously between Innocent and Philip, that he neither wounded the one nor could be injured by the other; and at his death chose to be buried, not in his cathedral, but in a convent of monks; not in their church, but in the chapter; not in pontificals, but in the habit of the poor.‡ His successor in 1212, Theodoric, a pacific man of great prudence, built the noble castle beyond the Rhine, against the powerful tyrants of that region, which he called Mount Thabor. His close ally and friend, Engelbert, archbishop of Cologne—that column of the Church and consolidator of the kingdom—acquired for the church of Cologne the castle of Thúrun. This Engelbert valiantly defended the country from tyrants till Frederic, count of Ysemberg, his nephew, in 1225, assassinated him with demoniac cruelty on the vigil of St. Willibord, near the town of Suvelme, whither he was going to consecrate a church on the next day.§ That nothing but the pacific end in view could have justified such demonstrations of power in the clergy, was well understood in the middle ages. "Some bishops," says Peter of Blois, "abusively call baronies and regalia the alms of ancient kings, and reduce themselves to the most shameful servitude by adopting the title of barons. I fear lest the Lord may say of them, 'ipsi regnaverunt, et non ex me.' You have the office of a pastor, not of a baron."‖ Ratherius, bishop of Verona, whose description of the episcopal duties will show what perfection was then required, speaks of certain men who are Maccabees, rather than bishops, and proves the necessity of studying the mystic sense of parts of the Old Testament, adding, "What mean these brave and victorious Maccabees, but the

* Eckehard in Cas. † Hist. de Soissons, ii. 133.
‡ Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv § Id.
‖ De Institut. Episcopi

battles which you must sustain with the arms of daily prayer against your visible and invisible enemies."*

Muratori† produces many passages from writers of the twelfth century, which show with what perspicuity and eloquence the general duty of the pacific orders was explained and enforced; but one may regret that he does not allude to the causes which often existed to justify such acquisitions of the clergy. The complaints of some might remind one of Æsop's wolf, who told the sheep that their having dogs and shepherds was contrary to the gentleness of which they made profession. Still it is not to be denied that abuses followed. But let us observe how well, and with what effect, these were exposed at the time. "Attend, I pray you, pontiffs of our age," says an abbot, "to the memory which you will leave behind—memory of the construction, not of churches but of castles, which you build on lofty precipitous mountains, with the sweat of the poor and the mite of widows: to what purpose, unless that men, not demons may be kept off; that the bound may groan there in prison, and faint in punishment; that there sinners may be, not converted, but punished; and punished, not to the pardon of sins, but to the satisfaction of your revenge. O ye holy lords, ministers of our God, of whom we now speak, with a wiser counsel, did you construct monasteries with the oblations of the faithful and the property of the churches! Thence were driven away demons, and there the poor man was received, the sinner converted, and the religion of holy simplicity and of blessed poverty preserved, while day and night the name of the Lord was without ceasing praised."‡ The remonstrances of such men were not in vain. During the quarrel between Albert, count of Namur, and Godfrey, duke of Bouillon, uncle to the celebrated Godfrey, the former intending to take possession of the castle of Mirvold, Henry, bishop of Liege, to prevent him, purchased it from the Countess de Monte, and put it in repair, leaving soldiers in it with intention to defend the province. These, however, used to plunder the country and spare neither the poor nor the monks of St. Hubert, to which abbey it was very near. Theodoric, the abbot, therefore, perceiving that this would render vain all his labors, and expose posterity to many dangers, besought Henry, the bishop, to remove the source of so much disquietude; and he, fearing to offend such a holy man, gave up to him the legal possession of the castle, placing monks of that abbey in the church of St. Michael within its walls, and appointing the abbot to take charge of the fortress; but he for a while refused, saying that he knew how to keep a cloister, not a castle. At length, however, he was persuaded to undertake it, lest he should offend a powerful personage. Henry, the bishop, spent the next Christmas in the abbey of St. Hubert; and the abbot, after many solicitations, followed him on his departure to Liege, and arrived there in the Paschal week. The bishop received him with the customary words: "Surrexit

* Prolog. ap. Martene, Vet. Script ix. † Antiq. It. lxxi.

‡ Ruperti Abbatis in Vitam Aitmanni Episcop. Pataviensis, ap. Pez, Script. Rer. Aust. i.

Dominus vere;" to whom the abbot, instead of making the usual response, said, "Et appareat Henrico hodie;" a solemn admonition, not lost upon the bishop, who benignly conversed with him, and then leading him into the chapel, sat down. After remaining some time silent, he said, with tears in his eyes, and looking up to heaven, "I know what you seek, dearest father; I know what you desire, and how you fear for the future, from the malice of the present time; of which, lest I should give occasion, I give you permission to destroy the castle as you have so long wished." The abbot wept for joy, and fell at his feet. Then he wrote instantly to Lambert, who had charge of the castle, and commanded him to pull down that altitude of Satan. On the receipt of his letter, Lambert mounted his horse, and went about the neighborhood, requiring all persons to come to the castle, as if some great danger was expected. The rustics being assembled, and a great number of carpenters, at nones Lambert returned to the castle, and mounting up to the tower, said he would not taste food till he saw the pinnacle thrown down. The rustics, excited by his example, rushed on as if against the public enemy of the province, and climbing upon the roof and towers, began to tear up beams and cast down battlements, and the work of so much time and expense was soon demolished. The next day, when the abbot was returning from the bishop, being arrived at the spot whence formerly the tower was visible, and seeing it no longer, he alighted from his horse and kissed the ground, and devoutly sung Te Deum laudamus; and when he reached the spot and saw the ruins, raising up his hand against them he said, "Dissolvat te virtus omnipotentis Dei, qui nutu suo muros Jericho corruere fecit;" nor did he cease till he procured other laborers to raze the walls to the ground, and level even the soil, leaving standing on the mount only the church of St. Michael, in which were placed brethren to serve it, as in a desert.*

Let us now witness the feudal power of the bishops employed, like that of the kings, in resisting and subduing the tyrants who disturbed peace. "I have often asked for peace both with prayers and with offers of money, and I could never obtain it from this child of perdition." Such were the words of the abbot of Vezeley in 1152, speaking of the count of Nevers.† Against such men the soldiers of the Church were called to act. Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, who died in 1028, is styled, "Desolatorum consolator prædonum et latronum refrænator."‡ Yet how repugnant were such actions to his nature, may be collected from his expression on one occasion, when he desired Count Odo to destroy the robber-castles of which we have already spoken. "If Count Odo dissembles," he says, "it will remain for me to ask assistance from the king; and if he, too, should neglect to give it, what else is left for me but to dismiss these things and serve Christ more secretly."§ Nor was he singular in shrinking from such em-

* Hist. Andaganensis Monast. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

† Chronique de Hugues de Poitiers.

‡ Fulberti Carnotens. op.

§ Fulberti Carnotens. op. Epist. lxx.

ployment. Franco, bishop of Liege, having taken up arms in defence of the people when the Normans, under Cruel Godefrid, mounted the Rhine and the Meuse, devastating the country; and having delivered it from these invaders, nevertheless, in consideration of the blood which had of necessity been shed, abdicated the office of the altar.* Others, however, conceived a similar idea of their obligations, and had less scruples after acting with energy. Frederic, patriarch of Aquileia in the time of the Emperor Charles III., repressed the invasion of the Hungarians when that cruel horde first came to the borders; in allusion to which, we read upon his tomb, in Aquileia, these lines:—

"Pannoniæ rabiem magno moderamine pressit,
Et pacem afflictæ contulit Italiæ."‡

Leodoinus, bishop of Modena, fortified that city, and an inscription was placed on the walls to commemorate his having done so, which ended thus:—

"Non contra Dominos erectus corda serenos,
Sed cives proprios cupiens defendere tectos."§

But it was against the feudal tyrants that the temporal power of the clergy was chiefly exerted. When Arnold was archbishop of Treves, one tyrant above all the rest was notorious like another Nero. This was Zorno Marschalcus, to whom was committed the castle of Thurun, belonging to the duke of Bavaria. The details of his cruelties are horrible. The archbishop, roused like a lion, having convoked his friends, besieged this castle, all the people of the country assisting him, through hatred of the inhuman lord. After two years it was taken, though the duke had endeavored to raise the siege and remove the archbishop. The garrison being reduced by famine, surrendered the castle to the archbishop of Cologne, because one tower was within the jurisdiction of that church, and he had united his forces with the troops of the other archbishop. The latter, through gratitude to God for such a triumph, built in memory of it the chapel of Bisidenberg. This was the archbishop, who fortified with walls the cities of Treves and Coblentz, and who built many castles. Having finished his days in peace and concord with all men, he was buried in one corner of the choir, Theodoric being entombed in the other; and this, not without a mystic meaning, as being the two luminaries of the church of Treves who preserved the peace of their people, by building and acquiring the castles of Monthabor, Kilburg, Thurun, Stolztinvels, Hardinvels, and fortifying their cities. To the good they showed themselves benign and tractable pastors in all things with fervent affection, while with all their force they resisted the wicked, May their memory remain with us men for ever more, and their souls rest with God in peace. Amen.§

* Gesta Episc. Leodiensium, ap. id. iv.
† Vitæ Patriarch. Aquil. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.
‡ Antiq. It. tom. Præfat.
§ Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

In 1016, the castle of Skiva, belonging to the tyrant Adalbert, was a great scourge to the territory of Treves, when Poppo governed that see, for the troops of this castellan used to sally forth and carry devastation even into the archbishop's court. After many complaints and counsels a certain soldier, named Siko, proposed to make an attempt to win the castle. So one day he went to the gate, knocked, and begged a cup of wine, urging great distress. It was quickly brought to him; and after drinking he said to the butler, "Tell your lord that I feel most grateful, and that before long I hope to repay him for his kindness." After some time he prepared thirty hogsheads, in each of which he concealed a soldier, and an extra sword; and choosing sixty others, whom he dressed as peasants, to carry them, he arrived with all his merchandise at the gate of the castle. On knocking and being asked from within who he was, and what he wanted, he replied, "Tell your lord, that out of gratitude for the drink he gave me I have brought him a present of wine, as I promised." The servant having taken back this message, returned with orders to admit the men. The hogsheads, then, being placed before Adalbert, the porters, at a signal given, opened them all at the same moment. Then seizing the extra sword within each, while the soldier leaped out ready armed, they began to strike on all sides. Adalbert was the first to fall, his companions were slain without mercy, and thus the castle was reduced to solitude. Many other similar dens were taken by force or stratagem during the government of Poppo.*

Boemund, archbishop of Treves, was a man of profound wisdom, in exterior pomp glorious among all the princes of Germany, without its ever infecting his blood with joy, or swelling his thoughts to any strain of pride; for he walked in the footsteps of that blessed Anno, archbishop of Cologne, who said to the brethren of the monastery of Sigeberg, "Although I appear pompous to my soldiers, yet amidst them, in the sight of the eternal Judge, I walk trembling, and more dejected than can be revealed to any human eye."†

In 1290, Boemund besieged and razed to the ground the castle of Swarzenberg, lest it should be a nest of plunderers; this reverend father and lord governed the diocese of Treves in the utmost peace all his days: he was an appeaser of discords, and a peace-maker. Every day after mass and the canonical hours, the doors of his palace were thrown open to all comers, and then he endured the noise and tumult of hearing every one's complaint, and administered justice and made peace. He repaired and improved all the castles of his diocese, and built many new ones. This great archbishop chose his sepulture in the Cistercian monastery of Hymmenroit, which he had always loved and venerated, visiting it annually on Palm Sunday.‡ In 1353, Boemund II., a man of all wisdom and prudence, was elected archbishop by the chapter of Treves. Men believed that he would govern in peace the territory being wholly given to contemplation.

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. † Id. iv. 343. ‡ Id.

Several soldiers and nobles, however, though bound by oath to the church of Treves, yet seeing the old age of the prelate, rebelled in arms, and seized what they had sold to his predecessor. The count of Starckenburg, above all, opposed him, and devastated the whole province with fire and sword. The holy archbishop resisted force by force; but feeling his own inability through age, he chose Cuno de Falkensteyn for his coadjutor, whose first step was to rush like a roaring lion against a certain captain, called the archpriest, who depopulated the country. He routed him, and delivered it from his ravages. Similarly he defeated Philip de Ysemburg, and razed his castle to the ground, leading him away prisoner.

Boemund was grateful to God for having given him such a defender, and he desired that he should be elected archbishop in his place, which was done and confirmed by Pope Innocent, after due inquiries respecting his qualifications. Cuno humbly obeyed Boemund in all things to his death, which occurred a few years later, and then alone he preserved peace, and benignly presided over clergy and people. The province of Cologne being then greatly troubled, its archbishop, Ludolpus de Marco, with his chapter, made him coadjutor of their church. He then attacked and conquered all the surrounding dukes, counts, and other nobles who had ravished the territory. The chapter of Cologne and Mayence both sought to have him for archbishop, but he constantly refused, and only agreed to defend the people of their territories. Thanks to his protection, the province of Treves was preserved from all insult: he defended it especially against the captain named Silvester and against a Lord Cossinus, who if he had not been resisted with an armed force, would have devastated the whole province. Finally, to provide for its tranquillity after his death, he procured confirmation from Rome, of the election of his nephew Werner de Falkensteyn to succeed him, as one who could most promote the utility of the church, and the peace of the whole country, to whom Cuno resigned the see, in a rich and prosperous state, in great peace and tranquillity. This Werner de Falkensteyn, archbishop of Treves, says, "that he passes his nights without sleep, providing for the utility of his subjects, and for the advantage of religious men, by whose prayers, rather than by military arms, the public good receives increase." "For these," he adds, "we undertake voluntary labors, desiring to extirpate all disqu etudes and scandals, that while we alleviate their burdens, they may praise the author of peace in greater peace than we can enjoy, so that at the last, in consequence of their tranquillity, we may be able to rest, and to render an account to the Author of peace." When Otho de Tzegenhayn, archbishop of Treves, went secretly, through devotion, to visit the holy sepulchre, he committed the defence of the territory to a few counts of the diocese, who governed it in great peace, till his return. This holy and venerable man governed nobles and plebeians humbly, and yet, when occasions required, vigorously. He used to fast frequently on bread and water, and pass whole nights in prayer, when he used to be seen kissing the ground. He marched with an army against the two brothers De Gymmenich, and defeated them: he took the castle of

Kempenich, and gave it to the church, and completed the building of the castle of Wytelich.*

The archbishops of Cologne, in the thirteenth century, had many contests with the citizens, and lost much of their temporal power in the battle of Woringen in 1290; yet it was wielded by pacific men, with a view to peace. Of Walram, in 1334, we read that he governed the church strenuously and pacifically in both states. He built the castle of Lechnich, to protect the diocese against his brother the count of Juliers. Herman, elected archbishop in 1480, was surnamed Pacificus. He was ever studious of the public peace, and he reconciled many princes who were hostile to each other. In 1584, when the troubles of heretics began, Ernest, the archbishop, in ordering supplications through the diocese, for obtaining peace, spoke as follows: "From the time that it pleased Divine Providence to call us to preside over the church of Cologne, amidst so many disorders, there was nothing which we more desired than to fulfil our duty, if possible, in public peace and tranquillity, yet being obliged to resist we consider it the contest of God."† Wickman, archbishop of Magdeburg in the twelfth century, is described as a man victorious, yet especially studying to promote the peace of his times.‡ Nocherus, in 1008, bishop of Liege, mild to the weak, and terrible to the strong, esteemed it the essential part of his office, if he could deliver the faithful of his diocese from the oppressions of violent men. A certain potent noble demanded a piece of ground which commanded the whole city, saying, "that he wished to build a fortress, by means of which he could defend the bishop and citizens against all hostile attacks." The holy man, who knew his deceit, contrived to gain time, putting off the affair, and meanwhile by secret advice, he had laid on the spot the foundations of a church, in honor of the victorious Cross, "by virtue of which," he said, "more than by the arms of all mortal men, himself and all that were his, would be preserved in safety." When the impious nobleman discovered what had been done, he became furious, but the prelate sent for the founders of the new church, and having heard their statement, gave his sentence, that he could not permit ground once destined for a church to be applied to any other purpose.§

Reginhard was another bishop of Liege, mild to the poor, and severe to the wicked rich. In that diocese the ravages of war were brought on by Godefrid in the time of the holy Bishop Wazo: armed with a cross alone he penetrated into the camps of dukes and counts, and when advised in letters by distant friends to fly from Liege, and take refuge in the castle of Huy, "Heaven forbid," he replied, "that I should desert the Lord's flock, and think myself safe in any place without them, from whom, under God, I derive all that I have of honor, in war or peace. Having had pleasure in happy times with them, I must now endure

* Gesta Trevirens. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. † Annales Novesienses, ap. id.
‡ Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii. § Id.

danger along with them." The misery of the weak and the groans of the poor sometimes obliged him to abandon his own peaceful life; for he was convinced that no work would be more acceptable to God, than that of restraining the fury of plunderers from the oppression of the innocent vulgar. Most of these robbers lived amidst marshes and mountains in secure citadels, whence they used to sally forth and lay waste the country round, and this especially in war time. So he resolved to destroy these places utterly, and in the spirit of an Elias and a Samuel, he used to proceed with a few troops, and besiege castle after castle, and with great labor take them, paying his troops daily, and showing himself a strict observer of justice towards all. As a bishop he could be compared to Gregory, as a soldier to Maccabee, as a wise man to Solomon, as a dialectitian to Augustin, as poor in spirit to an anchorite: through necessity he took part in these things, that he might avoid displeasing his Creator. In this war, the wife of the count of Monte Castro sent a message to tell him to come with soldiers to a certain spot at a given time, and promising that he might then take her husband prisoner, to give him up to the emperor; and this she did, not from any love for the juster cause, but through instability of mind. The holy bishop, abhorring such a novel crime, said, "I have never heard or read that a woman either in truth or pretence, has betrayed her husband; for it is pernicious even to feign what would be alien from the human condition." Thus the man of God invented a palliation for the wickedness of the tempter. In fine, no duke or marquis did more for the security of the country than he. The French being resolved to make war in Lorraine, he, after the manner of Paul, by epistles appeased them, and recalled them to peace, terrifying their king by describing the judgments of God on all who invaded the possessions of others, which he said in kings was the same as common robbery, with whatever title men might seek to conceal its turpitude. Speaking of his contemporary, the archbishop of Cologne, he said, "Thank God, I can speak from personal observation. Remote from all sublimity of domination, on the sea of riches he steers himself with the rudder of humility."* Notger, who had been abbot of St. Gall, before he was bishop of Liege, rendered such services to that city that a contemporary poet says of him,

"Notgerum Christo, Notgero cætera debes."

This great bishop, providing for peace in present and future times, and perceiving that danger and mischief must result from the presence of the great castle of Cybremont, or Chievremont, or Caput Mundi, so called, because it had been the seat of empire before Charlemagne removed it to Aix-la-Chapelle, with great cunning and labor took and destroyed it, removing the relics of saints which were in the three churches on the top of the mount, into monasteries recently erected. This castle was built by the kings of France of the first race. It stood on an in-

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.

accessible rock, two leagues from Liege. In the tenth century it was held by a Lord Idriel, who desolated the country. On the birth of a son, this seigneur sent for the bishop to baptize him. He summoned his archdeacons and other friends, and told them to prepare for a great enterprise, and wear arms under their hoods. Then when all were assembled in the church, the bishop rose up and said, "in the name of the living God, in the name of the visible head of the Church, of the emperor, and of the Church of Liege, I Notger take possession of this castle." The men of arms threw off their disguises, quelled resistance, and thrust out all whom they found within. Then the fortifications were demolished, so that it could never again be an asylum for plunderers.* Other accounts say, "that Idriel and his daughter threw themselves from the walls. A simple chapel is now on the site of the castle." This desire to procure baptism for the heir of one of these grim towers, seems as unaccountable as the circumstance of there being a chapel within it. The bonds which connected the robber knights and feudal tyrants with religion, were slight enough, and of an ambiguous kind. The castle, indeed, had its chapel, but Agobard tells us, "that their chaplains were servile, ignorant men, and that no good priest would dishonor his name and life, by remaining with them."† We read that one of these castellans came one morning to the Franciscan convent at Troyes, and said to the brother who was about to say mass: "I pray you let me have a knight's mass." To whom the friar, who perceived his meaning, answered, "Sir, you shall not have a knight's mass but a king's mass;" and then solemnly celebrated the holy sacrifice as usual, with great devotion.‡

The lords of castles used often, like heretical potentates at the present day, to espouse the cause of bad priests, and make use of them against the just, as was seen in 1133, when Thomas, prior of St. Victor, was waylaid and murdered, while passing near the castle of Gournay, by the Sire de Gournay and his satellites, at the instigation of the Archdeacon Thibaut, who had been reproved by the holy man for his misconduct. Though these men professed to disdain the sentence of excommunication, with which they were struck, there were not wanting awful instances of its power upon the most obdurate. The death of Nantin, count of Angoulesme, who had been excommunicated by Eracle, the bishop, was in consequence truly terrible. "Harolas! harolas!" he cried with a loud voice, "how the Bishop Eracle tortures me! He flails me, and makes all my body burn with his fire: alas! I desire death rather than endure any longer such pains," and with these words he finished his wretched life.§ It is but justice to observe, however, that sometimes these wicked lords of castles were converted to a sense of religion, and became worshippers of that peace which they had so long disturbed. Guy de Roye relates that a knight who held a castle near the high road,

* Chronic. Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Ger. ii.

† Agobard. de Privilegio Sacerdotii. Guy de Roye, Le Doctrinal de Sapience.

§ Chroniques de St. Denis, iii. xi.

and used to rob as many travellers as he could, espying one day a poor monk who passed along, sent his satellites to seize him. The monk begged them to lead him to their lord, as he had somewhat to say to him. On being led to the castle, he said that he wished to preach before them. Attracted by the novelty of the proposal, the castellan called his people scornfully together, but the monk said that there was one of them yet wanting, and that he must be sent for; in fact, the chamberlain had not arrived. On being called he came, and no sooner saw the monk, than his face turned black, his eye-balls started out, staring full ghastly like a strangled man. The monk then said aloud, "I conjure you by the name of God, to declare for what purpose you are in the castle." Whereupon this wretch cried out, while struggling as one that grasped for life, "Ay, by the foul terrors of dark-seated hell, these thirteen years I have stuck to that lord as one that loved him, and always reckoned that he would abandon the last custom he retained of his first youth, which was daily to salute God's mother; but still he persevered: poison be his drink to-night, or I should have had full power to damn him as I wished for ever." The knight became of ashy semblance at the words so cursed and horrible, fell on his knees, implored mercy, and from that hour changed his life to follow peace with all men.*

"Ludolphus of Saxony," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "was a knight in name, but a tyrant in deeds. One day, as he was riding, clad in a new suit of scarlet, a rustic with a cart met him, and by the wheels the mud was splashed over it. In a fury he drew his sword, and cut off the man's foot. Afterwards, by the mercy of God, he was led to mourn for his sins, and became a monk of our order in a monastery called Porta. Falling sick, he was inconsolable, remembering chiefly the cutting off the rustic's foot. The head of the infirmary trying to console him, he replied, 'Unless I see the sign of Job on my body, I cannot be comforted.' After a few days, lo! a scar, like a red thread, appeared round his foot in the same place where he had cut off that of the peasant: it mortified, and worms came from it. Then he was filled with joy, and said, 'Now I hope for pardon;' and so with great contrition of heart and thanksgiving he gave up the ghost. This was told me by the abbot of Livonia, a son of the very house in which it happened."†

"In the reign of Lewis, son of Philip, there was a nobleman in the country of Chalons-sur-Saone, by name Pontius de Larazio, whose castle was impregnable. According to the dignity of the world he was illustrious, rich, and powerful, and conspicuous in all kinds of human glory; but great were his crimes: for he was a tyrant, and an oppressor of the neighborhood. Some he circumvented by cunning, others he openly outraged by force of arms, so that he was an object of dread and hatred. But the pious Lord, who wisheth not the death of a sinner, but that he should be converted and live, changed his heart; so that,

* Le Doctrinal de Sapience. † Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. xi. c. 18.

returning to himself, he began to consider what evils he had committed, and what judgment was in store for him. In fine, his remorse and contrition were profound; he was dissolved in tears, and all moulded to penance. With these sentiments he resolved to renounce the world, and endeavor to atone for his past life. His friends and acquaintances, meanwhile, were astonished at the change wrought in him, and at a loss to conjecture what he intended to do. On coming to converse with him, however, he removed the mystery, speaking so forcibly on the judgment of God, the punishment of sinners, and the joys of the blessed, that many were moved to true penance, of whom were Raymund de Pireto, who became a monk, Gurardus, a priest, Peter Alzarra, a knight, Guillaume de Rota, Hugo Magnus, and Gillaume Desparron. He now employed officers to proclaim that all his possessions were for sale, upon which multitudes of persons of all degrees flocked to the castle, and procured what they pleased. With the money thus obtained he purchased cattle of all kinds, oxen, cows, sheep, goats, mules, and horses. Then sending messengers through the provinces to towns, villages, and castles, and to all markets and fairs, he gave notice that he wished every person who had been injured by him to repair to the town of Peguerole on the Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday after Palm Sunday. On that day, after the procession, the Passion having been chanted, while the bishop and clergy were standing on the steps about to address the people assembled in the square, Pontius de Larazio came forward barefooted and with a rope round his neck, which was held by a man who inflicted stripes by his own orders, as if he were a malefactor: then, kneeling before the bishop, he begged that the paper in his hand, containing the list of his crimes, should be publicly read. The bishop, for a long time refusing, at length consented. Then was this public act read aloud while the penitent wept, and by his weeping moved all the people to tears. This confession was useful, not only to himself, but to many others, who were now induced by so great an example to lay open their sins which they had long concealed through shame: then the solemnities of the day were resumed in the church.

"On the following day the injured persons began to assemble, according to the notice given, and he heard the complaints of each, sitting as judge, and often accuser of himself. Of every one in turn he begged forgiveness on his knees, and then restored to them in kind whatever had been taken from them, so that each seemed only to recover exactly what he had lost. Seeing one peasant standing near and urging no claim, he asked him why he remained silent. 'It is,' he replied, 'my lord, that I have no charge against you; for, on the contrary, you have often done me great service.' 'Nay,' answered Pontius, 'I have injured you; for do you not remember such a night having lost some of your flocks?' 'Yes, my lord, but I never discovered who took them.' 'It was I, Pontius de Larazio,' he replied, 'by my satellites and accomplices.' Then he implored his pardon, and restored the cattle. Thus, having sold all that he had, he dispersed and gave to the poor. On Maunday Thursday he gave dinner to thirteen poor persons, and

washed their feet. The same evening, after sun-set, in darkness and silence, he left his castle and his country, his relations and his father's house, that, by imitating Christ in his passion, he might be a participator of his glory. He went barefooted, and the way was rough and difficult, even for horsemen. A thunder-storm came on, and the horrors of that night were terrible. The next day, having kissed the cross at a spot where multitudes of knights and of all orders had assembled to adore it, he proceeded on his way to St. James, a poor, unknown pilgrim. After accomplishing his vow, by advice of the prelate of Compostella, he returned to France, and commenced a monastic life in a deep forest in the diocese of Narbonne. His huts became an abbey in 1336, and such was the origin of the monastery of Salvania, where he lived to his death as a lay brother. Thither many men of the military order came on their conversion to God, laying down their material to assume spiritual arms; turning their swords into ploughshares and their lances into reaping-hooks; drawing no more the sword against the nations, nor going forth again to battle; but fulfilling, in themselves, that prophecy: "Habitabit lupus cum agno, et pardus cum hædo accubabit: lupus et agnus pascentur simul, leo et bos comedent paleas.'"*

It only remains to state the end of these castles, which so long disturbed the lovers of peace. In England they were destroyed by the enemies of monarchy; in France by its friends. What Cromwell executed in the former and in Ireland, Richelieu and Mazarine accomplished in the latter. All the mountains of Auvergne bristled with feudal castles: the cardinal razed many of them. Louis XIV. finished their destruction. The most celebrated of these dungeons, now in ruins, was that of Armagnac, where was taken James, duke of Nemours, who was beheaded by Louis XI. But enough of sallies and retires, of palisados, fortins, parapets; it is time that we return to scenes more congenial to the pacific. Hitherto we have seen them desiring, enjoying, or struggling for peace; it remains to consider them in their character of peace-makers, dispensing it by peaceful means to others.

* Tractat. de Conversione Pontii de Larazio, et exordii Monast. Salvaniensis vera Narratio, ap. Baluze, Miscel. tom. i.

CHAPTER XII.

ALL ages of the world have known some who preferred tranquillity to war. Those of faith alone beheld men, from a conviction peace-makers, knowing that they should not burn, for themselves, since, if our virtues did not go forth of us, it were all alike as if we had them not. To spirits occupying this stage of our course approaching, Dante perceived near him, as it were, the waving of a wing, that fanned his face, and whispered, "Blessed they, the peace-makers; they know not evil wrath."* From what station in the distempered mortal life did they pass to the peace of heaven? From thrones and feudal towers, from camps and cottages, from episcopal palaces and cloistered cells. In each let us behold them ministering, and first from thrones. "If it be laudable to allay discord in one family, what," exclaims the Angel of the School, "must be the merit of a king who causes a whole country to enjoy peace?"† In the middle ages such merit was not rare. Hear how speaks an emperor, who was in his first years faithful. Henry VII., at this time, abhorring mention of the parties of Ghibelline and Guelph, remarkable, even in a religious age, for his love of the offices of the Church, at which he used to assist even in the night, was employed in pacifying Italy. "I call God to witness," he exclaims, "O French and German companions, fellow-soldiers, brothers, relations, my own flesh and blood, that no glory of the world and no affections of worldly cupidity have led me to these actions. If I look up I see my instructor, God; if below, Clement the Pope. By these guides I am led; and who is against me? Has God, the supreme justice and teacher of equity, desired any thing more sacred than that I should love my neighbor as myself? Is there any distinction or difference between Christians? Who is my neighbor? A German, a Frank, a Vandal, a Suabian, a Lombard, or a Tuscan; can any one add, a Ghibelline? O iniquity! for what purpose have I come? Is it that as an impious successor I should follow the errors of my predecessors? Hath Clement, in the seat of God, moved us to this journey that I should subject Guelph to Ghibelline, or contrariwise? These are the men who, instigated by that Lucifer who fell, assume the invidious names of the empire and of the Church. The messenger of Pope Clement, shall I come to attack or betray the one or the other? Not so. Rather will I die first. And if there be any here otherwise inclined (looking at his brethren) let them begone, and seek slaughter, but it shall not be with me as their general and their prince."‡

* Purg. xvii

† De Regim. Prin. i. 9.

‡ Albertini Mussati Hist. Augusta, Lib. i. 13. ii. 5. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. x.

"In 1310, when Henry, count of Luxemburg, on being elected emperor, came to Asti, Matthew Visconti, then exiled from Milan, repaired to him, and kissed his feet, saying, that they were the feet of one who brought peace. There were many nobles of Lombardy, both Guelphs and Ghibellines, to meet the king: the former of whom rejected the advances of Matthew, whom the Ghibellines were ravished to behold. Antonio de Fixirago, a Guelph, said to him, 'Matthew, Matthew, you were the cause of all the evils of Italy; for while you reigned, your work was to sow war and discord: you have disturbed the world, and have suffered no one to have rest.' But he humbly replied, 'It is for the Lord King to give peace, and put an end to the evils of our time.' Henry smiled, and said, 'Peace is already half made between you.' In fact, this king was then laboring to bring peace to all Christians."*

"In 1311, when the Emperor Henry received the iron crown at Milan, a deputation came to him from the Guelphs of Modena, who committed their city to his arbitration. He accordingly sent them a viceroy, Guidalosta de Verzelensi of Pistoia, who soon put an end to the discords of the nobles, and procured peace. Then all who had been banished were admitted back to the city, and others who had been imprisoned in chains, Bernardino Padella, Ugolino, Pella de Savignani, and other nobles, as also some of the people were delivered. Thus peace was made to the great joy of all men, and all were made friends. Many other cities accepted viceroys from the emperor, who came with the same intention, and, with the exception of Padua, there was no free city or principality which did not admit back the chiefs of the people of the adverse party who had been ejected."†

"In 1331, when John, king of Bohemia, came into Italy, on occasion of his son becoming duke of Carinthia and count of the Tyrol, the Brescians did him homage as their king; and he coming there made peace in the city, for which reason he was adored by all the people; and when his fame was spread as a pacific king, Bergamo, Como, Pavia, Novarra, Vercelli, Cremona, Parma, Modena, and Lucca made him their lord."‡

Hear another historian. "In 1290, Rodolf, king of the Romans, was in Erfurt, with a great attendance of princes, making peace on all sides. Again, in 1170, the Emperor Frederic had a council there, in which he pacifiedmany princes."§

Rupert, king of the Romans, of whom it is said soon after his election that his sole object was the amelioration of the state of the Holy Church of the sacred empire and of all Christendom, began his reign by laboring to make peace between the Landgrave of Hesse and the archbishop of Mayence. On his return from Italy, finding that, after all his efforts, hostilities still continued between them, he wrote to the landgrave, expressing his affliction to see them persist in enmity, and

* Gualvanei de la Flamma Opusc. de Rer. Gest. de Azone, ap. id. xii.

† Chronic. Mutinense, ap. id. xi.

‡ Gualvanei de la Flamma Hist. Mediolanens. 313. ap. id. xi.

§ Erphurdianus Antiquitat. Variloq. ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

that the people of their territories should be thus exposed to injury. In all the negotiations which ensued he stated his chief concern to be the restoration of peace for the sake of the people. Similarly he endeavored to heal all feuds between Prince Ernest, count Palatine of the Rhine, and the duke of Bavaria. To Charles, duke of Lorraine, he writes, desiring him to make peace between the counts of Nassau and of Salm, and forbidding him to take any part in their quarrel.*

In the thirteenth century, Albert, surnamed Contractus, and the wise, duke of Austria, though he had his feet and hands contracted during thirty years, yet was never heard all that time to utter an impatient word. "When a grievous dissension arose between the lords of Rosenberg and Walsee, and other borderers of Bohemia and Austria, this prudent prince treated with Charles, then marquis of Moravia, and conducted these differences to a peaceful end. Many other quarrels he prevented and appeased by the arm of power, the persuasions of patience, and the means of moderation, for all his paths were pacific." Similarly Maynhard, count of the Tyrol, as neighbor to both, appeased the difference between Henry, duke of Bavaria, and Albert, duke of Austria, and this he accomplished by his facetious address and prudence."†

Azo, the Lord Marquis of Este, and the Lord Eccelino II. had come to an open rupture with bitter words in presence of Otho IV. Henry Calandrini drew his sword with a crowd of Germans, and imposed silence on the factious company. The king commanded that no battle should ensue, and both parties retired. The next day as the king was riding, having the marquis on his right hand, and Eccelino on his left, he said to the latter in French, "Sire Ycelin salutem li Marches:" on which that lord, uncovering his head, said to him, "Domine Marchio Deis salvet vos." The marquis remaining covered, said, "Deus salvet vos." Then said the king to the marquis, "Sire Marches salutem Ycelin." When he still remaining covered, said to Eccelino, "Deus vos salvet," then the other a second time uncovering, answered, "Sic salvet ipse vos." Thus riding they came to a bank, when the way was so narrow, that two could scarcely pass abreast. So the king riding first, left them to follow. Then the marquis said to Eccelino, "Go you before," and Eccelino said the same to him. Then both rode together and began to speak amicably, and all who saw them wondered. Thus they rode for two miles in close conversation, and on arriving at the hospice, the king alighting, called Eccelino aside and said, "Tell me the truth, what has been the subject of your conversation with the marquis?" "We were speaking," he replied, "of our ancient friendship." "And did you not speak of me?" asked the king. "Yes," replied Eccelino, "we did." "What did you say of me, Lord Eccelino?" "We said," he answered, "that when you choose, you are above all men, placid and

* Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 40. 93. 99. 130.

† Thom. Ebendorff. Haselbach. Chronic. Aust. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. ii.

benign, and virtuous; and that when you choose, you can be ferocious and terrible; and this is all that we said of you." Then, taking the marquis aside, he addressed him a similar question, and received a similar answer. Thus they rode in company to Imola, and there, in the king's presence, they both swore to keep peace with each other. Then he sent the marquis to the marshes of Ancona, but Eccelino accompanied him to Rome, whither he went to receive the imperial crown.*

In 1294, when the Venetians and Genoese were at war, and resolved to fight wherever they could meet, when all Christendom was grieving at the animosity between them, which neither the pope nor the king of France could appease, Matthew Visconti, duke of Milan, by his great prudence brought them to peace, and thenceforth was considered the father of the two cities.† After relating the particulars of another war between Genoa and Venice, and lamenting repeatedly that there was not as much constancy in charity as in enmity, the Chancellor of Venice, Raphayni Caresini, says—"I shall now pass with a more joyful style from hatred to friendship, from warlike rage to the serenity of peace." Our wisest duke, with his deep council, after the custom of our reverend ancestors, never contradicted the sentence of the prophet, "Inquire pacem, et persequere eam." Some princes of the world had benevolently wished to interpose, and stop the discord so hurtful to the Catholic faith, and to the whole world; but the Divine will reserved the effects for the pious and Christian prince, the Lord Amedee, count of Savoy. At the earnest persuasion of this prince, emanating from the sole movement of most sincere charity, all parties sent ambassadors to Turin, who, with great wisdom, after solemn and mature deliberations, with the constant, amicable, wise, and efficacious exhortations, and benevolent persuasions of the count of Savoy, the eternal King of kings aiding them, a good, true, and permanent peace was happily concluded on Thursday, about the hour of vespers, to the praise and glory of the Divine Majesty, and the honor of the count of Savoy."‡

In a letter addressed to St. Thomas of Canterbury, we find an allusion to the pacific labors of Louis VII. in these terms: "The discords which had arisen between Henry the Pisan, and John of Naples, and William of Pavia, each of whom was vexed with the same spirit, have been composed by the intervention of the king of the Freneh, who has made peace also between some others, so that many said of him, 'Homo iste venit pacem mittere, non gladium.'"§ "Some of the council," says Joinville, "used to reprove the king St. Louis, for taking such pains to make peace between foreign princes, but he always answered, 'If foreign princes should remark that I look on with indifference they will imagine that I wish them to quarrel for my own profit, and they will hate me, and take an occasion to injure my kingdom. Moreover, I should kindle against myself the

* Gerardi Maurisii Hist. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

† Annales Mediolanenses, 66. ap. id. xvi.

‡ Raphagni Caresini contin. Chron. And. Dand. ap. id. xii. § Epist. S. Thom. xii.

wrath of God.'" Even the disputes of religious men were sometimes terminated by kings. Hildebold, bishop of Soissons, in the ninth century, had a quarrel with Eudes, bishop of Beauvais, which Charles-le-Chauve put a stop to in a manner singularly impressive. The two bishops contended for the church of Bethisy, and finding no other means of settling the question, the king ordered it to be demolished.* Peter, the deacon, relates a more interesting example, when, writing to the Empress Richenza, he describes the visit of her husband Lothaire to Monte-Cassino. "Who would not admire his gravity," saith he, "when in order to appease the dissensions of the brethren, which had arisen respecting the election of an abbot, he remained in the chapter-room without food or drink from the first hour of the day till vespers?" Thus was it seen that crowns did not dispense their wearers from the duty of advising peace, nor move them from the roll of common men. In feudal castles too, where we have already seen successively the meek and the ferocious, we shall find also the blessed peace-makers. The approved character of nobility was, after all, pacific, so that its guides declared, that "noble persons above all others had need of great patience and great meekness, as having more obstacles than other men, which they could not surmount if they gave way to anger, or the desire of revenge, or to impatience."† Their duty, as that of all obedient to the Church, was plainly indicated in the Confiteor of the ancient German ritual; in which, after the words to be repeated by all, "I confess to Almighty God, and to all the saints of God," came an enumeration of sins, of which one was thus specified, "duos non conciliavi."‡ The soldier's duty in this respect differed not from that of the priest, nor do we find the least trace of a contrary opinion in the middle ages, excepting when offered as an insult to the world.

Don Antonio de Guevara, writing to Don Alphonso Pimetel, respecting the ancient chivalrous order of the band founded by the King Don Alphonso, son of Ferdinand of Constantia, informs him, that by one of their rules, if two of the knights should quarrel, the others were bound to reconcile them to each other. "To the military profession," says one of its old instructors, "belongs in a more especial manner the pacification of discords and the reconciliation of enemies,"§ a doctrine, it is to be feared, more at variance with modern than even with the Gentile views; for Ischomachus proves his right to the title of a gentleman, when Socrates asked on what ground he so calls himself, by saying, that whenever there was a difference or dispute, he always endeavored to convince both parties that it was more for their advantage to be friends than enemies.‖ The general execration with which was regarded the memory of such men as Don Lopez de Haro, who caused the rupture between King Don Sancho the Strong, and the

* Hist. de Soissons, i. † Dionys. Carthus. Directorium Vitæ Nobilium, xxxi.
‡ Ap. Goldast. Alemannicor. Antiquit. tom. ii. p. 11.
§ Dionys. Carthus. de Vita Militari, vii. ‖ Xen. Œconom. xii.

queen, and the courtiers of Queen Catherine, mother of Don John II., who caused that between her and the infant Don Fernando, and Don Alvarez de Lava, who endeavored to excite the King Don Henriquez against Queen Berenger, and Don Alvar de Luna, who hindered peace between King Don John of Navarre, and his son the Prince Don Carlos of Viane, and the men who sowed discord between the infant Don Sancho and the King Don Alonzo his father, supplied a good commentary on this text. In fact, the mediation of the high and powerful seignor was often exercised to put a stop to the feuds and quarrels of society; and frequently the champions who had entered the deadly lists, were separated and made friends, by the interposition of the respected barons.* Will you hear fable illustrative of ancient manners? When Tristan de Leonnois and Palamades were engaged in mortal combat, a strange knight, who proved to be Brandeliz, came riding up with two squires, and seeing the fury and weakness of the combatants, he had great pity and said, "Sir Knights, I pray you tell me who you are and the cause of your hatred?" Neither of them answered a word, but ran at each other with redoubled fury; and when Brandeliz saw that they would persist to fight, he rode in between them. "Sir Knight," cried Tristan, "yours is a villainous action, to stop our battle against our will; we pray you let us bring it to an end." But Brandeliz entreated them so fervently, and said so many things, and did so much, that at last he brought them to a truce. "Then," he said, "Sir Knights, may I know the cause of your hatred, in order that I may make peace between you?"† In the same romance, Gyron le Courtois similarly makes peace between two strange knights;‡ and in more recent pictures of the same age, when, in Branksome-hall, amidst the pomp and feasting, while blood ran hot and high, Conrad, Lord of Wolfenstein, strikes the bold Hunthill for having formerly driven away some horses from his band, we read that—

> "Then Howard, Horne, and Douglas rose
> The kindling discord to compose."

In what light duels in the modern sense of the term were regarded in the middle ages, has been shown by many writers. Of rare occurrence, they inspired horror and remorse. In 1244, two youths bred in the court of Frederic, duke of Austria, having fought and wounded each other dangerously, the duke, we read, with great humility and with tears, besought all spiritual men in his duchy to pray to God to spare their lives, promising among other things, that he would render justice in future to all men, and restore to their lawful owners all that he had unjustly seized at his father's death. The recovery of the young men was in consequence regarded as a miracle.§ In our day, imagined worth holds in men's blood such swollen and hot discourse, that Conservatives, who only merit that

* Hardouin de la Jaille, Traité des Duels et du Champ de Bataille.

† L'Hystoire de Gyron le Courtois, f. xv. ‡ Id. ccxxvi.

§ Anon. Leobiens. Chron. Lib. i. ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i.

good name, if "of every abuse" be understood, take pains like those who openly profess destructive wishes with a pride that quarrels at self-breath speaking but to themselves, to keep manslaughter in form, and quarrelling upon the head of valor. The latter are consistent, but the former impose only on the ignorant. Our great poet disproves the title they would trace for their code of honor from knightly ancestors; for he expressly says, that such misbegotten valor came into the world when sects and factions were but newly born;* that is, when the churlish traitors from whom, alas! many of them must descend, by their becoming heretics, effaced in the judgment of universal knighthood their armorial bearings, and all the titles of their nobility. Their heroic laymen, who condemned duelling in later times, whose valor none could question, have viewed it from the old Catholic elevation, and shown the world how they would make their wrongs their outside, wear them like their raiment carelessly, and ne'er prefer their injuries to their heart to bring it into danger. This is the ground from which, for instance, Claude de Trellon, who was a soldier as well as a poet, in his work entitled, "Le Cavalier Parfait," which is a versified manual of instructions for the great, attacks the doctrine of the point of honor and its consequences.†

We have already seen that the trial by battle was prohibited by the Church, but we should remark here that many of the reasons then adduced to show its perversity, would have applied with still greater force, if urged against duelling in its later forms. Thus Agobard, in his book "against the damnable opinion of those who think that the truth of Divine judgment can be revealed by the conflict of arms," lays much less stress upon its superstitious character than upon its inconsistency with the duty of the pacific. His expositions from Scripture, "De pace et de sedandis cordis affectibus," are all drawn up with a view to show this incompatibility. "When two stand," he says, "prepared to kill each other, they have not a good will, and, therefore, the angels of peace are not present offering to them eternal joys: with the ancient people homicides, with the new secret anger, and an injurious word are forbidden. Therefore, he who does not purge his mind from fury nor restrain his hand from slaughter, is subject neither with the ancients to the law, nor with the new to the gospel. The gate of the celestial kingdom is narrow, which admits little children, but excludes the gigantic. He, therefore, who stands prepared to kill, not being humble with the simplicity of a child, but wishing to seem terrible with the ostentation of a giant, is altogether repulsed from such an entry. As pulse without salt is useless, so all virtue, even faith, is useless to the salvation of man without peace—"Sic omnis virtus, etiam ipsa fides non valet ad salutem hominis sine pace." We are told, that each one should please his neighbor in good for edification; but you do not wish to please him against whom you vibrate a sword, and deal blows that menace death. "Save them," we read, "who are led to death:" so that not alone you are not to lead

* Timon of Athens, iii. † Gouget, Bib. Franc. xiii. 384.

them to death, but those who are led you are to deliver, "if you do not wish that God should render to you according to your works."

Now, in point of fact, we find that considerations of this nature, all strange as they may seem at present, could overcome formerly every motive that might induce men to engage in duelling, even in this mitigated and legal form. In 1369, at Frankford, two knights, Zierkinus de Vola and Adulphus Hanch, whose wives were sisters, not being able to agree about a division of property, challenged each other to battle. The governor of the city agreed and fixed a day. Meanwhile, their wives, devout women, never ceased praying God to soften their husbands' hearts, and inspire them with thoughts of peace. The morning arrived; the champions entered the lists, when lo! their hearts being touched by God, to the astonishment of all beholders, they alighted from their horses, and embraced with tears, each exclaiming, "Brother, I confess myself conquered." The governor being indignant, declared that the law of duel prohibited a separation without wounds, and that whoever declared himself conquered must suffer capital punishment. He then swore to the God of heaven that he would never taste food, until one or other of them had died. Zierkin then said, "I am conquered, I ought to die." But Adulphus said, "Nay it is I who have been overcome. I am ready to suffer death." While thus disputing, the vengeance of God overtook the blood-thirsty and unjust governor, for he suddenly dropped down and expired. The knights then retired in peace, wondering at the works of God manifested that day.* But let us attend to the ordinary action of the pacific spirit directing laymen to interfere as peace-makers. "What Ætius could not have done by a battle," says Sidonius Apollinaris, "Ferreol accomplished at a dinner by the gravity, sweetness, and penetrating charm of his words."† This was an allusion to the conference in which Ferreol persuaded Thorismund, that young and fierce barbarian, to retire and leave Arles, which he had besieged, at peace. Rodolph, count of Hapsburg, acted in the same manner, for having many wars, and amongst others one with the abbot of St. Gall, who was a potent prince, he came uninvited, and to the astonishment of all present sat down as a guest at his table; when he spoke with such effect during dinner, that the result was friendship and a lasting peace.‡ Of Richard, duke of Normandy, we read, in the chronicle of St. Denis, "So much did he love peace, that all those who were at variance, he brought to concord either by himself or by his messengers."§ Thus did he reconcile Arnoul de Flandre to Hugues Capet. William of Jumèige says, "that whenever he heard of men being disunited, he used to establish peace between them, according to the words of Scripture, 'Blessed are the feet of those who bring peace.' His other works were of the same character, for he nourished monks, protected clerks, disdained the proud, loved the humble, fed the poor,

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet, 293, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v † Epist. vii. 12.
‡ Schoockii Tract. de Pace, vii. § Ad an. 996.

defended orphans and widows, and redeemed captives."* Odo III., duke of Burgundy, going on the expedition against the Albigenses, accompanied by many prelates of his state, passed through Lyons, where, finding all the city in trouble, he would not proceed further without endeavoring to pacify the state of such a noble city, thinking that he ought not to take arms against the enemies of the faith until he saw the state in a Catholic city reduced to concord. Happily, by means of the exhortations of the prelates in his company, he made peace between Robert de la Tour, archbishop, with the church on one side, and the citizens of Lyons on the other, and this peace was proclaimed in an instrument which is now in the archives of the community.† The heroic Herman von Salza, master of the Teutonic order, appears as a peace-maker in reconciling the emperor and the pope. The day when these two heads of the Christian world were made friends by his intervention was certainly, as Voigt observes, the most honorable in his life.‡ The Italian chronicles abound with instances. Thus in 1299, by the mediation of Lord Maffæus Visconti, of Milan, and Lord Canis de la Scala, of Verona, peace was made between the Guelphs of Bologna, who at that time had the ascendancy, and the Ghibellines, who had been expelled, many of whom then returned.§ In 1304, Lord Lanfranc Rangonus, a Guelph, died in the city of Bologna through over-exertion as a peace-maker; for he used to come often secretly by night and by day to Turra de Gerlo for the sake of reconciling the Savignanis and the Boschetis, who had been for a long time at enmity, and peace was tacitly concluded between them.‖ John of Ferrara, the minor friar, ascribes the death of Leonellus of Este, in 1450, in his forty-third year, and the ninth of his reign, to his over-exertions and cares in making peace, to which he devoted himself in assiduous vigils and great labor. "He was a worshipper of peace; and endeavored to extirpate the seeds of discord between Astorgius de Manfredio and Taddeo, his nephew, as also between the regal majesty and the Venetian senate. Leonellus chose rather to imitate Cæsar in his love for letters, than in his ambitious and military exploits."¶

In 1337, when there was war between Florence and Venice on the one side, and the Lords Albert and Mastinus de la Scala on the other, the Marquis Obiczo, of Est, a benign and pacific lord, endeavored to make peace between them.** In 1335, a great discord arose between the Lord Brandelisio de Gozadini and Lord Taddeo de i Pepoli, because it was publicly said, that the former wished to give the city of Bologna to the Lords de la Scala: but Taddeo acted very wisely, for he went to sup with Lord Brandelisio, and so peace was made between them; and if there was any latent evil against the state, Taddeo took it away, saving always the honor and fame of Lord Brandelisio. A few months afterwards, when a strife began between the said Lord Brandelisio and Tunioiolo de Logliano, by

* Liv. iv. c. 19. † Paradin, Hist. de Lyon, Liv. ii. c. 40. ‡ Geschichte Preussens.
§ Annal. Vet. Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi. ‖ Id.
¶ Annales Estenses, ap. id. tom. xx. ** Chronic. Estenses, ap. id. xv.

the mediation of Taddeo it was appeased.* When Jannottius Manetti was elected magistrate of Piscia he spared no pains to make peace every where, and eradicate all roots of discord, and make all the people live in perfect unanimity.† We find it recorded on the tomb of Rubens, in the church of St. James, at Antwerp, that he had happily laid the foundation of peace between princes. So that even in that country of artists his glory as a painter did not eclipse that to which he was entitled as a peace-maker. What an impressive scene was witnessed at Fontainebleau when the Duc de Mayenne was closing his career by endeavoring to appease and moderate the princes who were there present after the death of Henry IV. When his confessor, Pierre Moreau, who from a lawyer had become a Minim, announced to him his approaching death, "It is no news for me," he replied, "to hear that I am to die. I used formerly to seek death with arms in my hands, but I am more pleased to find it now, at last, on my bed for the salvation of my soul, than if I had met with it in battles for worldly glory."

The establishment of peace in ages of faith was sometimes due to the efforts of obscure men, who were raised up, as if miraculously, by heaven, to show how poor an instrument may do a noble deed,—and at others to the general desire of the people irresistibly manifested. Raimon de Saint-Gille, count of Toulouse, and the king of Arragon were thus brought to peace, in 1183, by a miracle, as old historians say. The narrative is introduced in the chronicles of St. Denis, with the remark, that in consequence of their dissensions, "the poor people of the country were much injured; but that our Lord, who hears the cry of His poor, sent them a saviour, not an emperor, king, prince, or prelate, but a poor carpenter, named Durandus, to whom in the town of our Lady of Puy, our Lord is said to have appeared, and given a schedule, with the words, 'Lamb of God, who takest away the sins of the world, grant us peace.' The princes and people being assembled there as usual at the feast of the Assumption, the bishop ordered this poor man to stand forth and declare his vision; and then he came forward and related it, and commanded them all to make peace: then showing the schedule, all present began with tears and sobs to praise the piety and mercy of our Lord; and the two great princes, who were before so irreconcilable that no one could stop their wars, swore on the text of the gospels, and promised sincerely, to keep peace with each other ever afterwards: in token of which peace they caused the image of the schedule to be made in tin, with the figure of our Lady, and this they wore stitched on white hoods like scapulars. It was a great marvel that all who wore these marks were so secure, that if any of them met the brother of one whom he had slain, the other would forget the injury and receive him with open arms, and give him the kiss of peace and charity with tears, and would give him to eat and drink in his house. This peace lasted a very long time."‡

* Mat. de Griffonibus Memor. Historic. Rer. Bonon. ap. id. xviii.
† Vita ejus, ap. id. xx. ‡ Ad an. 1184.

Of peace due to the general desire, an instance occurred in 1335, when it was, we are told, miraculously made between the chiefs of the country of Liege, who had desolated the land during thirty-eight years; for by consent of all the states it was decreed that whoever killed a man should suffer death; which law making each one fear for himself, twelve good men were chosen, six to be on each side, who, by God's assistance, arranged a firm peace, which was, therefore, called the peace of the twelve. They ordained certain pains, either of pilgrimage or of fines, for such offences in words or deeds as could be committed, the injured persons being enjoined to bring their cause before them or their successors. Then, to take away all desire of revenge for those slain in the wars, and for the remission of sins of those slain on both sides, to obviate the necessity of many journeys, which, according to the laws of the land, would otherwise have been obligatory on those who had committed excesses, many of whom might die on the way, and thus, perhaps, give occasion for future litigations, they decreed to erect a chapel with twelve altars, in honor of the apostles, and then the princes signed the treaty of peace, that is, the duke of Brabant, Adulph, lord of Liege, and the chapter, the count of Lutzemburg, and the counts of Hanno and Namur, the lord of Falcomont, and others; which was confirmed by Charles IV., king of the Romans, whose words are remarkable: "Although the sublimity of the royal dignity ought to attend to all things which relate to the welfare of the republic, yet with a more special favor should it regard those which are designed to strengthen peace, and to exclude and repel rancors and enmities."*

It must be remembered, also, that in the middle ages among the laity many orders existed whose object was to make peace. In Italy, the Knights Gaudenti, instituted by the friar Guittone, of Arezzo, founder of the monastery of the Angeli at Florence, were bound by their rule to endeavor to pacify enemies, and restore friendship in the cities which were divided by factions, and to constitute a chivalry which was to abhor the punctilios of false honor. "There is a lay brotherhood in Pavia," says a writer in 1330, "the members of which, on certain days and nights, go in procession, and hear sermons, and sing devout hymns. They have a rule and a hospice for the poor without the palatine gate. They have often a sermon in some church by which many wolves are turned into lambs, mortal enemies reconciled, and many induced to make restitution."† At Palermo there was a confraternity under the invocation of the seven angels, in whose name grace and peace are given in the commencement of the Apocalypse. In the rule of the third order of St. Francis we see what minute and admirable directions were given to all the brethren and sisters to reconcile enemies and promote peace.‡ In fact, not only such orders, but all the confraternities named Gilda in capitularies of Charlemagne, from a Saxon word, signifying to pay, as the mem-

* Chronic. Cornel. Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v.

† Anon. Ticinens. de Laudibus Papiæ c. xiv. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xi.

‡ La Règle du Tiers Ord. chap. x.

bers contributed to the funds for pious uses, were institutions of peace; and Muratori traces those of Italy to the missionaries who, in the time of Frederic II., went about endeavoring to appease discords and make peace.* To enter the confraternity of builders, which some suppose was first formed at Chartres, it was required as an essential condition that the candidate should have been to confession and reconciled to his enemies.† In our days the brotherhood of the Sacconi exists at Rome, the office of which, is to reconcile enemies. "One night," says an Italian writer, "when thunder murmured over the hills of Albano, and heavy drops had begun to fall, I fled for refuge to a house at the foot of the capitol. Some peasants were carousing; while a man at the door was vowing vengeance against some absent person, regardless of his daughter's supplications. At that moment there advanced towards him, like a phantom, a veiled form, covered from head to foot with a black robe. It fell on its knees before him, but it spoke not. The humble attitude, however, sufficiently expressed its thought. The exasperated peasant was affected, and a religious impression came over all present. The Saccone rose, and, without uttering a word, left the house to which he had brought peace."

The importance of the part played by women in feudal life was so immense, and the fruit of love, wherever Catholic manners reigned, so full of all sweetness, that we cannot pass on without first adducing some examples of their pacific ministry. They were not left in ignorance of their duty. "Noble women," says Denis the Carthusian, "ought to excite their husbands, brethren, and relations, to love mercy and peace, to dissuade them from oppressing with exactions or services those subject to them, and from afflicting the impotent and poor."‡ It is not strange that holy priests should have frequently invoked the influence of women, when we find them entertaining so high a notion of their affinity to the Prince of Peace; for the treatise of Dionysius, "De Vita et Regimine Principissæ," is a dialogue between a princess and Christ. In effect from Him their eyes derived that heavenly rhetoric, that prone and speechless dialect, against which the world could not hold argument, so well they could persuade. Some daughters of the Catholic Church, with minds of unruffled softness, as in Shakespeare's women, are constantly found, during the scenes of violence which afflicted the middle ages, kneeling for peace. Thus, in the twelfth century, we read that the warlike Guignes IV., count of Albon, was frequently induced by his wife, Marguerite de Bourgogne, to be reconciled, and to keep peace. A contest having arisen between him and Hugues II., bishop of Grenoble, the matter, at her entreaty, was referred to arbitration, and when one article could not be arranged, they agreed to abide by the decision of his mother Matilda; for which purpose they repaired to her castle of Vizille, where she pronounced against her son, and he submitted to her

* Antiq. Ital. lxxv. † Manuel des Connaissances sur divers Objets d'Art, Lyon.
‡ Directorium Vitæ Nobilium.

sentence.* St. Thomas of Canterbury, writing to the Empress Matilda, says, that although her prodigious alms must please God, yet no less dear to Him must be her solicitude to maintain the peace and liberty of the Church, which is so great, that she can truly say with the apostle, "Quis infirmatur, et ego non infirmor?"† How many tempests in the palaces of the middle ages have been appeased by women's eyes. How oft the unkind threatening brow has been unknit before the sweet reflections of a lovely face! Who can tell how much bitterness one look has at times converted into most sweet sorrow!

When King Charles of France returned to Provence, he embarked at Marseilles, and landed at Naples, three days after the capture of his son and the defeat of his projects to recover Sicily. When he heard the event, he was overwhelmed with rage and humiliation. That night he was lodged in his palace of Capuana. On entering his chamber, he dismissed his attendants, saying, "Leave me alone in darkness, and suffer me to swallow my sorrows." Then the old man walked about, murmuring like a lion. Then the noble queen came to him, and said, in a soft and delicate tone that could ravish savage ears, and plant in tyrants mild humility, "Remember, lord, that when the Almighty created you, and gave you the breath of life, He gave you the form of man before that of king. If you believe yourself then to be a son of men, know that God determines for you all earthly things. Do you suppose that mundane power can surpass the divine laws? Return to your conscience, lest you offend God. Is it not permitted Him to give and take away what He can, when the princes of the world give and take away what they cannot? What you suffer is no novelty. Remember how many princes of the world have endured worse things. This loss is to be endured, then, for it is He who gave you glory who now for your sins gives you tears."‡ History proclaims the immense service rendered by women in different ages to the cause of peace. Jane de Valois, sister of Philip, king of France, never ceased laboring to make peace between France and England, and often fell at her brother's feet to appease him. In 1340, she succeeded in having a treaty concluded. At the siege of Orleans, by the duke of Guise, on the day previous to the intended assault, the duchess, his wife, came to the camp, with a view to prevent carnage as far as she could, and it was while going to meet her that he was assassinated. What an angel of peace was Hedwige, the young queen of Poland, who accepted a husband that was contrary to her inclination, in order to promote the peace of Christians, which motive alone could have induced her to make such a sacrifice. "All Hungary rejoices in this child," said a Hungarian monk, speaking to Duke Hermann of the young Princess Elizabeth; "for she has brought peace with her;" alluding to the cessation of wars and dissensions which marked the period of her birth; and all her life was a service to promote peace. While

* Vie de St. Hugues. † Epist. S. Thom. Cant. xix

‡ Bartol de Neocastro, Hist. Siciliæ, 78, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. t. xiii.

the Emperor Otho was at Rome, Matilda, daughter of the great Otho, and abbess of Quedlingburg, governed the kingdom. "She rendered so submissive and peaceable the hardened necks of the barbarous princes," says the historian, "that she may be said to have laid the foundations of this peace which the holy Church of God now in part enjoys after so many ravages of provinces; and this she did, not by any force or array of arms, though she was most fit for conducting them, but by vigils, and fasting, and prayers."*

When Madame de Chantal, who founded the order of the Visitation, was on a journey, the only honors she would accept from the persons of rank who used to contend with each other for the pleasure of entertaining her, was to be permitted to make peace, wherever there had been any division in the family. To ascertain whether such existed, was her first inquiry on entering a house. Thus having visited Madame d'Haracourt, in her castle, she did not depart till she had put an end to a process which had been for a long time existing between that lady and her brother. These were the honors with which she was entertained.† Of St. Catherine of Sienna the church reads in her office that she extinguished many hatreds, and appeased mortal enmities; and that to obtain peace for the Florentines, who were placed under an interdict, she went to Avignon, to Pope Gregory XI. Elizabeth, of Portugal, who was of the third order of St. Francis, merited from the universal church, the glorious title of Pacis et Patriæ Mater. When the two armies of the king, and her son Alphonso were already engaged in battle, she mounted her horse and rode between them, to conjure them to suspend their blows and make peace. She re-established peace between Ferdinand IV., king of Castille, and Alphonsode la Cerda, his cousin, who disputed the crown; as also between James II., king of Arragon, his brother, and the king of Castille. After the death of the king, her husband, she extinguished the flames of war between Alphonso IV., surnamed the Brave, king of Portugal, and Alphonso XI., king of Castille. In this work of peace-making she labored all her life, and suffered immense hardships, so that her zeal and success in this respect are celebrated in the prayer of the universal church on her festivity, in which she is styled "the blessed Queen Elizabeth, whom the most merciful God, amongst other excellent gifts adorned with the prerogative of appeasing warlike fury." Finally, we may remark, that many ancient sepulchres were made to attest the pacific ministry of women.

In Milan, on the tomb of Beatrix, wife of the Lord Barnabas Visconti, who died in 1383, were these lines,

"Laurea virtutum flos morum, pacis origo
Nobilibus requies civibus, alma quies."‡

And in the convent of Haius, on the tomb of Margaret of Burgundy, daughter

* Annalista Saxo, ad an. 999, ap. Eccardii Corp. Hist. Medii Ævi, i.
† Marsollier, Vie de Madame de Chant. ii. 73.
‡ Annal. Mediolanens. 145. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvi.

of count Stephen of Burgundy, in the twelfth century, was this beautiful line,

' Pax, patientia, lux, moderantia fulsit in ipsa."*

But the power of innocence and noble love might find natures not to be so penetrated. It pleased Heaven, therefore, that peace should have still more efficient ministers than any we have as yet seen. In a former book we had occasion to investigate the action of the clergy in relation to justice: we must now consider it briefly with reference to the extension of peace.

When the leuds of Charles Martel, the companions of his wars, acquired ecclesiastical dignities with the lands of the church, there was a temporary and partial interruption to the godlike ministry of those who from the time of the apostles, until the invasion of the barbarians, had always loved and promoted peace. How new the spirit was that then appeared in some who wore ecclesiastical titles, and how incompatible it was known to be with them, may be learned from the celebrated vision of Charles the Bald, recorded in the chronicles of St. Denis. The king declared, "that he saw some bishops and prelates, who were of the times of his father and grandfather, and that he asked in great terror, why they suffered such grievous torments?" and that they replied, "We were bishops in the time of your predecessors, and when we ought to have advised peace and concord between princes and people, we sowed and diffused wars and discord, and were the causes and movers of woes unnumbered; and for this reason we burn in these pains of hell, with all those who loved homicide and rapine! O Charles, it is because we loved to kill men, and to make war through earthly avarice in the time of thy father, and of thy brethren, that we are in these boiling streams, punished by the torments of many metals."†

The evil, indeed, had been enormous. Savaric thus made bishop of Auxerre, seriously attempted to transform by force of arms his bishopric into a kingdom, and perished, struck by lightning, as if by the hand of God, in the midst of his conquests. Nothing, however, can be more affecting than the lamentations of contemporary authors, when they describe the intestine wars and troubles which followed from the loss of the ministers of peace.‡ Still, in the worst moments of the sixth and seventh centuries, when, after the invasion of the barbarians, the ecclesiastical benefices were given to laics and warriors, Fauriel doubts not that many of the clergy of the Franks were men of study, of grave and pacific manners.§ How alive the Church was to the enormous evil introduced, may be witnessed in the decrees of councils. That of Tribur, in 895, decreed that a clerk who should have committed homicide even by constraint, should be deposed. The canons of numerous councils to this effect were cited by Gerohus, in his book on the corrupt state of the Church, addressed to Pope Eugene III. These are

* Vit. B. Hugonis de Lacerta, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

† Les Grandes Chroniques de St. Denis, an. 877. ‡ Gesta Episcop. Trevirens.

§ Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. iii. 460

explained by the complaints of Paulinus, bishop of Aquileia, to Charlemagne, who besought the emperor that priests and clerks might not be compelled to take part in war, but might be left, according to the evangelic and apostolic canons, to militate solely with spiritual arms in the Lord's camp.* In effect, Pepin, Charlemagne, and his pious son, Louis, endeavored to co-operate with these views, and to root out the warlike seeds which had been forcibly infused into the clergy.

However, as a learned French historian says, "it was neither from the Carlovingians, nor from the Franc clergy, that ideas of effective reform could come. It was too much degraded to reform itself. There was in the world but one sole power, the papal, interested in saving the spirit and doctrines of Christianity, and capable of attempting something for the moral and religious restoration of the Gallic clergy. This power had never been idle in Gaul; it had always found much to do there since the invasion of the barbarians, but under the sons of Charles Martel, it attained to an unexpected development. There the national assemblies of the Franks were transformed into ecclesiastical synods under the presidence of a legate, dictating laws for the express purpose of restoring divine religion, and of ensuring the spiritual welfare of the people."† The evil, therefore, was resisted, though for a long while it left traces, as when nature found discordant fortune through the fault of men who, as Dante says, "perversely to religion strained him who was born to gird the sword,"‡ and as when prelates looked for favor to the thrones of warlike kings, instead of keeping their eyes fixed upon the calm majesty of the popedom; like some in England, in the time of her wars with the French, whom Gerson blames for not having exerted themselves to make peace between the two countries, as they were bound to do by their office.§ However, such exceptions only proved the rule. Often when kings sought to revive the barbarous abuse, their efforts were in vain. St. Arnoux, abbot of St. Medard, of Soissons, in 1078, chose to abdicate his office, rather than go to the wars when the king sought to oblige him at the suggestion of Odon, who knew that he would resign rather than do so.‖ Excepting, therefore, during this calamitous epoch, and after it at rare intervals, history can only bear witness to the zeal and success of ecclesiastics in discharging their original pacific ministry. Once more free to exercise it, their labor was unintermitting, and their courage indomitable; and scarcely were they themselves escaped from the danger, when their voice was heard raised in behalf of others.

Thus in 858 the bishops of France address a disturber of the public peace in these words: "We all that are patient have waited for peace, and it comes not. We beseech you, lord, to have before the eyes of your mind, the hour of your exit hence, when those will laugh who now laugh at the misfortunes of your opponents, and will seek some other protector. Think of that day when, with all men,

* Ap. Baluze, Miscell. ii. † Fauriel, Hist. de la Gaule Mérid. tom. iii. 225. ‡ Par. 8.
§ Dialog. inter Francum et Anglum, op. iv. ‖ Longueval, Hist. d'Eglise Gal. vii. 450.

you shall appear before the face of the eternal judge ; when our words which we write to you, shall not then be despised by those who now despise them, since without doubt they will be cited in testimony in that tremendous judgment. Then will those who have committed these cruelties, pass to everlasting fire, and those who have suffered them, to life eternal."* In 859 they sent a deputation to King Lewis, and addressed their legates in these terms, styling them ambassadors of divine peace. " In consequence of the discord which is between our King Lewis and Charles, by the faction of certain seditious men, things are committed in this kingdom, which are horrible to hear; and we know what deadly result is to be expected if this pestilent dissension should continue by the artifice of the ancient enemy of the human race. We, therefore, discharge our legation for Christ, calling upon them to be reconciled to God. We have ordained you then, dearest brethren, as legates of God, legates of beloved peace, to repair with episcopal authority to our Princes Charles and Lothaire, and to the King, Lord Lewis. As our Saviour says, 'into whatever house you enter, say first, Peace to this house ; and if the son of peace be there, your peace will rest upon them.' Then if this king be penitent, and should make a pure confession, let him be absolved, if he promise to return with his whole heart to peace and concord with our Princes Charles and Lothaire ; and let them also promise to forgive him his trespasses against them, and to have peace with him, for the Scripture saith, 'Follow peace with all men, and holiness, without which, no one shall see God.' For such is the evil of discord, that, unless it be entirely extinguished, no good can follow. And it is charity which covereth the multitude of sins, without which no alms can save us from the judgment of damnation. They must promise also that while as kings, ministers of the Lord, they forgive those who trespass against themselves, so they will exercise vengeance on those depopulators of Christianity, sinning against God, and the Church, who disturb the public peace. They must promise, in short, to be co-operators with God, to the utmost of their power, that the churches in their kingdom may be defended, and that the people may have justice and peace."†

In 889, the council of Pavia passed many decrees to restore the tranquillity of the kingdom, after what the fathers term " the horrible wars and infamous slaughters which had desolated that province." They require that the plebeian men, and all the children of the Church, may freely use their own laws, that nothing further may be required from them, that they may not be violently oppressed, that the count of each place may give them justice, that the king's officers should serve pacifically, and be content with their stipends, and that the king should extirpate rapine and establish peace.‡ The fathers of the synod of Teudo, under Drogo, bishop of Metz, addressed the three imperial brothers, Lothaire, Lewis, and Charles, in these terms: " The vessel of the holy church, from the begin-

* Ap. Baronius, an. 858. † Id. an. 859. ‡ Prat. Antiq. It. Dissert. iii.

ning often shaken by various tempests, can never sink under the guidance of Christ, excited by the prayers of the faithful. We return immense praise to our Lord God, who has inspired your hearts with the intention of walking in the footsteps of your progenitors, and of assisting it, so that by a temporal you may attain to an eternal kingdom. Since then, it is certain, most noble lords, to say it without offence to you, that this holy Church, redeemed by the blood of Christ, and with much labor of your predecessors, restored and consolidated, has been rent and disturbed, and afflicted by your discords, it seems to us, who are unworthy, whom you here wish to consult, according to the Lord's precept, that if you desire at present to reign happily, and hereafter to be saved, and to remove the pestilence from this same Church, for whose condition you will have to render an account in the day of judgment to the King of kings, you must study to nourish between yourselves, from a clean heart and a good conscience, and a faith not feigned, that charity which the apostle taught, and so manifest yourselves to the faithful and to infidels, that they may see your purity as the Lord taught, saying, 'in this shall all men know that you are my disciples, if you have love one to the other,' love not alone in word and in tongue, but such as every secret machination of injuring being removed, or open impugnation, alien from charity, to render each ready to lend assistance to the other according to his need. And so among the people committed to you, who have been so long afflicted with discord by the devil, disseminate that peace which Christ ascending to heaven, left as the great gift to his faithful, saying, 'Pacem relinquo vobis, pacem meam do vobis;' without which no one shall see the Lord." Finally, they add this admonition: "We seek that the ecclesiastical order, according to its ancient custom, may receive its vigor, and the generality of the people, justice; that every one, in every state and order, may be restrained from rapine, and from whatever else causes discord. For past errors let every one seek reconciliation, which will easily be obtained, if instead of discord we plant charity, which covereth a multitude of sins.*" Finally, and to cite but one more instance, the chief object of the fathers assembled at Cologne in 965, is according to their express declaration, to provide "ut pax sit in terra hominibus bonæ voluntatis."†

As the collective, so the personal ministry of the clergy was active in the cause of peace, union, and tranquillity: such were the ends ever in their view. "Let the concord of holy peace reign amongst you," says Alcuin to the brothers of Salzburg, "and the God of peace will be with you." To those of the church of St. Liudger, he says, "have peace with all; for nothing without peace pleases God." Again, speaking of his order in general, he says, "we are of the number, not of those who bring a sword, but of those to whom it is said, 'My peace I give to you, my peace I leave to you.'"‡ A capitulary in the time of Charle-

* Ap. Heumann, de Re Diplomat. ii. 327. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. vii. p. 54

‡ Alcuini Epist. 22. 32.

magne, descends to the most minute details in prescribing a pacific manner to priests : " When invited to a banquet by any of the faithful, it says that priests should have no contentions with each other for any matter, and no words but only words of charity pleasing to God."* In the pastoral instructions of St. Edmund of Canterbury, rectors are strictly commanded to teach their flocks that they are to be one body in Christ in the unity of faith and the bond of peace, to foment friendships and to appease all rising discords, not permitting that the sun should set upon the anger of their parishioners.† They had to contend, indeed, for the freedom of the Church and the security of the people, but still a soul thus touched, could never cease, whoever threatens war, to speak of peace ; and, hence, fierce martial barons, and some in later times, who ignorantly re-echoed their complaints, accused the clergy of loving effeminate princes. Thus Gloucester says to the bishop of Winchester,

> " None do you like but an effeminate prince,
> Whom, like a school-boy, you may overawe."

Alas ! the English clergy, in defending the cause of justice and peace, had not such docile scholars in their kings. They admonish them, it is true, like Peter of Blois, who, addressing Henry II., says, that he returns thanks to the King of kings for having made him zealous to procure peace for the people committed to him, and exhorts him to persevere in almsgiving, that by them he may raise with his own hands a ladder to that mansion of the supernal citizens, in which is eternal peace and immutable rest.‡ But that there was little chance of overawing such may be concluded from this significant allusion at the end of a letter to Walter, bishop of Rochester : " I am going to the king, after my fatiguing journey, and expect any thing but rest from him."§ " I learned from an abbot, who had been in England," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, " that a certain bishop of the Præmonstratensian order in that kingdom, who lately died, was recommended, in his last hours, to confess. ' My lord,' said the clerks, ' you are very weak, why do you not confess ?" To whom he replied, ' It is not necessary.' On their urging him again, he said, ' You foolish men ; do you think that I have deferred confession to this moment ?' They replied, ' But you were always occupied in the king's council.' ' If so,' he answered, ' I was not otherwise before the king than Christ before Pilate.' This holy bishop, in fact, was in the habit of confessing daily."‖

Men of power might have often heard addressed to them words like these of Peter of Blois on another occasion : " When I met you lately, I was not able to extort from you one little word of meekness or love. Whatever humility or modesty could suggest to the human heart I proposed, that I might elicit some word

* Capit. Carol. M. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii.
† Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ, 71. ‡ Compend. in Job. § Ep. lvi
‖ Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Mem. Lib. iii. c. 22.

of meekness and humility, but all in vain."* We have seen how the clergy legislated in the interest of peace. The sentence of the canons was that all obligations contrary to peace should be considered null and void. It was decreed also that "the oblations of discordant brethren were not to be received,"† a measure that must have been more effective in ages of faith than men would now believe possible.

We find the clergy eager to seize every occasion to impress on the minds of men the duty of loving peace. "Studeamus dissidentium paci," as the Church says, citing St. Leo, on the third Sunday of Advent, was the advice given to all who prepare to celebrate any of her festivals. Did a calamity occur? The clergy hastend to press upon the people the necessity of appeasing enmities. Thus in 1308, when the church of St. John Lateran was consumed by fire, there was great lamentation in Rome, and all men feared that the judgments of God would fall on their own heads. On which account, says a chronicle, the clergy and the people made processions with litanies, and peace was ordained between those who were at variance.‡

These litanies, these pacific processions of the clergy, might be disdained by men of Gloucester's feeling, which dictates the remark in the romance of the Rose, that merchants and mechanics, illuminators of images, or of enamel, with clerks, great copiers of hours, make a poor figure under their banner of the Virgin, by the side of a forest of lances, horses barded with iron, and pendants glittering with the blazon of a high lineage. Yet, in ages of faith, it was the banner that conquered; it was the triumphant march of the pacific on some solemn day which won the hearts of men and women, so as to render pale in comparison, during a moment, at least, all the glory of this world: what was the tournament itself after the procession on any great festival, in which the Church and people rejoiced together? The efficacy of the ecclesiastical interference, to suppress the usage of tournaments, must be remarked as a striking instance of a successful pacific ministry.

"Let no one recieve into his house," say the fathers of a council of Rheims, in the twelfth century, "those who are going to tournaments, or returning from them, those works of detestable and diabolic malice."§ As the world was profaning the holiest things of peace, and calling the preparatory trials of skill, "les vespres des tournoyment;"‖ so the church was using the things that disturbed peace to point a moral, as when Huon de Mery, a monk of St. Germain in 1228, entitled his work "Le Tournay de l'Antichrist." "There is no question," says Cæsar of Heisterbach, "but that those who die in tournaments go to the infernal regions, unless assisted by the benefit of contrition."¶ Some German prelates at-

* Illust. Mirac. et Hist. Lib. xxi.

† Helitgarii Episcop. Camer. de Judicio Pœnit. Laicorum, iv. c. 31. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. i.

‡ Cornel. Zantfliet, Chronic. ap. Martene. Vet. Script. v.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vii. 74.

‖ Gyron le Courtois, f, xx. and xxiii.

¶ Illust Mirac. xii. 15.

tempted to defend the practice of jousting, in opposition to the pacific views of the popes. Thus, in the fifteenth century, the archbishop of Mayence wrote to Pope Sixtus, saying, "that tournaments were laudable, since by excluding from them all knights whose reputation was stained, they became the auxiliaries of virtue." But with such sophisms the Church was never appeased, and her horror of bloodshed had been evinced in the sentence of excommunication passed upon Henry I., count of Champagne, called the Liberal, one of the companions of Louis VII., in his crusade, in consequence of his regulation respecting tournaments, which rendered them more dangerous. Subsequent decrees showed how deeply the clergy felt this evil. Pope Alexander III., in reply to Henry, archbishop of Rheims, who, moved by the prayers of the archbishop of Canterbury, had implored him to grant him the rites of burial to a knight "slain in a tournament," says: "though in all things, as far as is compatible with what we owe to God, we would gladly grant your petitions, yet having been often affectionately entreated for a similar matter by kings, princes, and barons, to whose prayers we never yielded, lest that evil custom might gain increase, let it not grieve you, if we refuse to hear your present petitions."*

In 1175, Count Conrad, son of the Marquis Tideric, was slain in a tournament. "That pestiferous amusement," says a chronicle, "has passed to such an abuse, that in one year sixteen soldiers perished in it. Therefore, Wichmann, archbishop of Magdeburg, declared that all persons present at tournaments would be excommunicated. On this occasion, the archbishop being absent in Austria, and hearing of Conrad's death, sent orders that he should be deprived of ecclesiastical burial. Some time after, when the archbishop was present with his clergy assembled in the church of Hall, the father of the said count, and his brother Otho, marquis of Misnia, Dedo, count of Groiz, Henry, Count Witin, Frederic, count of Brene, and many other nobles with their attendants, threw themselves at his feet with great lamentations and weeping, to pray that he would grant communion to the slain, and asserting that before death the count had been penitent and absolved, and had received the communion of our Lord's body; for as he lay on the ground wounded, a certain monk was passing by, and at the entreaty of those present, he came up to the wounded man, and acceding to his prayer, heard his confession and absolved him from the bond of excommunication, on his promising that if he should recover, he would never again incur such censure, but serve God faithfully, and, as a penance, assume the cross, to militate for God. The priest now was present to confirm this testimony. The archbishop then required these princes to swear that they would never assist at another tournament, nor permit one to take place on their domains; and on their compliance he granted sepulture to the dead, but with a saving the authority of the Holy See. This occasioned further delay, the body all the while re-

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 674.

maining unburied ; but, in fine, Werner, a friend of the deceased, departed for Rome, and on his return the funeral took place. The count was then buried in the abbey of Monte Sereno, before the western entrance of the great church, where, some time afterwards, Werner was laid at his side."* The severity of the Church against every thing that endangered life or peace, may be conceived from the case that was laid before Alexander III., which the pontiff thus relates :—"A man hath come to us saying, that when his son, ten years old, was playing with other boys, with bows and arrows, the nephew of Haideric was slain, and his son is said to have shot the arrow, though it is not certain. For this offence the father was summoned before the bishop of the diocese. But, as in boys, things are left unpunished, which would be severely corrected in men, there seems to be no cause for further persecution."† From all this it is easy to collect how the Church would have acted in later times, if she could have exercised her authority with respect to what Petrarch terms "the infamous spectacle of popular combats, evincing more than barbaric savageness." Where her authority is rejected, the amusements of men become like those of the suitors in the Odyssey ; and whenever a combat is proposed, or any act of contention and violence, some word very like the exclamation of Antinous, is sure to be heard. O, friends, what a delight God has prepared for us ! the stranger and the beggar are about to come to blows.‡

From the first moment of the establishment of the Christian republic in the west, during the pontificate of St. Gregory the Great, Europe, with rare exceptions, possessed a zealous and effective peace-maker in each of his successors, whose services in this respect can never be adequately appreciated, for no length of historical research can ever disclose their whole extent, "Holding the place of Him on earth, although unworthy, who detests discord," as Pope Innocent III. said.§ "Elected to that see, which," as Pope Nicholas I., in 861, reminded the German bishops, "is known to be a lover of justice, and benignity, and peace,"‖ the labors of the sovereign pontiffs, to appease dissensions and prevent wars, and unite Christendom in concord, render all attempt to praise them superfluous, for they attest a glory which is as far beyond that which the world can bestow, as it is independent of its suffrage. "The father of the world to come," says Pope Martin IV. to the king of Sicily, "the Prince of peace, who by His inscrutable condescension, has granted the vicarial office to our humility, has inspired us with the desire that from the beginning of this vocation, we should diffuse with all our strength amongst the children of the Church, our holy mother, the good of peace."¶ Such was the office of the popedom, such the end for which its power has been employed, whether consisting in positive strength,

* Chronicon Montis Sereni ap. Menckenii Script. Rerum German. tom. ii.
† Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 821. ‡ Od. xviii. § Epist. Lib. xvi. 226.
‖ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 150. ¶ Ibid. ii. p. 1284.

as in in the middle ages, or as at the present day only in the benedictions and the faith which render it sacred to countless millions of men ; and if pure intellectual delight can ever result from the study of history, it will be when that study has been especially directed to investigations that demonstrate its exercise. One may defy a man unprejudiced to read the epistles of Christ's vicars, ministering to peace, without feeling that he has himself derived benefit from them. Centuries may have elapsed since they were written ; the occasion which called for them may be without a parallel in the present times ; he may have taken them up merely through curiosity ; the result regarding himself is no less positive ; they have left in his mind a pacific impression, a sense of sweetness, as if he had heard the language of Heaven.

When Pope Gregory IV. came into France, in 833, during the troubles between Louis-le-Débonnaire and his sons, he addressed the emperor in these impressive words : " Know that I am come only to procure that peace which the Saviour has so recommended to his disciples." Some time later, Pope Adrian writes in these terms to all the counts, and others of the faithful in the kingdoms of Charles and of Lothaire :—" It has come to our ears, that King Charles, transcending the fury even of savage animals, rages against his own entrails, that is, against Carolomann his son, depriving him not only of his paternal favor, but banishing him from the kingdom, and gathering an army to direct you all against him. And since, by a contention of this kind, it often happens that there is shedding of blood, we judge it right to provide, lest such a wickedness should arrive in our times. Therefore, wishing peace and not war, for the Psalmist says to the Lord, 'Dissipa gentes quæ bella volunt ;' do you, if possible, make peace between the father and son ; but if you cannot, at least, refrain from war, dissipate battles ; otherwise, if any of you move against Carolomann, and by your means there should follow a shedding of the blood of the faithful, let him know that not only shall he be bound with the ties of excommunication, but also consigned to associate with Satan in the chains of anathema."* At the council of Rheims, the French protected Amauri against the Normans, who sided with Audin ; who mutually accused each other of having caused the burning of churches. Words ran high, and, at length, silence having been obtained, he who was to confirm the brethren spoke as follows :—" My dearest brothers, dispute not thus, multiplying words, but, as true children of God, seek peace with all your strength. Did not the Son of God descend from heaven to give us peace ? In his clemency He took a human body in the immaculate womb of the Virgin Mary, in order to calm with goodness the mortal war which arose from the crimes of our first parents, in order to be the mediator of this peace between the Creator and man, and to reconcile together the angelic and human nature. All of us who are his vicars amongst the people, should imitate Him in all things. Let us then use

* Ap. Baronius.

every effort to procure peace to his members, since we are the ministers and dispensers of the orders of God. The Christian people are the members of Christ, whom He has ransomed with his blood. Amidst the troubles of the world and the tumult of wars, who can worthily contemplate spiritual things, or meditate suitably on the divine law? We ought then in all things to embrace with fervor this peace, which can alone protect good men, and enable them to worship God. We ought to recommend it to all to preach it, as well by word as by example. The Christ, in the moment of his passion, left it with his disciples, saying, 'My peace I leave you; my peace I give to you.' When He rose from the dead, He recalled it to them, saying, 'Peace be unto you!' Peace is the general good of all reasonable creatures. This is what I must endeavor unceasingly to propagate with all my efforts in the whole Church. I prescribe the observance of the truce of God, as Pope Urban, of holy memory, established it in the council of Clermont. The emperor of the Germans has invited me to Pont-à-Mousson, to make peace with him. I go thither for the sake of peace. I command all who do not accompany me, to wait here until our return. Pray for us, that our Lord God may turn our efforts to the peace and utility of the whole Church. On my return I will carefully examine your respective complaints, and determine, with as much justice as I can, that you may all return to your homes in peace and joy. I will then repair to the king of England, my spiritual son and cousin; and I will engage him, as also Count Thibaud his nephew, to render justice to every one for the love of God, and to put an end to the tumult of wars, that they may rejoice in the security of repose with the people, who are subject to them. Then after threatening with excommunication all who should persist in these disorders, the assembly was dissolved, and the pope departed for Pont-à-Mousson."*

Pope Gregory the Great, in his letter to Agilulf, king of the Longobards, thanking him for having consented to peace, observes, "that his joy chiefly arises from the consideration that the king, by showing his love for peace, has shown his love for God;" and then he adds, "what would have been the consequences of war, excepting that to the guilt and danger of both parties, the blood of the unhappy rustics, whose labor is profitable to both, would have been shed."† Hear another pontiff of that glorious name: "Gregory constituted, though unworthy, vicar of Him, who, to reconcile the servant to his Lord, being God, deigned to become man, willingly meditates councils of peace to those who are near, and to those who are far off, knowing the evangelic sentence, that 'Blessed are the peace-makers.' Moreover, the affection of especial love constrains us to endeavor to reconcile our dearest sons in Christ, the kings of France and England, and their kingdoms, which we embrace in the bowels of the charity of Jesus Christ. Seeing and deploring that from the dissensions of war, besides that without peace of times, peace of the breast can scarcely be obtained, there necessarily arises ir-

* Orderic Vit. xii. † De Gestis Longobard. Pauli Diac. Lib. iv. 10

reparable danger to the bodies and to the souls of men."* "The Lord knoweth who is the investigator of the reins and of the heart," says Pope Innocent III., while mediating between Parma and Placentia in 1199, "that to this matter we have proceeded with purity of intention, not that we should please one side to the detriment of the other, but that, fulfilling the duty of our office, we should either appease dissension by concord, or terminate it by a judgment."† In his charge to all the faithful of the patrimony of St. Peter, he beseeches them to live together in true peace. "Do not," he says, "give offence to each other. Let not a community offend a community, or a person a person, nor let a community offend a person except it be a robber or malefactor; and if any one be offended, let him not immediately offend in his turn, but let him rather give advice, that the offence may be corrected. And if a dispute should arise between any, let it be arranged by judges, saving always an appeal to the rector of the Apostolic patrimony."‡

Pope Alexander III. writes to Louis, king of France, in these terms—"Messengers having come to us from our venerable brother, the archbishop of Rheims, and from the noble count Henry, we have heard that a grievous contention has arisen between them, which is so much the more afflicting to us, as we desire that all the nobles of your kingdom might enjoy peace. Wishing, therefore, to appease, as we are bound, these contentions, we have attended to their respective petitions, and committed the termination of the cause to the archbishop of Tours, and to another bishop, as to prudent men acquainted with the circumstances; but as the said count appears to have lately rebuilt certain castles to the great detriment of the archbishop, whereby the root of dissension has fresh nourishment, we, being disturbed and solicitous for their peace, ask and advise the royal greatness to interpose between them efficaciously, to take away every matter of quarrel, and to decide the cause either judicially, or, what we more desire, amicably, because it is better to apply in time when there is a rising malady, than to wait till it has acquired force; and it is very expedient to you and to your kingdom, that peace and concord should be re-established as soon as possible, between such great and potent men."§

On another occasion the same pontiff writes to the king, "to urge him to attend diligently to restore peace between the same archbishop and the canons of his church, as it would be disgraceful to hear of a difference between those who ought to be of one mind."‖ No cause of dispute is too insignificant to excite his solicitude. He writes to the archbishop of Rheims to settle a cause between Odo of St. Denis, and Paganus Anglicus and his wife, concerning a certain window which looks over the great bridge. No obstacles seem too great for his intervention. Laboring to reconcile Henry II., king of England, and Lewis VII.

* Ap. Baluz. Miscell. iii. Mansi Append. † Epist. Lib. ii. 39. ‡ Epist. Lib. x. 132.
§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 935. ‖ Id. ii. 935.

of France, sending for that purpose into France two cardinals, and writing to Henry, the archbishop of Rheims and bishop of Soissons, to urge them to use all their efforts with the king, he says to them, "Although you should be repulsed once or twice, yet you must not desist, but persevere."* A long letter from him to the archbishop, desiring him to be a pacificator between England and France, concludes with these words: "You can do nothing that will gain for you more honor and glory, and a more copious fruit of eternal recompense, than if you labor to re-establish peace between these kings."† To the same prelate he gives this general instruction: "The dignity of the pontifical offices which by Divine grace you have obtained, ought to induce you to show yourself meek and gentle to your subjects; and if any cause of indignation should arise, it does not become your discretion to be moved suddenly against them; but if they should commit an offence, which can with a safe conscience be remitted with punishment, you ought mercifully to pardon the delinquents, or if correction be required, to administer it with such humanity that you should not seem severe."‡

Similarly, Pope Clement IV., in his bull in 1268, reproves the king of France, St. Louis, for having passed too severe laws against blasphemers, and prays him to soften them; and in another of the same year, he says to the king of Navarre, that he ought not to imitate the king of France in making such rigorous laws. On the rebellion of Saucius and Emanuel against their father, Alphonso, king of Castile and Leon, Pope Martin IV. writes to all the prelates and grand masters of the military orders of Spain; and after an eloquent statement of the horrors of such a war, he concludes in these terms: "Since then, brethren and sons, it is necessary to apply a speedy remedy to such evils, and provide, above all, against the peril of souls, we resolved instantly to have recourse to the Most High, who rules over the kingdoms of men, and with humble supplications to entreat that He would look down benignly on that kingdom and all inhabiting it, on that father and on these sons, to remove dissensions from them, to reconcile all hearts in the unity of concord, to grant them tranquillity, to consolidate and confirm them in that state, to restore the royal throne, that he may preside so as to benefit; so govern his state that he may direct his subjects to perpetual safety, quiet, and peace. You too we admonish to join with us in supplicating to this end the pacific King, whose peace surpasseth all understanding."§ Pope Benedict XI. writes, in these terms, to Robert, count of Nevers, son of Guido, count of Flanders, who was at war with Philippe-le-Bel: "The affection of intense charity and the fervor of love which make us provide generally for the pacific state of the whole world, induce us more especially to seek the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom of France, and of all its members, and of our beloved son the noble count of Flanders, your father, and of you, his son, and of all the people of Flanders. Often have we admonished your father, and entreated him to

* Martene, Vet. Script. ii. præf. 4. † Id. ii. 990. ‡ Id. ii. 1007. § Ap. id. ii. p. 1292.

acquiesce in our counsels. We deem it superfluous to repeat to you what has been urged before by the council of our brethren the cardinals, and our venerable brethren the patriarchs and other prelates. Let him consider his own advanced age, his days verging now nearer to their setting. Let him reflect on the slaughter of bodies, on the perils of souls, and the waste of treasure which arise from wars. Let him consider how alien such things ought to be from him who should offer to God an evening sacrifice, not of the slaughter of men, or the spoliation of property, but of good actions; and that, above all things, he should desire most fervently, and labor most intensely, to leave his sons and his subjects after the day of his own passage in peace. Since, therefore, the common opinion reports that you have favor in his eyes, we ask, admonish and require your nobility, enjoining it on you, for the remission of your sins, that you endeavor, by good counsels and opportune admonitions, to induce the said count to consider these things deeply, to meditate on the infinite danger attending war, that he should not place his hope in its uncertain issue, uncertain even when between equals; that he should consider the multifarious good arising from peace, and that you, with the said count, your father, would embrace it. You should study to pass the flower of your youth in the good discipline of tranquillity and peace as far as you can, avoiding, not provoking war: and know assuredly that if you accede to our desires, we shall visit you with ample favors: otherwise, the disobedience of your father will be deemed by all to proceed from the sole root of pride, and we shall not be able with a safe conscience to fail the king in the prosecution of justice."* Pope Sixtus IV. writes in these terms to a certain warrior, named Bartholomew of Angers: "We have heard that you prepare for an expedition, and are about to march forth at the head of troops, with what object we know not; but we deem it part of our pastoral office to admonish you paternally to do nothing which can prejudice the public utility; for there should be no movement of troops at this time, when it is proposed to make a stand for the common safety. He who should cause any disturbance would expose himself to great infamy, and would sin against Almighty God. Therefore, we exhort your nobility with charity, and admonish you with apostolic authority to remain at rest, and not to blacken your fame for ever, and offend the Divine majesty, exposing your soul to eternal perdition."†

The same pontiff writes to Angelo Ursino in these terms: "We understand, dear son, that there are daily incursions between you and our dear son Cichus de Nardinis, and that you have both taken up arms, injuriously to the repose of our people: therefore, since we cannot endure that the peace of our subjects should be disturbed, we wish and we command you, under pain of incurring our indignation and the guilt of rebellion, that on receiving these presents you lay down your arms, and cease from all acts of violence, and that within six days you, and

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. p. 1305.

† Id. ii. p. 1493.

also Cichus, whom we have similarly cited, should present yourselves before us, that we may be able to put an end to the strife that is between you."* Clement VI. sent letters to all the abbots of the general Cistercian chapter in 1345, desiring that they would offer up their united prayers in that assembly to Him who alone is powerful, that of His ineffable goodness He would appease the troubled sea of this world, and still the tempestuous waves of war and dissension—that the faithful in the beauty of peace, and resting in tabernacles of confidence, may worship the Author of peace more devoutly, and the fear of evils being removed, may apply more intensely to works of piety.† Independently of these solemn acts, we should remark the eminently pacific character which generally belonged to the sovereign pontiffs. Their love of peace had long been tried before their election. Nicholas V., while cardinal at Arras, by his discourses and exhortations had softened the minds of the kings of France and England, and of the duke of Burgundy, and had secretly directed them to peace.‡ Benedict XI., of the Dominican order, had been a martyr of peace before his election. In 1297, when general of his order, he was sent into France by Boniface VIII. to make peace between that kingdom and England. In 1301 he passed into Hungary as legate à latere, to eradicate the discords which had desolated that country. Upon the death of Gelasius II., Conon, cardinal of Palestrina, was immediately elected his successor in the monastery of Cluny, where the late pope had died; but he refused the tiara, because as it was he who had fulminated the excommunication against the emperor, Henry V., he knew that he could never hope to make peace with him, and, therefore, the troubles of the Church could not be terminated: therefore, he resolutely resisted, and generously consulted only the interests of peace. The pacific heart of the man broke forth in the readiness of Paschal II. to terminate the dissension between the Church and empire, by resigning the lands which gave a title to the emperor to claim investiture. The bishops happily refused such terms, for, had they been conceded, the ruin of all civilization would have been the inevitable consequence.

The affliction caused by wars to these pacific pontiffs is often described in an affecting manner. On one occasion the Colonnas and Ursinis having taken up arms, while King Ladislaus of Hungary secretly excited the Romans against Pope Innocent, Leonardus Aretinus, who was hastening to rejoin his friends at Rome, describes in these terms what he saw: "On the bridge of Adrien I found an armed force occupying it. However, I passed undiscovered, and on reaching my friends the first spectacle was the heap of slain upon the road. I stood horror-struck, and wept. Then I proceeded to the palace of the pope, who, with wondrous grief, inquired what had occurred, for all had passed unknown to him,—a man pacific and mild, from whose gentleness nothing could be more abhorrent than slaughter and the effusion of human blood: sad and oppressed, he deplored him-

* Ap. Martene Vit. Script. ii. 1514. † Ap. id. i. p. 1455. ‡ Id. v. p. 457.

self and his fortune, raising at times his eyes to heaven, as if invoking God to witness that he was innocent towards the Roman people. Through affliction he seemed not to know what ought to be done. At length, it was determined he should fly to Viterbo, whence soon after he was recalled by the Roman people with astonishing applause and joy."*

To the personal influence of the sovereign pontiffs many memorable treaties of peace must be ascribed. When Rachis, king of the Longobards, made war upon the exarch of Ravenna, the pope's exhortations as a mediator made so profound an impression on the king, that he gave up his conquests, abdicated, and entered into the convent of Monte-Cassino, where Caroloman, brother of Pepin, had retired. Benedict XI., whose whole life was spent in making peace, employed his first efforts after his election in appeasing the civil dissensions fomented by the Colonnas, which disturbed the public peace. He pacified Denmark and other northern kingdoms, and put an end to the troubles which agitated the State and Church of France. By his intervention Venice was reconciled to Padua without bloodshed.

It was, however, chiefly by the instrumentality of legates, that the pacific desires of the Holy See were furthered or accomplished, and the labors of these men in making peace, though passed over in silence by modern historians, can never be remembered without admiration and gratitude. Alluding to the part played by the sovereign pontiffs and their legates during the wars of the English in France, a great French writer observes, "how affecting it is to see these men of mercy follow every where the men of blood, endeavoring to make them lay down their arms, imploring before the battle, weeping after it, always rejected, never weary, doves of peace, wandering from battle-field to battle-field with vultures."† Thus in 1356, the Cardinal de Périgord was sent by the pope to make peace between the two kingdoms, when he made such heroic, but fruitless, exertions to stop the battle of Poitiers. After the battle of Cressi, it was by the mediation of the pope that a truce was made. Similarly the Cardinal d'Estouteville was commissioned by the Holy See to make peace between them in the time of Charles VII.; and the cardinal of Ursini, in 1418, had the same mission. The character of these legates too, in general, agreed well with their office. The Cardinal Bishop Octavius, of Ostia, whom Innocent III. sent to Philip, of France, is thus described by the bishop of Paris, "in his actions and words, urbanity tempers justice, and nothing can surpass his sweetness and benignity." At an earlier period it was at the solicitation of the Cardinal Melior, legate of the Holy See and of the abbot of Citeaux, that Philippe Auguste and Richard I. agreed to forget their quarrels. Hear Orderic Vitalis. King William, at the head of 60,000 horse, marched against the Angevins

* Leonardi Aretini Commentarius, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xix.

† Chateaub. Discours. Hist. iv. 60.

and Bretons, who had passed the Loire, and destroyed the boats which had transported them, to show their resolution to conquer or die. While the two armies prepared for action, and that the greatest part were reflecting upon death, and the woes which follow the death of the reprobate, a certain cardinal priest of the Roman church, and some religious monks, were there by the permission of God, and being divinely inspired, they went to the chiefs of the two armies to implore and reprimand them. They positively forbade them on the part of God to engage in battle, and, in fine, persuaded them to make peace. William of Evreux, Roger, some other counts, and great men, joined their efforts to theirs; the excessive ferocity of the ambitious was appeased before the messengers of Christ, who cast the seeds of peace; and the pale countenances of the terrified by degrees were changed. On this occasion, the count of Anjou yielded his rights on Maine to Robert, the king's son.* The language of the sovereign pontiffs in sending their pacific ministers, is characteristic of their faith. Pope Urban IV. writes to Cardinal Simon de Bria in these terms. "Though all Christian regions deserve the apostolic favor of the Holy See, yet to the kingdom of France we look with especial delight, as to the garden of our recreation, for there rules a devout king in a court full of faith and devotion, and attachment to the Holy See. There dwell many excellent barons and nobles of admirable probity, and there is found a people that always evinces favor and constancy of faith. Therefore, when the enemy of the human race, envious of peace, and a sower of weeds, excites troubles and scandals in that kingdom, endeavoring to infuse bitterness into the sweet delights of that terrestrial paradise, we feel deep and cruel wounds in our heart. Not without immense grief do we then reflect on the miserable condition of that kingdom, and on the enormities perpetrated in it: we are occupied in profound meditations and laborious vigils, that we may seek counsel from God to meet such a necessity. O that I could repair thither in person, consistently with the honor of God and the interests of the church, and of the faithful! but since this is impossible in consequence of the variety of our affairs, we commit to you the office of legate—to re-establish peace in spirituals and temporals by the authority of these presents."† Pope Gregory X. writes to the bishop of Senlis and to the abbot of St. Denis, committing to them the task of making peace between the king of Sicily and the queens of France and England, and concludes thus: "you will recollect that in assuming this pious labor, it is not us, who love the same king and queens with such paternal affection, that you will serve, but the Author of peace."‡

It would be long to specify the occasions on which legates à latere were sent to appease wars and discord. How many ministers of peace were sent during the pontificate of Innocent III. alone! It was then that the legate Gregory, cardinal of St. Mary, made peace between Ainric, king of Hungary, and his brother An-

* Lib. iv. † Martene, tom. ii. p. 1262. ‡ Id. ii. p. 1272.

drew, whose war had desolated all that kingdom; that Martin, prior of Camaldoli, after a labor of six months, made peace between the Milanese and the citizens of Pavia; that the abbot of Casemare made peace between Philip, king of France, and John, king of England.* At mention of that name, there are men who now re-echo the complaint of some feudal lords who said, "quod ancillavit regnum quod invenit liberum:" but they ought to consider the situation in which England then was placed, exposed at once to civil war, and to a foreign invasion, from which she was delivered by the intervention of the Holy See; and they ought to study the contemporary writings which bear such testimony to the noble and disinterested intention of Innocent, and his messengers of peace.† When the Scots, in their distress, after a terrible war, applied to Pope Boniface VIII., who in consequence required King Edward to release his prisoners, and send agents to Rome, where "the cause between the two nations should be heard and decided, without spilling any more blood," the reservations of that king, and the refusal of his nobility, only proved that their martial spirit obscured their knowledge of the universal recognized law of all Catholic nations, which sanctioned such an appeal to the Common Father, not as derogatory to their rights, but as conducive to the peace of Christendom.

In Italy alone, on how many memorable occasions was the pacific ministry of the sovereign pontiffs exercised! When Boniface VIII. heard that the Venetians and Genoese were making preparations for attacking each other, he sent solemn legates to both cities, requiring them to send ambassadors to him, and to make a truce on pain of excommunication, which ambassadors were accordingly sent to treat on a final arrangement.‡ Innocent V. made peace between Genoa and King Charles of France. Nicholas III., who was of the great Guelf family of the Ursini, sent, in 1278, brother Laurence of the Dominican order, to Bologna, where the Guelfs were then dominant, in order to make peace between the Jeremiensis, who were Guelfs, and the Lambertazis, who were Ghibellines, and at that time in exile.§ Gregory X. in 1272, with pious compassion moved, sent his legate to make peace between the citizens of Brescia, who received him with great joy.‖ Innocent II. in 1133, speaking of the discord and wars which had been caused between Genoa and Pisa by the enemy of the human race, whence had ensued the slaughter of innumerable men, the captivity of Christians, and destruction of churches, expresses the desire of the Holy See, providing for the salvation of souls, that so detestable a quarrel should be set at rest.¶ But it would be endless to mention all instances of the pacific action of the Holy See. Let us leave then what Petrarch terms the quiet halls of the Roman pontiffs, and proceed to ob-

* Gesta. tom. iii. 88. † Epist. Inn. III. Lib. xvi. 79, 80.

‡ Jacob de Voragine, Chron. Januense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

§ Annal. Vet. Mutinens. ap. id. xi.

‖ Jacob. Malvecii. Chron. Brixian. Dist. viii. 85. ap. id.

¶ Stellæ Annales Genuenses, Lib. i. c. 5. ap. id. xvii.

serve how well the great prelates of the universal church co-operated with them in maintaining or restoring peace.

We have already seen how, under extraordinary circumstances, the temporal power was employed for this end; it will be a more pleasing task to witness them in the ordinary exercise of their spiritual authority, as described by St. Jerome, making the visitation of their diocese, mounted on their pacific mule, knowing themselves to be fathers, not lords, preferring nothing to quiet and rest, establishing and diffusing peace.* Siffred, bishop of Paderborn, in a diploma in 1186, begins by saying, "that since he has by his office undertaken to provide for the peace and tranquillity of the churches, he is bound to watch with anxiety, and to investigate wherever there is known to be any matter of disturbance."† We find them thus employed in the earliest times. Clovis, while a pagan warrior, being in relation with St. Remy, heard his advice, and abstained from many acts of wickedness to please him.‡ St. Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, deserved in 406 to be called the pacificator of Italy.§ To reconcile differences between high and low, is described as one of the constant occupations of St. Dunstan. When Duke Robert of Normandy was preparing to send a fleet to ravage Brittany with fire and sword, Robert the archbishop, at the prayer of Alain, count of Brittany, and in his company, went to Mount St. Michael, and presented himself as a mediator before the duke, and "by the protection of Christ," says William of Jumiège, "succeeded in soothing his anger, so that counter orders were sent to the fleet, and Brittany was spared."‖

In Irish history we read, that the quarrels between the King Tordelvach and O'Melachlin, king of Meath, were settled by the interposition of Archbishop Gelasius and other prelates, who pledged them to a reconciliation on the altar of St. Kieran. In the midst of the constant storm of warfare in Ireland in those early times, the churchmen often succeeded in obtaining a truce or a peace. In the year 1099, when the two armies of Murkertach and the Hy Niell were waiting front to front, for the signal to engage, the primate of Armagh interposing between them, succeeded by his remonstrance in preventing the battle. In the reign of Richard I. the archbishop of Canterbury writes to the chapter of London, to announce "that it is impossible for him to proceed to his archiepiscopal see, because he is occupied in making peace between the kings of France and England." Similarly, Fulbert, bishop of Chartres, excuses his absence on one occasion by saying, "that he is engaged in making peace with difficulty."¶ Writing to Ebalus, archbishop of Rheims, he says, "I suggest to you, though you do not want to be so admonished, that you should apply all your mind to the procuring of peace for the poor, whom kings and princes vehemently afflict."** And such importance does he attach to this duty, that he gives his opinion, that Guido may be suddenly raised

* Epist. xxxix. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. i. 970. ‡ Hincmar. in Vit. Remigii.
§ Italia Sacra, i. ‖ Lib. vi. c. xi. ¶ Fulb. Carnot, Episcop. xviii. ** Id. liii.

from a laymen to be a bishop, because he is a lover of peace, and duly elected by clergy and people.* In 1151, Arnold, archbishop of Cologne, writing to Wibald, abbot of Corby, says, "the clergy, fearing lest this peace, as yet new and tender, might be easily disturbed by our absence, have persuaded us with great urgency of prayers, to postpone our journey to the lord pope, until the peace shall be fully consolidated, so as to be secure from interruption even after our departure."† Peter of Blois describes the successor of St. Thomas in the see of Canterbury, Richard, who had been prior of Dover, as "a man of consummate prudence and wisdom, who was in the habit of overcoming immense difficulties in making peace and appeasing quarrels."‡ Alluding to him in a letter to the prior and convent of Evesham, he says, "I wonder that my lord of Canterbury has not found a remedy for his trouble; for he is in the habit of composing desperate litigations, and of appeasing inexorable discords among the great."§ Writing to Walter, archbishop of Rouen, a mediator of peace, he says, "you have come bearing peace, and illuminating the country, and I wish that peace may be in your days; that is, true peace, the peace of God, which no one can give."‖ Addressing another bishop, he says, "if you will only imitate the life of your uncle, the archbishop of Rouen, you will be meek and affable, mild with froward, and pacific with those who hate peace."¶ Gerbert, previous to becoming sovereign pontiff, evinced also wondrous solicitude after the death of Lewis, to make peace and preserve order: magnanimous when in exile in Germany and Italy, and at Rheims full of benignity towards his enemies. St. Hugues of Lincoln died in London, in the midst of his labors to reconcile England and France, and procure peace for the people of the two countries. When Philip Augustus and the Comte de Hainault were about to renew their battles, and had parted with threats, the bishop of Arras intervened, calmed the irritation of sovereign and vassal, and led them to sign a treaty. The archbishop of Canterbury appears at Runemede as a pacificator, by whose intervention peace was made between the king and the barons.** Hubert Walter, archbishop of Canterbury, in king Richard's days, is styled "a bridle unto the king and obstacle of tyranny, the peace and comfort of his people."††

The king of Ireland had offended Henry Plantagenet: Laurence, archbishop of Dublin, hastened to London to effect a reconciliation. Henry rejected his mediation, and embarked for Normandy. The holy prelate delayed not to follow him, and by his prayers succeeded in appeasing him. His mission of peace was accomplished. On his return he was seized with a sudden illness: seeing a castle and town near, he asked the name from a shepherd, and heard that it was Eu. It was on the 7th of November, 1181, that he arrived in the convent of canons

* Epist. xxxviii. † Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 493. ‡ Pet. Bles. Ep. 142.
§ Ep. cxlii. ‖ Epist. cxxxviii. ¶ Petr. Blos. de Institutione Episcopi.
** Radulfi Goggeshali Libellus de Motibus Anglican. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. v. Godwin in Vit.

regular of our Lady, at the skirts of that town, where he took to his bed, died, and left his bones. But no sufferings could daunt these pacific prelates. Gerard, in the eleventh century, bishop of Séez, though at the time oppressed with sickness, repaired to the castle of Courcy, belonging to Gilbert de l'Aigle, which Robert de Bellême was besieging: his object was to reconcile these two lords; but Bellême received him ill, and arrested his page Richard de Gasprée, under pretence that this young clerk was acting the part of a spy, while riding on horseback through the camp. The bishop in vain claimed him: and such was his sorrow, that it is said to have hastened his death. He was a most holy man. All that could be deciphered on his tomb in the cathedral, were these words,

"Apud Deum et homines laudabilis."*

The great Ives de Chartres was eminent for his labors in making peace. He reconciled Raoul de Beaugeney and Thibaud IV., count of Blois, and many others. Italy has to bless the memory of a multitude of bishops who made peace in cities that had been torn with the feuds of Guelf and Ghibelline.† What labors did the bishops of Acierno endure in appeasing the enmities of that people, who were peculiar for the violence of their passions, though otherwise virtuous.‡ But let us hear the chronicles. In 1288, peace was made in Modena between the Grasulfis and Aigones without, and the Aigones within the walls, by the bishop of Modena.§ In 1213, Albert de Regio, bishop of Brescia, made peace in that city between the nobles and the people; being a man venerated equally by both.‖ Francis Soderino, bishop of Volterra, happening to be in Florence in a great sedition, went out in public, clad in his pontifical vestments, and by his authority and eloquence appeased the people who were about to devour each other.

The speech of Gerard, bishop of Padua, to Eccelino de Romana, when the latter was about to make war against the lords of Campo St. Pietro, was memorable. The bishop went to both armies, and like another Orpheus, by the sweetness of his tones, appeased these tigers. Calling Eccelino first, he said, "Qui timet Deum facit bona. We know and we read in sacred and profane history, that they who fear God acquire honor, while tyrants glorying in their malice, after a miserable life, finish it in tribulation and shame. Where is now Pharaoh, or Goliah, or Herod, or Nero? Their memory has perished with a sound, and they are blotted out of the book of the living. Therefore, we exhort you in the Lord, to have God and our Lord Jesus Christ always before your eyes, and not to make this war, lest towns be destroyed, provisions scattered, widows, orphans, and the poor reduced to beggary, hospitals and holy churches overthrown: but take up the arms of justice, and the soldiers of God and of faith. We desire you then to disband your forces, and to leave this question to be decided by the coun-

* De Maurey d'Orville, Recherches Hist. sur la Ville et le Diocese de Séez.

† Italia Sacra, ii. 573. ‡ Id. vii. 446. § An. Vet. Mutinens ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‖ Jacob. Malvecii. Chron. Brixian. vii. c. 92. ap. id. xiv.

cil of Padua.' Then turning to the Lords Gerard and Tiso, of the camp of St. Peter, and the Lord Marquis Azo, commencing with the words, "Misericordia et veritas obviaverunt sibi," he spoke to the same effect and prevailed. So the forces being dismissed, the bishop returned to Padua, and the marshes remained for some years in happy peace.* Aldobrandini, bishop of Orvieto, in the thirteenth century received Greorgy X. at Orvieto. When the pope was leaving him, his holiness desired him to ask some favor with confidence for himself or for his church. He replied, "I have no other favor to ask, holy father, but to implore you to put an end to the troubles of Florence, my beloved unhappy country. I desire nothing so ardently as to see peace restored to a people so dear to me; but since it is absolutely impossible there should ever be a solid peace as long as a party spirit reigns there, I pray your holiness to proscribe even the name of the two factions, Guelf and Ghibelline, in order that all the citizens reunited in common interests, may henceforth form but one people in the charity of Jesus Christ, who has left us His peace, as the mark that we are His children, and the pledge of the felicity which we hope for in the future life."†

James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa in the thirteenth century, was another of these glorious pontiffs who procured peace for men. One of his maxims, at least, may be permitted to pass for golden. "Though too great mercy be fatuity," he says, "and too great justice cruelty, it is better to have to render account to God for the former than for the latter."‡ He died as he had lived, and was buried in the church of St. Dominic, to whose order he belonged. His love for the poor was unbounded. But it was as pacificator, composing the feuds between Guelf and Ghibelline, which had long divided Genoa, that we must now speak of him. In 1292, he composed many of these dissensions;§ and, in 1295, he restored love and harmony to the whole city, ratifying a general peace between all the citizens.‖ In relating this great event, the humble bishop omits all mention of his own labor, and puts a strange face on his own perfection. "In 1295, there was made," saith he, "a general peace in Genoa between the Ghibellines and Guelfs, whose perilous dissensions had endured sixty years, and would have lasted longer, but by the grace of our Saviour all were this year, in the month of January, brought to concord; so that they became now one society, one fraternity, one body. This caused such transports that the whole city was full of jubilation and immense joy. We also, in the parliament, when the peace was declared, sung aloud with our clergy the 'Te Deum laudamus,' having with us four mitred persons, bishops and abbots. Then after dinner, all the troops following us, we, clothed in our pontificals, on a horse covered with trappings, rode joyfully through the whole city, giving the

* Rolandini de Factis in Marchia Tarvis. Lib. i. c. 5. id. tom. viii.

† Touron. Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l Ord. de S Dom. passim.
Jacob. de Vorag. Chronic. Januense, P. x. c. 20. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

§ Italia Sacra, iv. 888. ‖ Touron Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l Ord. S. Dom. i. Liv. 6.

benediction of God to all the people, and returning thanks to God. But, alas! as pure goods are in heaven, and pure evils in hell,—and here both good and evil are mixed,—we had soon to deplore troubles caused by the envious enemy of human peace, which, however, were finally appeased by the creation of two captains, Conrad Spinula and Conrad Doria: and so the city had rest from battles."* In later times we find the scholars of Italy, notwithstanding their admiration for pagan examples, capable of appreciating the sublime majesty of such men as these. Thus one of them describes John of Selva, archbishop of Milan, pacifying that republic like a deity, and conciliating by his piety and moderation the respect and love of all men.† Of these pontifical labors in making peace, the German historians give examples without number. Thus, in 1289, we read that the archbishops and bishops made peace between Andrew, king of Hungary, and Albert, duke of Austria.‡ When Tholo found sitting at the feet of blessed Hartman, bishop of Brescia, the man who had slain his brother, and whom he had long sought for in all public places in order to kill him, the terror and remorse which seized him at the sight, and his pacific departure, without any attempt to injure his enemy, through reverence for the bishop, is compared by old writers to the miraculous staying of Attila at the gates of Rome by the presence of the holy pope.§ "The peace which angels announced to men at the birth of Christ, this holy pontiff," say they, "endeavored to convey to others; for he was pacific to those who hated peace; so that often before persons of the most humble condition he would lie prostrate on the earth, beseeching them to be reconciled to each other. From the day when the counts of Espan had refused to accede to his mediation and make peace with the Tyrolese, who desired to accept it, men remarked that though up to that time by far the most powerful, they were always worsted in war."‖ Hillein, in the twelfth century, on becoming archbishop of Treves, found the province still smoking with the war between his predecessor and Henry, the count of Namur; but he extinguished the flame, not by arms, but by peace—not by animosity, but by gentleness—not by temerity, but by reason. So he took away occasion of injury from the tyrants; and when he could not otherwise, under a form of decency, he purchased peace for the churches and people of God. Thus, in time of wrath, he was made a reconciliation. No one could describe his ability and foresight, so that the country in his days had rest from wars. His pious art in preventing them and securing peace was commemorated on his tomb. It was he who built the towers in the castles of Tris and of Manderscheit.¶

In the same century Arnold, archbishop of Treves, recalled all the nobles of the province to peace and concord, not alone by frequent admonition and correc-

* Chronic. Januense, ap. id. tom. ix.

† Joan. Pyrrh. Epist. ap. Goldast. Philologicar. Epist. 32.

‡ Chronic. Claustro-neoburgense, ap. Pez. Script. Rer. Aust. i. § Id. ‖ Id.

¶ Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 209.

tion, but also by a liberal distribution of great gifts ; and when he was blamed by some for this, who deemed it disgraceful that a man so rich and powerful—who ought, as they said, to resist by force the injustice of tyrants—should give his treasures to them as if through fear of men, he humbly answered, "God is my witness that I do so for the sake of God, for whose love I would rather give away mine own than involve myself in wars, by which I should give occasion to wicked men to exercise robberies, homicides, and other crimes against the Churches and the poor of Christ. Therefore, I choose, by dispensing my treasures, to repress the insolence of the violent, that I may redeem both those who inflict and those who suffer injury, whom Christ deigned to redeem with His blood." Nevertheless, this archbishop was brave and strenuous, and resolute in defending justice even by force of arms, as when he opposed Frederick, son of Duke Matthew, and the sister of the Emperor Frederic, whom he besieged in his castle of Sigerbech, and compelled to live at peace ; as also when he repressed the count of Nassau, and opposed the exactions even of the emperor himself ; so that it was only his own that he liberally gave away for the sake of peace.* Engelbert de Monte, in 1217, was elected archbishop of Cologne, a true man of peace and defender of the poor. He was assassinated by his relation, the count of Isenburg, as he travelled in a hollow way going into Westphalia, in revenge for his having protected against him the convent of Essendiens. This prelate used always to say, "that without money he could not make peace in the land."† In the twelfth century, Adalbero, archbishop of Treves, on one occasion made peace in a singular manner. The Saxons, with Duke Henry, had appointed a day and the place of Hersfeld, to try by a general battle, the justice of their respective titles to the crown. That prelate, who had promised to come with twenty knights, arrived with five hundred and thirty hogsheads of wine, besides an immense supply of victuals. Then, with the divine assistance, he labored sucessfully in making peace between the rivals at the moment when so many thousand had met in great hatred and eagerness to fight. So having composed all things in peace, he sent a hogshead of wine to each of the princes, especially to the Saxons ; and in this we should note the subtle genius of the archbishop, who deemed that plenty of wine and victuals would conduce more to victory than thousands of starving men. So, again, when the counts of Molbach and of Zeina had long waged war with each other, the whole country would have been laid waste, if Adalbero, the archbishop, had not intervened by his counsel ; for it was his custom frequently to assemble his suffragans and the princes and nobles of the province, and to administer large stipends to them, and to treat with them concerning the peace of the country.‡ "When Albero, brother of the duke of Louvain, became bishop of Liege," says another chronicle, "it was delightful to see what peace returned to the country by

* Gesta Trevirensium Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 209.

† Annales Novesienses, ap. id. iv. ‡ Gesta Trev. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 207.

his means."* In 1464, John, archbishop of Magdeburg, succeeded the pacific Frederic, who left a name celebrated among angels and men for his love of peace. John also loved peace and concord. Whenever discords arose between princes, as those between William, duke of Saxony, and the landgrave of Thuringia, or between princes and states, as did still oftener, he labored to appease them. The chronicler who thus speaks mentions also Hermann, archbishop of Cologne, then living, as another lover and propagator of peace; as also Bertold de Hennenberg archbishop of Mayence, a man eminently pacific.† Sometimes, unable to accomplish their mission, such prelates resigned it to other hands. Godefred, archbishop of Treves, had been beloved by clergy and people before his elevation: but the year after, some of his clergy began to rise against him, and to calumniate him, "whether with truth or not I know not," says the chronicler; "God knows: but at length, seeing that on his account fraternal charity was wounded in the Church, some adhering to him and others resisting him, lest he should be the cause of division, he abdicated the see in the third year of his episcopacy."‡

In the year 1000, when a great discord prevailed between the nobles and people of Milan, the archbishop Herebert, finding all his efforts to make peace fruitless, on the two parties coming to open war, voluntarily withdrew to another place; for he was unwilling to act against the nobles who were now expelled, being himself sprung from them; nor would he contend against the people, because he always showed himself their father and pastor; but he used to speak words of charity. This man of peace thus prevented, was nevertheless of such reputation in Italy, that there was no duke or marquis that would oppress any one unjustly if the pastoral staff of Archbishop Herebert was carried and fixed in the place; and no question arose that did not immediately cease until it was discussed before him.§ But the fact is, that the difficulties opposed to peace were sometimes insurmountable. The obstacles to be overcome were so great, that old writers compare such bishops to sheep among wolves. St. Bernard says, on one occasion, "Then the man of God understood that he was destined to preach, not to men, but to animals." Still their courage and ability were often crowned with success. When St. Hugues, bishop of Lincoln, was chosen ambassador to treat of peace with Philip Augustus, he showed such talents in the negotiation that the most skillful diplomatists of the time were astonished. It was in the solitude of his ancient cloister that he had learned the art which enabled him now to make peace between two kings. The calm self-possession dictating a playful ease, with which they accosted the most terrible potentates, aided them not a little. This same pontiff, having offended the king of England, was introduced into his presence, whom he found in great wrath sitting in his hall, suck-

* Hist. Monast. S. Laurent. Leodiens. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv. 1082.

† Chronic. Terræ Misnensis, ap. Menckenii Script. Rer. Germ. ii.

‡ Gest. Trever. Arch. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. iv.

§ Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. 145. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

ing his finger, which had been hurt and wrapped in a cloth. Then Hugo, wishing to lead him from pride, said to him in a jesting tone, "How like you are now to your relations of Falaise!" The king, admiring his constancy, could not forbear laughing; and said to his astonished courtiers, "Do you not perceive the impertinence of the man? The mother of my ancestor William was a furrier's daughter of Falaise, and this prelate seeing me sucking my finger, says I resemble the Falasians, and that I am their relation." Then they all laughed, and Hugo was received in peace and honor.* That urbanity and sweetness of address, with that true liberality of mind which in every age has distinguished the episcopal character, must always have produced the effect which Talleyrand described when he said, speaking of the bishop of Evreux, "His house was open to men of all political parties; and he made use of the influence arising from his sweetness and his great age to reconcile rivals and enemies; for persons in the same room with the bishop could not be far from understanding each other." Their eloquence was of itself a most efficacious instrument of peace. That of James de Voragine, archbishop of Genoa, is described as being truly wonderful in his mother tongue. He was so studious of St. Augustin, that he could repeat nearly all his volumes by heart, besides being deeply versed in the Old and New Testaments, of which he was the first to give a translation in the Italian.† The words of such men almost irresistibly infused peace, even where the fight was all within men. A contemporary writes as follows to Leander, archbishop of Seville: "I have received the letter of your holiness, written with the pen of charity; for every thing on the paper bore the tint of what was in the heart. Some good and wise men were present when it was read to them, and their breasts were immediately moved to compunction. Each one began in his heart to give you the hand of affection, for in that letter one not merely heard, but beheld, the sweetness of your mind. They were kindled and filled with admiration; and that fire of heaven demonstrated what was the ardor of the writer; for what must be the intensity of that fire of charity in your mind which could so instantaneously kindle others!"‡ Their eloquence derived its force from the deep religious conviction which inspired it; their style was that of Christian simplicity; and all their motives in regard to their own enemies or those of other men, were drawn from the sermon on the Mount.

A dissension having arisen between Henry, bishop of Minden, and Wibald, abbot of Corby, Bernard, bishop of Paderborn, writes in 1151 to the former, in these terms: "Since we are commanded to follow the things which are of peace; and since eternal beatitude is promised to the pacific, therefore, through the love of peace we think it right to labor in order to destroy the root of discord which has grown between you and the abbot of Corby."§ His mediation was success-

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. iii. c. xi.

† Italia Sacra, iv. 888.

‡ Ant. Hispalensis Bibliotheca Hispana, Lib. iv. c. 4.

§ Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 431.

ful, for we have the letter of Wibald to the bishop of Minden, expressing his joy at the bishop's proffer of reconciliation, and declaring that henceforth he will labor to conduct the bishop's cause with as much zeal as if it were his own ; that where discord abounded, charity and grace may the more abound. The Emperor Conrad's letter to the bishop is also extant, in which he congratulates and praises him on having made peace with the monks of Corby. In 1267, Otho Visconti, archbishop of Milan, having placed the city under an interdict in consequence of the Turriani having violently seized the goods of the Church, these nobles accused him to the pope, and demanded his desposition. His language on different occasions during this dissension might be cited as another example. "I, indeed," he said in the Pope's presence, "was born in the city of Milan, which I love so much that I would willingly have my head cut off, if by that suffering I could procure peace for all the citizens." Being, however, driven into banishment with the nobles by a violent faction excited by the Turriani, and in 1275 coming to Vercelli, he was addressed by the nobles of Milan, who begged that he would place himself at their head while endeavoring to regain possession of their homes. They reminded him of the death of Count Gotfried de Languscho and Tibald, his own nephew, who had been so dear to him, and the death of others who had fallen in this contest. Otho replied as follows : "It is the part of an archbishop to spare, and not to punish or take vengeance. I wish peace, and to lead back the proscribed to their homes. I wish to be a captain and leader of you all, provided you lay aside anger against your enemies, and invoke the divine assistance." This pacific man was thus, against his desire, drawn into many battles. After incredible sufferings, which he endured with heroic fortitude, he was present with the nobles in their great victory in 1277, at Dexio, against Napus de la Turre, and Francis de la Turre, the lords of the city of Milan. Already the podesta and Francis were among the slain, when Otho learned that the father, Napus de la Turre, was wounded. Then moved to compassion, all unarmed as he was, he ran to the spot to prevent his being slain ; and seeing him so miserably prostrate on the ground, he shuddered and wept, and tried to console him with friendly words. Then Count Richard de Lomello came up, seeking vengeance for the death of Count Gotfried de Languscho, but he was prevented by the archbishop. Meanwhile the people of the city, many of whom had been at all times friendly to Otho, sent ambassadors to say that they would receive back the nobles and the archbishop. Then Otho, having assembled the nobles, spoke to them thus : "Let no one draw a sword, or spoil either poor or rich. Let no one remember injuries or wounds ; for it would not become an archbishop to return to his see with joy while others were mourning the loss of their property or of their blood. But let us all enter the city singing the praises of God." The nobles promised to obey him ; and he, seeing that every one meant to spare his enemies, said, "Let us go, then, to Milan with benedictions." Then came forth the monks and clergy, and all the people, crying, "Peace ! peace !" Though from the day

of recovering his see he rendered to no enemy evil for evil, but prohibited all enmities, we find his subsequent life full of troubles, till at last, in 1292, he made a peaceful end in Clairvaux.* The letter of Ives de Chartres to the clergy and laity of his diocese, when they sought by force of arms to deliver him from the prison into which he had been so barbarously thrown by the viscount, is a still more remarkable instance, as recalling the heroic self-devotion of St. Leger, bishop of Autun in the seventh century, when he gave himself up to Ebrouin, rather than draw down the calamities of war upon that city. The bishop of Chartres writes in these terms: "I absolutely forbid you to do this; for by firing houses and robbing the poor, you cannot please, but offend God, without whose aid neither you nor any one else can deliver me; for it would not be decent that I, who did not come to the episcopacy with warlike arms, should recover it by such means, which belong not to a pastor, but to an invader. If the hand of the Lord hath touched me, permit me alone to drink the cup of my misery, and sustain the wrath of my God, till He shall justify my cause. For I am resolved not only to suffer imprisonment and deprivation of ecclesiastical honors, but also to die, rather than that for me there should be a slaughter of men. Only remember that when Peter was kept in prison, the Church prayed unceasingly for him. So do ye for me. Be content with the limits placed by our fathers; and may the God of peace and consolation grant that in this, and in all other matters, you may think and do what is right."†

A difference between the count of Savoy and the Dauphin being referred to certain arbiters, Guillaume Royn, bishop of Grenoble, opened the conference with these words: "O, palpable darkness of human minds, not to know the good of peace, by which kingdoms flourish and republics are extended. Place the evils of war before your eyes, when there are not engaged, perhaps, twenty men who know each other, or who would cause each other displeasure, and who, if they met elsewhere, would not wish to serve each other; and yet, thus marshalled, they all run at each other like mad dogs to tear each other to pieces. Think of the horrible rage and the fearful circumstances of war; and what is the end of the tragedy but churches and sanctuaries pillaged and profaned, towns burnt, villages reduced to solitude? Let us endeavor then to bring over princes to concord, that our poor people may have peace, and all states of our country enjoy beatitude."‡ I have wearied my reader by these examples; but they were not uncalled for. When next he sees the magnificent sepulchre of one of these princely bishops of the middle ages, perhaps he will be less quick to assent to those who take occasion from the view of such tombs to argue, that the powerful churchmen of those days can have no title to the gratitude of the pacific. Even though he should not expressly read on it, "Amator pacis," as he may find on that of Phi-

* Gualvanei de la Flamma, Hist. Mediolanens. c. 313. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

† Ivon. Carnot. de Epist. xx. ‡ Paradin Chronique de Savoie

lip, bishop of Utrecht, the son of Philip the good duke of Burgundy ; or, " Qui in vita sua pacem dilexit, bona pace quievit," as on that of Hugo, bishop of Auxerre,* perhaps he will be no less inclined to believe that the vault beneath his feet contains the ashes of one who, though potent, abhorred all violence, and who lived diffusing peace.

I have now to speak, in fine, of men, the sole object of whose present existence appeared to be the attainment and diffusion of social and intellectual tranquillity. The clergy, in general, had a complicated duty to fulfil : the sovereign pontiffs had to govern, with a vigorous arm, the universal church—bishops had often to contend and to resist,—but monks and friars, though always the first to combat and to suffer for justice, seemed, even in the combat, to have had only one ministry and one desire—the diffusion of peace—to seek peace and follow it themselves, and to persuade other men to seek and follow it. The pontiffs and prelates, whom we have just seen, are witnesses to prove the pacific influence of the cloister, for most of them had been called from the cells of monasteries, where they had learned the science which enabled them to still the tempests of the world. In the first ages of the Church society beheld, issuing from convents, those who bore the caduceus which the true Apollo found. In the sedition of Antioch, the monks came down from their mountains, and placed themselves at the palace gate, imploring grace for the guilty. One of them, Macedonius, met in the streets two officers of the emperor. Seizing one of them by the cloak, he invited them to alight from their horses : " Friends," cried the hermit, " intercede for the blood of the guilty ; tell the emperor that his subjects are also men made in the image of God ; that if he is angry on account of some bronze statues, a living and rational image is far preferable. When the former are destroyed, others can be made like them ; but who will give a hair to the man who has been slain."

Rome herself, then taken by Totila the second time, owed some mitigation of her sufferings to the prayers of St. Benedict, whose sanctity was respected by the barbarian. But let us pass on at once to the scenes recorded in the histories of the middle ages.

" King Henry," says Orderic Vitalis, " making war against his brother Robert, duke of Normandy, laid siege to Tinchbrai. In the two armies were brothers and relations opposed to each other. Many monks endeavored to prevent a combat and the effusion of blood. The hermit Vital, more ardent than the rest, boldly forbade them to come to extremities, lest one should witness revived the detestable crime of the sons of Œdipus."†

When the citizens of Beneventum, in the ninth century, took up arms against those of Spoleta, each party being determined to carry on war till it conquered or perished, the man of God, St. Adalhard abbot of Corby, walked to and fro be-

* Martyrolog. Ec. Antissiodor. † Ord. Vit. Lib. xi.

tween their furious ranks as a herald of reconciliation ; nor did he desist until he had made them renew their treaty, and ratify with a kiss.* St. Ailred, proceeding into Galloway, found the ruler of that country in deadly hatred against his sons, the sons against the father, and the brothers against each other, a feud which the king and the bishop had vainly endeavored to quell. The soil was stained with blood ; but Ailred not only pacified them, but prevailed on the father to assume the monastic habit ; and thus taught him, who had deprived so many of life, to become a partaker of life eternal.†

The pacific influence of St. Bernard alone might occupy a volume. In 1132, he made peace between the Pisans and Genoese.‡ In 1134, he was an arbiter of peace for the Milanese. Again, he made peace between Louis, king of France, and Theobold, count of Champagne. The infamous count of Vermandois being excommunicated, Louis le Jeune was exasperated to such fury, that he carried war and devastation over the whole of Champagne because he suspected the count of having procured the sentence to avenge the injury of his daughter ; and it was on occasion of this atrocious war, directed against all things sacred and profane, that St. Bernard wrote these grand and thundering letters to the king and his counsellors. "By a secret judgment of God," he says to the former, "you form to yourself false ideas of every thing ; you regard as an affront what is honorable to you, and as an honor what covers you with infamy : you fear where there is no ground for fear, and you do not fear in the midst of danger." In fact, the view of the judgments of God with which the saint menaced him caused him such an apprehension, that he fell into a state of languor, abandoned affairs, and gave himself up to weeping. Suger endeavored, in vain, to console him. The king said that no one but St. Bernard could heal the wound of his heart. When the saint heard of his penitence, being entreated to hasten and wipe away his tears, he replied that many tears were wanting in order to extinguish the flames of Vitri, and to wash out the blood which had been unjustly shed. However, he repaired to the court, and represented to the king the enormity of his crimes, but at the same time the necessity of not giving away to despair, flying into opposite excesses from those which had caused his misery. He told him to evince the sincerity of his penitence by commanding his furious passions for the future, by humility, contrition, and the application to the affairs of his kingdom.

Each time that the gates of the monastery opened for this man of God to visit the stormy scenes of the world, it was an angel of peace that came forth to dissipate contention. One time he came to announce to Louis le Gros, with all the authority of a prophet, the destiny of his family and of his crown, and to reconcile him with the bishops ; at another, after directing his monks to prayer, it was to enter the camp of Louis le Jeune to make him throw aside the sword al-

* Vita S. Adal. ap. Mabillon, Acta S. Ord. Bened, Sæc. iv. p. 1.

† Bolland. Acta Sanc. Jan. tom. i. ‡ Angelo Manrique Cisterciensium Annal. i. 6.

ready turned against Thibaut, count of Charlemagne; at another, it was to promise the queen that she should have a son, provided she would conclude a peace; at another, it was to save the city of Metz from the fires of a war which were to reduce it to ashes. His was, indeed, a life in glory shrined. But where shall we find a monastery in ages of faith that did not send out some blessed peacemaker to heal the world? The monks of New Corby in 1148 had written to their abbot, Wibald, urging him to return, and complaining of his having remained absent so long in the monastery of Stavelo in the Ardennes, over which house also he presided: and he replied in these words, "That your fraternity may know that the time has not been spent idly by us, be it known to you that we have made peace, God being its author, until the feast of St. Remy, between the count of Namur and the counts of Lon and of Dasburgh, whose dissensions had lacerated the whole country. We have, besides this, effected a definitive and salutary concord for the whole land between the count of Rupe, who is our advocate, and the count of Monte Acuto, who, by the incitements of many, had waged great wars against each other. And what are your chief and pressive motives for now urging us? Truly, that the old women round your walls are reckoning upon their fingers, and saying, like phrophetesses, 'He will not return!' Lo, these are your wars—these your desolations!"* In 1151 the same Wibald excused himself to the bishop of Liege for not having been present at the colloquy of Huy, as he was laboring to procure peace and tranquillity for the Christian people, and preventing tyrants from rushing to arms.† The abbot of St. Godehard of Hildesheim, writing to him to beg that he would be reconciled with Henry, the former abbot, knew what arguments would best move such a man; for his words are, "I beseech you by Him who is the true peace, Christ, and by regard to the reward which in the Gospel is promised to the pacific."‡

Allusion to such events occur repeatedly in the monastic diaries. Thus, in the annals of Corby, we read that in 1168, a discord about hunting, between the counts of Everstein and Homborch, was appeased at Corby, by two abbots: that in 1170 the lay magistrates of Stockhusen chose the abbot for arbiter of their quarrels; that in 1334 the contests between Albrecht de Stochem and Margaret de Nannexen, about lands and regalities, were appeased by the abbot; that in 1337 Lippold de Luthorst and Adam of Olterhusen chose the abbot Tideric for their arbiter.§

Some time previous to the year 1194, Udo de St. Cloud gave to the priory of Montreuil, near Versailles, some land which Hugues de Crespieres pretended belonged to his fief. Udo St. Cloud had a son, named Raoul, who offered to prove his father's right by duel. The monks of the priory, in order to prevent the combat of the champions, paid to Hugues a sufficient sum to induce him to desist from his claim.‖

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. ii. 255. † Id. ii. 485. ‡ Id.

§ Annales Corbienses ap. Leibnitz. Scriptor. Brunsvicensia Illustrantium, tom. iii.

‖ Lebœuf, Hist. du Diocese de Paris. viii. 341.

In 1149 the horses of Corby were stolen one evening while the monks were at supper. Theodoric, count of Huxaria, was challenged to combat by Reiner, de Porta, who promised to prove by battle that the lord abbot's horses were stolen and slain by advice of the said Theodoric. He, therefore, becoming a man suspected and hateful on that account, and wishing to purge himself, accepted the challenge. The domestics and dependants of the abbey besought the abbot, Wibald, to have the matter settled, either by justice or by mercy. The abbot chose eight persons, to whom the case was referred, and by his authority prevented the duel, and Theodoric swore, on the sacred relics of St. Vitus, that it was without his knowledge or will that the horses were stolen. Then the abbot reconciled Theodoric and Reiner.*

Abbots used sometimes to make peace between citizens and bishops, who were for defending their feudal rights against them by force. Thus, in 1326, it was the abbot of St. Nicaise, at Rheims, who made peace between the bishop of Liege and the citizens: again, in 1346, it was the same abbot who reconciled the chapter of Liege with the lord of Heinsberch; and so, in 1371, it was the abbot of St. Bavo who treated to conciliate the bishop of Liege and the city.†

What care the blessed Stephen, abbot of Obazina, in the diocese of Limoges, in the twelfth century, evinced to promote peace, will appear from one example, related by a contemporary writer. "A quarrel arose between Raimund, viscount of Turenne, and a certain nobleman, by name William. The cause was a hawk, belonging to the viscount, which William obtained, and refused to give back. Satan can cause calamities by the least things; so the viscount, not so much on account of the hawk as of the insult, declared war, and said that he would ravage all the domains of the said William, unless he restored the bird. William only resolved the more strenuously to keep it, for he desired nothing more than war, that he might have occasion to plunge upon the rich territories of the viscount. So fearing lest by any accident the hawk might be taken from him, and this favorable opportunity for war be lost, he sent it to a certain powerful nobleman who resided at a great distance, and who, like himself, desired war and plunder. This holy man, perceiving by these events how evils were multiplying, and how the whole country was about to be exposed to the ravages of armed bands, went first to the viscount, and reproved him for intending to vex and destroy a Christian people for the sake of a bird: he implored him to overlook the deed, or, if not, to punish only the guilty without making the innocent people suffer for it. But seeing that his remonstrances availed nothing, he tried another way, and pledged himself to bring back the hawk if the viscount would immediately disband his forces, and give the men leave to return to their homes. The viscount assenting to this, he being armed with faith, and in confidence like a lion, immediately presented

* Ap. Martene, Vet. Script. tom. ii. 330.

† Chron. Cornelii Zantfliet, ap. Martene, Vet. Script. vi.

himself to the troops, and, on the viscount's authority, commanded them to separate and repair to their respective abodes. He then proceeded to the residence of William, but hearing that the hawk had been sent away, he set off without hesitation to find the nobleman to whom it had been confided, though it was then the depth of winter, and though the distance was so great ; for when it was a question of making peace, nothing seemed difficult to him, and he was ready to die, or leave his country for ever, rather than not exert his utmost to secure it.

On arriving at that nobleman's castle, as soon as he presented himself, the lord demanded who he was, and what was his business; but as soon as he learned the object of his visit, he not only refused point blank, but ordered him to be chased from his presence with insult. All this the holy abbot bore patiently ; so he withdrew fasting, and proceeded with the brethren who accompanied him to the cottage of a poor man, at some distance, where he arrived at nightfall. This poor man had a wife and some young children, and so destitute were they, that they had hardly clothes to cover them. The holy abbot compassionating their poverty, next morning, on going away, gave them secretly his tunic, leaving it behind, as if he had forgotten it: the brethren soon perceived how much he was suffering from the cold, but he evaded their questions, by replying, that whatever quantity of clothes he wore, he could not warm himself. On leaving the cottage they supposed that he meant to return home, but he set his face again towards the castle, saying to them, who demanded for what purpose he went there now, "Let us only go again in God's name, for the man will not be to-day as he was yesterday." So coming a second time to the castle, he found open all the gates, which had been closed on the previous day ; and when the nobleman heard that the servant of God whom he had expelled the day before, was returning to him, he leaped from his bed, almost naked as he was, and with bare feet ran across the snow to meet him, and falling on his knees begged his forgiveness. Then ordering the hawk to be brought, he gave it to the holy man, who received it with great joy, and then departed, committing it to the care of a brother, and so returned home ; and, truly, it was wonderful to see how the peace of a whole province depended on a bird. The hawk being brought to the viscount, no sooner flapped its wings in his hall, than peace was restored and confirmed, and thus, the whole country was saved from pillage and extermination."*

The abbots of the greater monasteries, by their elevated position, were often able to arrange political differences of the greatest magnitude. In the year 1386, Peter II., abbot of Einsiedeln, surnamed the father of the poor, interposed himself between Austria and the people of Schwyz. Along with the abbot of Wettingen, he used to be seen passing from side to side, as an Apostle of peace.† On the other hand, the fame of sanctity, and the fact of absolute separation from

* Vita B. Stephani Abbat- Obazinensis in Lemovicibus, Lib. ii. c. 39. ap. Baluze, Miscellan. tom. i.

† Tschudi Einsiedlische Chronic. 74.

the world, were often more efficacious than any other influence. A letter from Dionysius, the Carthusian, to Arnold, duke of Gueldre, and to his son, prevailed so much, that they abandoned their intention of making war against each other, and thus, the country was preserved from immense calamities.* Solitary religious men, anachorets, came forth too, from time to time, as peace-makers. When the dissension arose between Philip Augustus and King Richard, a hermit, named Joachim, who lived in the mountains of Calabria, came from his retreat to make peace between them, and to invite the Paladins to penitence. Speaking of Peter the Hermit, an ancient author says, "that he re-established, with a wondrous authority, peace and good understanding between husbands and wives, who had been disunited." In 1335, when King Robert, after the death of Frederic, prepared a fleet against Sicily, the hermit Henry wrote a long letter, to dissuade him—"I beseech you," he says, "do not despise the words of an old rude man, dwelling in the desert, since it is imposed on me to break forth thus to you. Successor to ancestral cruelty, pitiless king, impious, cruel king, what insane fury instigates you at your advanced age, when you are so near the terrible shore of death and judgment—you, who have passed so great a portion of your days in liberal studies, so studiously at intervals revolving the volumes, one time of saints, at another of philosophers, what madness, I say, moves you to irritate God, with the slaughter of innumerable Christians? Consider how all the empires and kingdoms of the world have been changed by Almighty God, and without looking beyond this one island of Sicily, how it has pleased Him to dispose all things according to His pleasure, independent of the will of men. Recollect the wars and perturbations it has endured in times past, and how little the result has ever crowned the hopes of those who caused them. I beseech you then, my brother, and my lord, in the glorious blood of Jesus Christ, to return to the Lord thy God, and to contemplate all things with the eye of equity, and not to seek to contend against Heaven, for it is not for us to know the times and the seasons; but since you are evidently prepared to depart hence, seek not wars, nor seditions, nor hatreds, nor machinations, nor factions, nor quarrels, but this only with diligent care, that you may rest in peace, especially since there is removed from you the motive for that lust of reigning, which is accustomed to possess miserable parents, and make them desirous of propagating kingdoms for their children, and for their children's children; since, without war or tumult, you perceive that the kingdom must needs pass to the collateral line."†

The rise of the mendicant orders was a memorable epoch in regard to the pacific; for never before was there so prodigious an accession to their numbers furnished at one time; and truly the city of God had never greater need of such services; for that was the moment when the fairest portion of her pale on earth

* Dorlandi Chronic. Cartus. Lib. vii. 13.

† Nicolai Specialis Hist. Sicula. Lib. viii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom. x.

was rent with the most cruel civil discords. Whence did such bitterness arise? "All that I can say as to the origin of these divisions," says one historian, "is, that Florence never heard the Tartarian names of Ghibelline and Guelf, until the year 1215."* Most of the wars at this time were either immediately, or indirectly, occasioned by the strife of opinions, indicated by these names. The enmity, for instance, between Pisa and Florence, had no other origin.† Without attempting to discuss the general question between them, which, however, is one of all ages, under various denominations, it is but justice to observe the difference of character, which, far more than the insignia of the eagle and lily, distinguished the opposite sides. Not without reason was the latter adopted by the Guelfs, for in general they were pacific men, making peace between others, and overcoming resistance to themselves, by moderation and gentleness.‡ They stood for the interests of the community, being for the Church: therefore, their cry in war was, as at Parma, in 1308, "Peace, peace, the people, the people!" and, in victory, "Live the people, and the Guelfs!"§ "If a Guelf wishes to be a tyrant," says Matteo Villam, "he must first become a Ghibelline." The Ghibellines were men of immoral lives, like Ceresius Monticulus of Verona, who, in 1184, so basely assassinated Alexander, count of St. Boniface, his uncle, not through any personal resentment, but merely because he was chief of the Guelfs. They were generally too the aggressors.‖ Of the miseries attending these dissensions, the contemporary writers speak with horror and astonishment. Carpesanus, observing that the Brescians are the most factious of all mortals, says, that they convert innumerable things into party signs; the kind of cups used on the same table, herbs, crees, fruits, colors of clothes, modes of walking, of moving the fingers, are all there endued with a signification: which perversity of manners infects the citizens like the plague.¶

Some that were fancifully inclined, attempted to account for this assault of jarring discord by astrological causes. Thus one historian says, "If there be any excuse for the civil contests of the Genoese, perhaps, it may be that the city had its beginning under the sign of the scorpion, in which Mars has his place. But I wish that the Supreme Ruler of the stars, who can change them as He pleases, may pacify this city with solid stability."** "Some say the cause of this misery," says another, "is the return of Saturn to Leo, and of Jove to Pisces. Alas! not the stars, but the minds of men are retrograde."

The Ghibellines, like all men of unsound faith, were superstitious. Astrologers

* Stellæ Annal. Genuenses, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

† Matt. Palmerii de Captivit. Pisarum, ap. id. xix.

‡ Weingartens. Monach. Hist. de Guelfis Princip. ap. Canisii Lect. Antiq. iii.

§ Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

‖ Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita, ap. id. tom. viii.

¶ Comment. suorum Temporum, Lib. v. ap. Martene, Vet. Script. x.

** Stellæ Annales Genuens. Lib. iii. ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xvii.

were generally in their councils, and we read of a curious incident demonstrative of their disposition to seek in its vain promises a remedy for their woes. Let us hear the old chronicle which relates it. "Guido Bonatto, who belonged to the Ghibelline party, was a great astrologer of Forli, in the time of the magnanimous Count Guido de Montefeltro, captain of Forli, where he had his habitation, being prince of the Ghibelline party under the Roman emperors; and he used the counsel of this astrologer in all his actions, so that many persons ascribed his victories over the citizens of Bologna, Ravenna, the Malatestas, and others, to the advice given him by this Guido, though he was held by the vulgar as a visionary. Master Benevenuto of Imola, in his commentary on the twentieth chapter of Dante, says, that he had seen him. This Guido Bonatto was regarded as one of the first astrologers of the world, so that in Paris, and wherever such studies were in vogue, he was held to be second after Ptolemy. In Forli, while the parties of Ghibelline and Guelph raged most furiously, he sought to annul them, and to unite the citizens into one; for which purpose he persuaded the people to begin building the walls of the city at a moment when the planets were so favorable that if both parties would then concur in laying the foundation, placing one stone for each citizen of each party, at the instant he prescribed, in future ever after there would be no divisions amongst them: all which they consented to do; and then choosing a citizen for each party, they all stood expecting the sign from Lord Guido, each citizen having a stone in his hand, while the workmen stood below with lime and all things prepared. As soon as the sign was made, the Ghibelline threw his stone, but the Guelph hesitated: upon which Guido exclaimed, 'May God destroy you with your Guelph party, and assuredly He will for your malignity, for this sign will not appear again in the heavens these five hundred years to come.' And sure enough the said party was subdued: but praised be God, who has reduced these parties now to such close union and benevolence, that no one any longer hears the name of separation in our state. While speaking of this man, it will not displease me to relate what I heard from my father in his old age, which he heard from the Lord James Moratino, his father, when very old, who learned it from a certain wise neighbor, who knew intimately the said Lord Guido." Then after mentioning many instances of his diabolical art, which came to light through the repentance of persons who had consulted him, and who were obliged by their confessors to renounce what they had gained by his means, he says, "that the said Lord Guido, by his science, caused many escapes and many disasters among enemies; for that when he knew the time was fitting, he used to mount up into the belfry, which is over the great square, carrying with him his astrolabe and his book of magic, diligently observing the time, and when the point arrived, he used to toll the great bell to call them to arms."*

* Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. t. xxii.

But enough of this. I only sought to remind my reader of the distractions which he is now to see appeased by messengers of grace, who knew what was for them the true and only remedy. One symptom, however, in those times was favorable. Petrus Cynæus noticed it among the Corsicans, who, though prone to excite domestic seditions, yet, as he says, were generally inclined to love those who endeavor to make peace.* This was certainly characteristic of all nations during the middle ages. The poet, dearest to the English, tells them that "a whole city is much bound to the reverend holy friar who reconciles foes, and makes peace in houses:"† that is, in short, no unimportant fact, which now would pass unnoticed, the office of a peace-maker was recognized in common life, and appreciated in the light of faith. Truly it was known and worshipped. The world stood mute to hear the seraph of Assisi and his fit colleague. If we attend to the effects which followed the preaching of the two great families which sprung from them, we might suppose that the sole object of their mission was to re-establish peace. "Into whatever house the friar minors enter," says their father, "let them first say, 'Peace be to this house;' and let their first salutation be always, 'Peace be with you.'" St. Francis used to begin all his discourses by saluting the people in these words, "Dominus det vobis pacem," as if that were the supreme good. "He passed amid the strife of man, and stood at the throne of armed power, pleading for a world of woe; secure as one on a rock-built tower o'er the wrecks which the surge trails to and fro. Amid the wild passions of human kind he stood like a spirit calming them, for his words could bind, like music, the lulled crowd, and stem that torrent of unquiet dream which mortals deem justice and reason, but is revenge, and fear, and pride. Joyous he was; and hope and peace abode on all who heard him, raining, like dew, from his sweet talk." His very gestures touched to tears the unpersuaded tyrant never before so moved. Entering Sienna, most of the noblemen with the people came out to meet him, and conducted him to the bishop's palace. The city at that time was troubled by a sedition, but he by his sermons succeeded in reconciling them all with one another before he departed. Bitter discussions had arisen between the bishop of Assisi and the magistrates of the city. The prelate had excommunicated them, while they, on the other hand, prevented all communication with him. We heard in a former book how St. Francis sent his friars to sing in their presence, and how they were on the spot, as if miraculously, reconciled. The strophe which he added on this occasion to his chant on the sun was as follows: "Praised be my Lord in those who pardon and bear suffering and tribulation for His love. Happy those who persevere in peace, for they shall be crowned by the Most High." The souls of the hearers by a secret virtue were melted into love: they mutually asked forgiveness, and embraced with delicious tears.‡

* De Rebus Corsicis, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. tom xxi † Romeo and Jul.

‡ Acta S. Oct. tom. ii. p. 1002.

The incidental notices of the pacific labors of the friars abounding in the Italian chronicles are sufficiently significative of their success. Thus, in one we read: "In 1233, peace was made in Parma by Brother Gerard, of Modena, and all exiled persons were pardoned, and Brother Cornetus came to the city, and all went after him with branches of trees and lighted candles, saying, 'Blessed be the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.'"* In another—"In 1233, there was made peace in Modena by the mediation of Brother Gerard, of the order of Minors, and free pardon granted to all, with the exception of five persons, who for whatever cause had been banished by the government. In that year there were many sermons preached."† In another—"In 1323, by the mediation of Brother Paulinus, of the order of Minors, peace was concluded at Padua between those within and those without the city. This friar went then with the ambassadors of Padua to the duke of Carinthia, to have the peace confirmed by him. On the news of his death coming to Padua, there was a great festival, and masses were solemnly celebrated."‡ In another—"In 1233, the Lord Albert de Fontana and the knights of Placentia on one side, and the Lord William de Andito with the people on the other, commissioned Brother Leo, of the order of Minors, to heal their discords. Then the said friar, in the square before the great church, made twenty of the knights and twenty of the people kiss each other, and then he gave sentence that the knights should have half of the honors of the city, and the people the other half."§ Machiavel, too, relates, that when the two parties of the nobles and people were ranged in order of battle in the squares of Florence, and about to come to action, some friars advanced, interposed between them, and by force of moving eloquence, while boldly reminding both of their respective faults, succeeded in preventing the deadly engagement from taking place.‖ When we open the annals of these orders of the Franciscans and Dominicans we find events of this kind related in detail, and the incidents are so affecting, often so poetical and dramatic, that July days seem as short as December while we are turning over pages of the ponderous volumes. At the preaching of St. Bernardine of Sienna, inveterate enemies might be seen embracing each other at Vicenza, Bologna, Milan, Rome, and Perugia. At Sienna he made friends the families of Thomas de Regazani with the house of Thomasina, John Guido with the families of Benincasa and Piceolomini, the men of Monte Ursali with the Brachini, who for many years before could not be satiated with each other's blood. Bernardine made all these men friends.¶ At Perugia there existed a deadly feud between the citizens. St. Bernardine exhorted them to mutual peace, saying, "The Lord God seeing your dissensions, which he hateth, hath sent me as His angel to you,

* Chronic. Parmense, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. ix.

† Annal. Veteres Mutinensium, ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. xi.

‡ Hist. Cortusiorum de Nov it. Paduæ, Lib. iii. 2, ap. id. t. xii.

§ Chronic. Placentinum, ap. id. tom. xvi. ‖ Hist. of Florence, ii.

¶ Waddling, Annal, Minorum, tom. ix.

that I should announce on earth peace to men of good will." At the end of his fourth sermon he spoke thus: "Let as many of you as possess this good will and desire to live at peace with your neighbors pass to the right hand, and let the others who are unwilling to obey this invitation move to the left." Then all the people who had been on his left hand rose up, and went to the right, with the exception of one young nobleman, who remained with his servants on the left, muttering imprecations against the man of God. Then Bernardine said, "Lo! you stand there alone, despising what has been said to the people. A second time I invite you, in the name of God, to remit to your neighbors whatever trespasses they may have committed against you, and to pass to the right; but if you refuse, be assured that you will not return to your home alive." Still he refused, and derided the prophecy: but lo! as he stepped over the threshold of his own house, little heeding the Divine anger, he fell dead.*

In 1419, Bernardine preached in an open field during fifteen days to make peace between the Trivillians and the Caravaggiani, who were at war, and from the happy result this spot between the two towns is called the field of peace to this day. In the church of Trivelli is shown a tablet, with the name of Jesus in gold letters, which was then painted at his suggestion.† The city of Aquilani had been torn with dissensions: the people and the nobles were at war, and a few days previous seven men had been slain; but at the funeral of St. Bernardine harmony and union were restored. All became friends at that solemnity, as if the holy man who had so often made peace while living had power to impart it even in death. It seemed as if he had come to die in the midst of this people, in order to reconcile them.‡ Wadding, who relates that it was Brother Sylvester who put an end to the intestine wars of the city of Cosmo, omits many details respecting him which are found in the profane histories of the time. In one of them we read as follows: "On the 13th of January, in 1440, this Brother Sylvester, of Sienna, began to preach in Placentia against factions and cursed parties, and took for his theme the words 'Venite ad me omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego vos reficiam. Tollite jugum meum, quoniam suave est.' And on the 18th of the same month seven notable men, doctors of law and of medicine, were elected in order to abolish the said parties, and establish a holy union. On the 22nd, which was the feast of St. Vincent, certain statutes were published by these men, and approved of by the people; and the same day as many as eight thousand of the people swore to observe them before the Lords Vincent de Vegiis, the ducal vicar, and the captain of the citadel, in presence of Brother Sylvester and others. And they swore upon this memorable sentence, which appeared written in the beginning of the book: 'Et viri eorum interficiantur morte, et juvenes eorum confodiantur gladio.' On the 25th, which was the feast of the conversion of St. Paul, there was made a solemn procession, and

* Wadding, Annal. Minorum, tom. x. † Tom. xi. ‡ Tom. xi.

on the following Sunday, the 29th, there was concluded in the great church an instrument of holy union, abridged by John de Ronchovetero. On the 5th of February, the feast of the holy virgin and martyr Agatha, the said Brother Sylvester made his testament, in which he constituted the people of Placentia his heirs, and dismissed them rich, that is, well instructed, and well trained, and well furnished in all doctrine and discipline into one body, reformed and reduced to peace and concord. He made all the boys, women, and men, in separate divisions, embrace and kiss each other, which they did weeping for joy. He restored peace to those who had committed homicide, preaching and declaring the epistle of Paul to the Colossians—'Induite vos sicut electi Dei, sancti, et dilecti, viscera misericordiæ pietatem, modestiam,' and the rest to the end. On the 8th of February, ambassadors from Placentia proceeded to Milan to have the statutes of the holy union confirmed, and on the following day Brother Sylvester left Placentia, and went to Cremona, that he might establish a holy union there also."*

Let us return to the annals of the order. In 1471, Brother Fortunatus, of Perugia, made peace between Florence and Sienna. In 1486, at Perugia, on the feast of St. Antony of Padua, after the sermon, when St. Bernardine, of Monte Feltro, was sitting at table to refresh his strength, lo! a sudden noise and tumult arose, caused by the two most powerful armed factions of the Peneschi and the Staffeschi combating in the forum. Seizing a cross, he rushed into the midst, and had such authority that he made them desist. Though forty were wounded, and all breathed slaughter, nevertheless, they obeyed the man of God, and retired each to his own home. Soon after, the Ballioni and Oddesci came to join in the fray; but these also he repressed, and led the chiefs of all the parties into the adjoining church of St. Lorenzo, where, by the intervention of the bishop, he appeased their mutual anger, and established peace.†

In 1487, coming to Tuderta, he found the citizens divided into two factions, and brought them to peace by his sermons and pious exhortations. Then united in one body, he prevailed on them to suffer whatever laws their bishop thought necessary. About to depart before Septuagesima Sunday, he unfurled in the public square the standard which he had prepared secretly, in which Christ flagellated was painted with arms extended over the city; the citizens, divided in two parties, were represented on their knees, with eyes raised up to Christ, exclaiming, "Pars mea Deus est," to whom the Saviour replies, "Et ego ero vester si vos mei fueritis." At the end of the sermon he uttered, with great fervor, the words, "pacem meam relinquo vobis." Then exhorting them all to preserve that peace, he desired them to make two similar standards, and to place one in the cathedral, and the other in the Church of St. Fortunatus, while the third was to be suspended in the town hall, to be a perpetual testimony and exhortation to peace. Descending from the pulpit, all received him with tears and great cries, exclaiming,

* Ant. de Ripalta, Annales Placentini, ap. Muratori Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xx. † Tom. xiv.

"Peace, peace!" After some interval, returning to Tuderta, he found the seeds of dissension still lingering: these he labored to destroy. At length, having established sixteen articles of solid peace, he ordained a general procession round the city, and taking up the said standard, he was followed by all the people carrying branches of olive. This solemn and salutary day was diligently noted in the annals of the city; and in the senatorial palaces the image of Bernardine was sculptured.

Ravenna, in 1491, was divided into armed factions: daily he spoke against them, and by a divine power softened hard hearts. Many who had been deadly enemies for many years, were made friends; and these persons, to serve an example to others, used to rise up in the midst of his sermons to kiss and embrace each other in sight of all. The magistrates co-operated with him, and used to inquire who were at enmity. They would then send each of the parties successively to Bernardine, and both having heard the preacher, were eventually reconciled. There was one old man, who for many years could not be induced to forgive the slayer of his only son, a hopeful youth, though many of the chief citizens had interposed. At length, a certain man, named Papiniano, prevailed on him, after two or three attempts, to go with him and hear Bernardine, who offered himself in place of his dead son. All who were present wept, knowing the inflexibility of the old man. But like the rest who came, he was vanquished, from a mortal foe becoming a man of peace, so that ever after when he heard of others being at enmity, he would lead them to Bernardine with Papiniano, the author of his own peace. Amongst others he led two heads of factions of Valle Lamone, who, for many years, had been continually at war. One more severe than the other, and of more rigid nature, said roughly, "that for eternity he would not relent;" and to Bernardine persuading peace, replied, "I cannot; one hundred years we are at war: my enemy has shed much of our blood, they slew my relations. Do you ask me to spare them? I will not. You lose your time." Still Bernardine persevered, describing the misery of enmity, and the advantage of peace, while the old man continued saying, "If I lost my only son by treason, yet, for the love of God and of this holy man, I spared and forgave his murderer, and have laid aside all anger; and do you resist still on account of your relation's blood?" At length, the Holy Ghost inspiring, he too felt himself softened: the reconciliation was soon effected. Rushing into each other's arms, they embraced and filled all the beholders with wonder and admiration. "The Lord hath sent his angel to us," they exclaimed, "who hath restored peace to the city, and concord to us all."*

At Brescia Bernardine saved the city from imminent ruin; for the discord running high in the great council, at the second hour of the night, the gates being closed, early in the morning, he preached on the miseries of civil war and se-

* Id. vol. xiv.

dition, with such effect that he recalled to union and peace the Avogradi and the Martinengi, who were ready armed, and about to meet in intestine shock, and furious close of civil butchery.* This man, in sooth, did wonders : but many of the same order were alike successful. In the kingdom of Naples, all the villages which are in the circuit of Monte Corvino were at such enmity, that they had long made war against each other, like wild beasts, sparing neither sex nor condition. In 1524, a certain pious Franciscan, eminent for preaching, went to them, and labored so effectually, that he reunited them all in friendship, and then, in common, they built the church of St. Mary of Peace, to which they added a convent for friars of his order.† We should observe, that Minor friars, or Dominicans, were repeatedly chosen to be the instruments of effecting peace, when the holy see intervened. Thus, in 1331, Gerard, the minister general of the Minors, was sent by the pope along with Brother Arnold, the Dominican, to pacify Edward, king of England, and David, king of Scotland, who were hastening to the arbitrement of swords, and preparing for each other a heavy reckoning against the great accompting day.‡

In 1351, the Venetians and Genoese were at cruel war : the Euxine beheld repeatedly their terrible conflicts. Peter, king of Aragon, and the emperor of Constantinople, came to the assistance of the former ; John Visconti, of Milan, sided with the latter : Pope Clement VI. sent Brother Fortanerius Vassallus, a Minor friar, as pacificator between them.§ In 1366, Brother John, another Minor, was sent by Pope Urban V. to make peace between the Emperor Charles IV. and Lewis, king of Hungary. Angelo de Bibiena and Thomas Fiecho were also employed as pacificators by Pope Gregory IX. As rival princes, when blood is their argument, can seldom meet without adding fresh fuel to the fire of malice, personal interviews between them were generally condemned as by the wise Philip de Comines, and they were advised to communicate together through meek religious men.‖ Friars were, therefore, chosen for this purpose, who never failed through want of zeal. But without bearing such authority, those whom the cord girt humbly are found every where making peace. Thus, in 1336, they reconciled the kings of Castile and of Aragon.¶ In 1362, Brother Mark, of Viterbo, minister general, pacified many princes of Italy ; a true angel of peace was he, soothing all discordant hearts with admirable skill and incredible facility. Thus he made peace between Amadæus, count of Savoy, and John, marquis of Montferrat, between the same marquis and Galeazzo Visconti, and between the Florentines and Pisans. Brother Mark was most active in endeavoring to repress the horrors of the English bands, which came into Italy at the termination of the war between England and France. Again, in 1371, Thomas, the minister general, made peace between the Genoese and the count of Flisco ; and re-

* Id. tom. xv. † Id. tom. xvi. ‡ Id. tom. vii. § Id. viii. ‖ Le Conseiller d'Estat, 1645. ¶ Id. vii.

pressed also the hostilities of the former against Cyprus.* The pacific labors of the Minors are sometimes attested on their tombs. Thus, on that of Friar Paul, of Padua, celebrated for his power and success as a pacificator—who lies buried near the gate of the cloister of the Franciscans, in that city—you read, under the date of 1323—

"Dulcibus eloquiis, cui persuadere quietem
Civibus et patriæ sedula cura fuit.
Pacifer hic Patavæ sedavit scandala terræ,
Exulibus patrios restituitque lares."†

On that of the blessed Guido de Spathis, in the convent of the Minors at Bologna, you read—

"Auctor ubique pacis, linguæ sanctissimæ facis
Tu montium colles, contristi novissima valles,
Discordes placans, guerrarumque odio sedans."

The venerable branch of the seraphic order, which is known by the title of Capuchins, did not belie its origin when there was occasion to make peace. The manner in which Bernardine, general of the Capuchins, composed the troubles of Palermo in 1536, seemed divine to all who witnessed it.‡

John of Fano, after passing to this order, was another eminent pacificator. He found Burgo San Sepulcro in the midst of tumults and dissensions, and by his sermons he made all the inhabitants friends.§ Brother Mariano of Nebia was another angel of peace under the same hood, the scene of whose ministry was the island of Corsica, the ferocious inhabitants of which, he tamed and composed to all offices of love and friendship.‖ Petrus Tudertinus, a Capuchin, possessed such a grace from God, in composing dissensions, that there was no one who could resist his pacific influence. Many rival houses which had been at war for generations, were by his efforts reconciled to each other, and factions which had disturbed the public tranquillity wholly suppressed.¶ Brother Antonius of Cordova, a Minim, revered by the people as a saint, was so successful in reconciling enemies, that he used to be called by the bishop and nobles of that city, instrumentum pacis.** In short, each member of that humble order, lived but to inspire charity, and ever in his right hand carried gentle peace. But it is time that we should turn to the Dominicans, that second great family of the mendicants, who were devoted to the blessed work of reconciliation. Truly it would be long to tell of the labors for this end, of Gilles de Sant Irene, John the Teutonic, the third general of the order, Blessed Bartholomew de Braganza, Constantine de Medicis, James Boncambio, James Crescenti, whose mission was in Poland and Russia, Thomas de Berta, who labored in Sienna, Peter de St. As-

* Le Conseiller d'Estat. viii. † Wadding. tom. vii. ‡ Annales Capucinorum an. 1536
§ Id. 1539. ‖ Id. 1540. ¶ Id. 1540. ** Chronic. Minimorum, an. 1591.

tier, triumphant at Perigueux, Humbert de Romans at the university of Paris, Aldobrandi at Orvietta, Morandi de Signia, and he who afterwards governed the church as Innocent V.*

Who could worthily describe the fruits of peace which followed the steps of a friar Lawrence of England, of a St. Vincent Ferrier, who never left a town or a village without having chased from it the demon of discord, and re-established order, peace, and harmony; who passed as an angel of peace through Spain and France, Italy, Savoy, Switzerland, England, Ireland, and Scotland, where Henry IV. then reigned; of a Lewis of Valladolid, confessor of John II., king of Castile; of a blessed Peter of Palermo, or of him who afterwards became Pope Benedict XI., a man who seemed to have lived only to preach peace, and to have obtained power only to make it reign; or of a Raymond of Capua, twenty-third general of the order; or of an Andrew de Franchis, afterwards bishop of Pistoia, or of a Paul Justiniani, who reconciles so wondrously the two great hostile families of Genoa, the Assereti and the Imperiali; or of a Decius Justiniani, afterwards bishop of Aleria, to whom the canons of his cathedral bore this testimony, inscribed upon his tomb,

"In componendis odiis Corsicæ miraculum;"

or of an Ambrose of Sienna; or of a cardinal Latin Malebranche, of the Frangepani family, legate of the pope, who persuaded the Florentine Guelphs to restore the banished Ghibellines to their country and property, in 1278, on the place of Santa Maria Novella, reversing all decrees against them, and causing marriages to be contracted between them, so that he was ever afterwards styled the Prince of Peace; or of St. Augustin de Gazothes; or of Odon de la Sale, afterwards archbishop of Pisa; or of Berenger de Landon, who became archbishop of Compostella, and who died in discharging the office of mediator; or of Bernard Guido; or of an Angelo of Perugia, that true angel of peace to Florence; or of a Simon Salterelli, nuncio of Clement V.; or of a blessed Ventura of Bergamo, who conceived and realized the idea of terminating the dissensions of a whole people by a pilgrimage? Ten thousand Lombards assuming the cross for their standard, and for motto three words, "Peace, Penance, Mercy," clad all in white, having on one side of their habit a cross, and the other a dove, with an olive branch, followed this friar to Rome, where, at his suggestion, laying aside their arms, they sealed their peace before the tomb of St. Peter. On this occasion, the warriors were accompanied by their wives and daughters, and even their children. It is remarked by historians that this new inspiration of love had restored the multitude to harmony with all nature, and that the spectacle of the beautiful regions through which they passed, gave them a taste for joys, of which, while hatred and vengeance filled their breasts, they could have had no conception. The secu-

* Touron, Hist. des Hommes Illust. de l'Ord. de S. Dom. i.

lar historians of the middle ages abound with testimonies to the labor of these friars, many of whom, however, they only knew or saw as it were in passing. Thus, one chronicler merely says, that in 1429, when the citizens of Liege were greatly divided, Raphael, a certain preacher from Spain, came there, and by preaching and works recalled many from contention and other sins to peace.* Of the most eminent, however, they speak at sufficient length. Thus, in 1299, they relate how Brother Angelo of Faventia, prior of the Dominicans, with Octolino de Mandello, made concord and peace between the government of Bologna and those of the province of Romagna, who held the party of the Lambertazzi, who were without the city; and how in consequence of this treaty, the merchants thenceforth travelled through the whole province safely and secure, without any impediment.†

Let us hear one of their narratives. The city of Bologna was stained with blood by the quarrels of the Jeremies and the Lambertazzis. A member of the former house, in love with the young Imelda Lambertazzi, had been assassinated by her brothers in her presence. After seeing him fall at her feet, she stretched herself upon the corpse and sucked the wounds, which were infected with so deadly a poison from the poignards, that she expired in a few minutes. After this tragedy, the two families were bent upon pursuing each other with redoubled fury: nevertheless, Brother Latino, a Dominican, overcame their thirst for vengeance, and succeeded in reconciling them in the bonds of a lasting peace.

But let us now hasten to the plain of Paguara, where an immense multitude from the marshes of Treviso and from Lombardy, is assembled at the voice of Brother John de Scledo of Vicenza, of whom the ancient historians speak as follows: "Friar John, of the order of preachers, was the son of Manelini, a lawyer of Vicenza. Since the time of our Lord Jesus Christ, there never were such multitudes gathered together in his name, as were assembled to hear this friar preach peace. He came first to Padua and made peace there; then he went to Treviso and did the same, as also with the Feltrini and the Bellunenses. Then he brought peace to the lords of Camino, Coneglano, and Romana. In like manner the citizens of Vicenza, Verona, Mantua, and Brescia, were restored to concord by his means. He had such power over all minds, that every where he was permitted to arrange the terms of peace. Through reverence for him, the greatest part of the multitude used to hear him with bare feet. Many who had been mortal enemies, moved by his preaching, of their own accord, embraced and gave each other the kiss of peace.‡ On arriving at Verona, he found the Guelphs of that city disposed for peace, and he produced an effect even on the opposite party. He spoke of peace with such eloquence in the forum, that Eccelino himself, who

* Chronic. Cornelii Zantfliet.

† Annales Forolivienses, ap. Muratori, Rer. Ital. Script. tom. xxii.

‡ Gerardi Maurisii Historian ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

surpassed in ferocity all men of his time, was moved to tears, and to promise that he would agree to whatever the arbiters should determine between him and Ricciardus, count of St. Boniface.*

At Bologna, he persuaded the citizens to renounce all party spirit and animosity, and to adopt a mode of saluting one another mutually in the name of Jesus Christ, which usage passed into other cities of Lombardy, and, finally, into all the Italian provinces. The establishment of a general peace by this blessed friar, and the union of such multitudes who accepted it in the bonds of the charity of Christ, are described by contemporary authors as giving rise to a scene unparalleled in the history of the Church. "In 1233," says one of them, "Brother John Scledo came into the marshes of Padua from the region of Bologna, and made many sermons in the city and through the marshes, and God was with him. This just man had always before his eyes, the authority which saith, 'beati pedes portantes pacem;' he wished to make peace between them and the nobles of Lombardy, and those of the marshes and Romagna. Having called all the princes of the marshes into the meadow of the vale at Padua, he made a solemn sermon, and ordained that in the ensuing month of August they should meet in the campagna of Verona, near the river Alace, which was done. Thither came the barons, rectors, magistrates, and such a multitude of people, that I believe the like had never been seen before in Lombardy; and the friar stood on a wooden stand sixty cubits high, constructed for the purpose at a spot called Paquara, on the river side about four miles from Verona; and there he proposed that authority, 'Pacem meam do vobis; pacem relinquo vobis;' and then he preached authoritatively peace to all the Lombards, and to all Italy: and he added warnings and denunciations against any who should dare in future to interrupt that blessed peace. Similarly he established peace at Vicenza, and Feltro, and at other places."† The treaty between the Guelphs and Ghibellines, which was drawn up on this occasion by Brother John, may be seen, at length, in the great work of Muratori,‡ where it stands like a monument, to prove the truth of what the poet says, that

"Peace hath her victories no less renowned than war."

Let it be remembered, however, in conclusion, that the mendicant orders in these glorious deeds only revived the examples of more ancient times. The Holy See had always labored to cause associations for a pacific end, and to inspire the nations with a love of peace. One of the constitutions of Othobono, legate of the pope in England, in the reign of Henry III., commanded that throughout England, Ireland, and Scotland, every year, on the day after the octave of Pentecost, there should be a public and solemn procession, in which all the faithful were

* Ricciardi Comit. S. Bon. Vita ap. Mur. Rer. It. Script. viii.

† Chronic. Rolandini, c. 7. ap. Græv. Thesaur. Antiq. Ital. tom. vi.

‡ Antiq. Ital. iv. p. 1171.

to return thanks to God for the tranquillity which had been restored to them, and to pray devoutly for the permanence of peace and concord.* With supplications of this kind our present book almost commenced. I rejoice to meet with this procession of our ancestors, to bring it thus solemnly and impressively to an end.

Such then were some of the labors of the blessed peace-makers during ages of faith, conducing to that mirth which is in heaven, when earthly things made even atattone together: fulfilling, as an ancient author says, the words of Isaiah, "that the wolf should dwell with the lamb, and that a child should lead them." Such were their vows, and so were they repaid.

The monks and friars have conducted us to the threshold of those true asylums of peace, of which, in the beginning, I said that we should speak, where souls through powers that faith bestowed won rest, and ease, and peace, with bliss that angels shared. Our course tends right unto the summit. On to the abbey! as the poet says. Already we have met the men who come from it, whose strains still sound to us like the sweet south that breathes upon a bank of violets: but no more yet of this; for 'tis a chronicle of day by day, not a relation for a visit, nor befitting this late meeting. Here will we repose, and wait till the morn, in golden mantle clad, shall walk o'er the dew of yon bright eastern hill. So that, gentle reader, with respect to the peace enjoyed and imparted during faithful ages, half yet remains unsaid.

* Lyndwood, Constitutiones Angliæ.

END OF THE NINTH BOOK.

2832